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Miroslav Marcovich, *Editor*

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Miroslav Marcovich, *Editor*

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## Homer, Vergil, and Complex Narrative Structures in Latin Epic: An Essay

FREDERICK AHL

Nikos Kazantzakis was arguably the last major European poet to write epic. Epic, especially in languages no longer understood or spoken outside academic circles, is now the scholar's preserve. The general reader encounters the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in translation and through the intermediacy of scholars who often study the originals for reasons other than poetic, searching Homer for information, linguistic and social, about the Bronze Age. General interest in Hellenistic and Roman heroic epic is waning, despite the flurry of publication, since its appeal is its literary form and its political and intellectual resonances, which have less to allure scholars or readers whose primary interest is not poetry. Much of it lies in what Paul Friedländer called "the graveyard of literary history": extant, but unread. The fall from favor of Statius' once admired *Thebaid* coincides with the gradual disappearance of epic as a vital narrative form, with the rejection by poets of extended narrative verse, and with the growing feeling among scholars that the value of an epic is in some way proportional to its usefulness as primary source material for other studies.

Scholars reacted with overwhelming enthusiasm to Milman Parry's "oral" theory of Homeric composition, and his insistence that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* not be treated as "literary" epics. His theory of the "oral" origins and transmission of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which dominated Homeric scholarship for several decades, encouraged the epics to be approached not as the product of a master poetic craftsman but as a patchwork, with evident sutures, of different and sometimes conflicting oral traditions. Observed narrative complexity in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* could be attributed not to artistic design but to felicitous seaming by rhapsodes, or to coincidental juxtaposition of ideas which, however artistically contrived they might appear to literary critics, were not the product of conscious artistry. Ironically, the "oral" theory replaced poetic complexity with other scholarly complexities. Indeed, the chief complaint leveled against the "oral" Homer by literary critics was, until recently, that it "deterred the reader from taking Homer's expression at its face value."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Vivante, *Homer* (New Haven 1985) 12.

Michael Lynn George, in his excellent *Word, Narrative, and the Iliad*, puts the problem this way:

All Parry's work took shape within the horizon of a world whose cardinal points had been charted by Matthew Arnold. For this critic concerned with the *translation* of Homer, the epics were conceived as the great utopia of transparency: Homeric poetry possessed "the pure lines of an Ionian horizon, the liquid clearness of an Ionian sky." Within this context of unequivocal purity, transparency and translatability, Arnold promulgated those four cardinal truths—"directness," "simplicity," "rapidity" and "nobility"—which were to acquire canonical status in Homeric scholarship. Parry's theory of orality was to be marked by a constant return to and reworking of these principles.<sup>2</sup>

For a while Homer was set almost beyond reach of literary criticism, until, paradoxically, the deconstructionists, as foes of authorial intentionality, reunified him by denying him altogether: by talking of text rather than poet, and thereby allowing us to examine the text's poetic implications quite apart from presuppositions about what the poet (or poets) intended.

#### The Novelistic Model

Post-Homeric epic is clearly not "oral." Yet scholars still evaluate it in terms of what Lynn George calls Arnold's "four cardinal truths" which have acquired "canonical status" as measures of narrative excellence in ancient epic generally. There lingers from the days of gentlemanly Classical education a D. H. Lawrence-like aversion to insincerity, to the ironic, and to the non-explicit. Scholars arrived at three what one might call models of narrative to support the explicit reading of epic. A fourth model, that of the deconstructionist, has made little impact yet on Latin epic studies.

The "scholarly" model sees poetic narrative as a vehicle for virtuoso imitation and reworking of earlier writers, and is explained in terms of emulation, of artistic rivalry as an end, very often, in itself. It is an outgrowth of "source-research," and has a narcissistic appeal because it construes the poet as a mirror-image of the scholar, struggling to find his place within a genre, within a tradition, making narrative choices governed by a desire to imitate and conform. In its darker moments, the scholarly model is influenced by self-hatred: the poet is a *mere* imitator whose work smells of the (Alexandrian) Library rather than the "real" world.

The "political" model is applied mostly to Roman "national" epic—the *Aeneid*, *Pharsalia*, or *Punica*—whose intent is taken to be the validation (or subversion) of Rome, or a particular ruler and his program. The political

<sup>2</sup> (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey 1988) 58. See also Piero Pucci, *Odysseus Polutropos: Intertextual Readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 46 (Ithaca and London 1987).

model usually assumes the poet is "sincere" in his encomia and flattery, treats the epic as a form of "propaganda," and interprets it accordingly. Less frequently, it denies that the poet is necessarily sincere, arguing that he can oppose program and ruler either overtly or covertly, that his flattery may be not tasteful admiration, but artful deceit. The subversive political model is usually applied, and then with reluctance, only to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, where the poet's hostility to his contemporary regime seems validated by external data: he took a leading role in a plot to kill Nero. Many scholars nonetheless insist that Lucan's praise of Nero in *Pharsalia* 1 is sincere.

Finally, there is the "novelistic" model, based on the modern prose novel—more particularly the "serious" historical or adventure novel, where the subject and purpose are explicit, the theme noble and ennobling, and the focus tight and clear on a "hero" or group of heroes. It assumes that epic narrative is—or ought to be—direct and linear, its "purpose" serious, noble (and ennobling) and in programmatic accord with its "plot."

Critics usually combine the three models in some way. Elements of the "scholarly" model occur in all discussions of epic, and the novelistic model melds readily with the "political" in treatments of national epic. The poet's decision to narrate a given hero's actions implies—or ought to imply—his *approval*, at least in general, of the hero, his actions, and the outcome. We usually view most favorably those ancient epics, the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Aeneid*, which can be presented in terms of what epic is—or ought to be, if "properly" written according to our combination of models.

We also find, more rarely, a mixture of the novelistic and subversive political models which yields something like a modern anti-hero, especially when the poet insists on his hero's ineptitude or failings. Apollonius in the *Argonautica* rivets our attention to Jason's lack of resourcefulness with the epithet *amechanos*, "unable to cope," which proclaims him the opposite of Homer's Odysseus who is *polymechanos*, "full of ways to cope."<sup>3</sup> But the presence of an anti-hero lowers the scholarly opinion of an epic. We acknowledge anti-heroes with the same reluctance we acknowledge ambiguities in the wording of a text: only when we are explicitly told by the poet that they are ambiguous. Ambiguity and anti-heroes undermine the nobleness and seriousness we take to be fundamental to the genre.

Our models take little account of the differences between scholar and poet, prose and poetry, hero of modern novel and hero in an ancient, mythic sense, and of the differences between our obsession, as classicists, with unity and structure and the pluralism and ambivalence of much ancient thought. We know, of course, that Greek and Roman mythic heroes are too replete with conflicting elements to be stable, moral symbols; their very power, like that of the gods, endows them with immense capacities for harm as well as good. We also know the modern novel, like ancient myth, has

<sup>3</sup> G. Lawall, "Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Jason as Anti-Hero," *Yale Classical Studies* 19 (1966) 121-69.

other, more complex heroic models encompassing such ambivalence. Yet we shy from complex paradigms on the assumption that an epic poet's goal is the justification or negation to his reader both of the heroic actions described and of the values underlying those actions. Epic should have a "hero" more predictable than the ambiguous Heracles or Theseus who rapes, betrays, and murders, as well as helps, fellow humans.

Lucan can be accommodated to our novelistic epic model better than other ancient epicists because he makes clear distinctions between the "good" and the "bad"—because he does operate in terms of moral absolutes, even if we do not accept the historical and political judgments implicit in his symbols. In recent years he has been to some extent forgiven his demonic Caesar because of his wholly new protagonist who approximates our novelistic model of heroism: the first "moral" hero of western epic. His Cato is the product of a political and philosophical view of the hero in defiant opposition, such as we find in Seneca's letters and essays, where Cato, Hercules, and Ulysses are moral heroes worthy of standing alongside Socrates.<sup>4</sup> Lucan's idealized Cato, though highlighted with the colors of Lucretius' Epicurus, is, like the idealized Hercules and Ulysses, the product of a prose not a poetic tradition. In other poetry, including Seneca's own *Trojan Women*, Ulysses is, if anything, more cynically amoral than are his Greek precursors in Euripides' *Trojan Women* or Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

#### The Lost Hero

Roman epic, aside from Vergil and Lucan, does not produce many "heroes" who fit easily into our novelistic epic model no matter how hard we push them. Valerius' Jason has much of Apollonius' anti-hero in him, and takes second place, even in the epic's opening lines, to the vessel on which he sails. In Silius Italicus' *Punica*, Hannibal, Rome's Carthaginian foe, holds center stage, and scholars have balked at calling him the hero because he is not a Roman, and because he meets, ultimately, with defeat rather than victory. Statius' *Thebaid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* do not provide any one figure, good or bad, whom we could describe as the narrative center. Statius outrightly disapproves of his two main characters, Eteocles and Polynices, and banishes their souls to hell (*Thebaid* 11. 574–79). Given our narrative models, it is not surprising that Statius is excoriated for lack of discernible purpose or for narrative incoherence.<sup>5</sup> The difficulty is not solved by

<sup>4</sup> Seneca, *Prov.* 3. 4–4. 3, *Ep.* 98. 12, *Const. Sap.* 2. 1; see also my *Lucan: An Introduction*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 39 (Ithaca and London 1976) 271–79.

<sup>5</sup> R. M. Ogilvie, *Roman Literature and Society* (Harmondsworth 1980) 292: "the *Thebaid* cannot be said to be about anything"; G. Williams: "a basic lack of proportion pervades Statius' whole work and renders nugatory the laborious schemes devised to show its symmetrical structure," *Change and Decline: Roman Literature in the Early Empire*, Sather Classical Lectures 45 (Berkeley 1978) 252; for further discussion see my "Statius' *Thebaid*: A Reconsideration," *ANRW* 32. 5 (1986) 2803–2912.

arguing that there really is a novelistic "hero" in the *Thebaid*, albeit a last minute one: Theseus. True, in *Thebaid* 12, the widows of the Argive Seven against Thebes arrive in Athens to visit the Altar of Clemency, hoping for help against Creon, who forbids burial of the bodies of their menfolk. Athens is, for them, a haven, as Egypt is to cranes during the winter (12. 515–18). But the cranes of Statius' similes need different refuges at different times. In *Thebaid* 5. 11–16, thirsty Argive warriors, when refreshed, are compared to cranes arriving happily in Thrace—the opposite end of their migratory journey. The need, not the site, of sanctuary remains constant. Seasons and situations change for suppliants as well as for migrating birds.

As the Argive women arrive, Theseus enters Athens with another group of women as prisoners: the Amazons (12. 519–39). Their well-being is threatened, not by Creon, but by Theseus who will shortly proclaim himself the liberator of the Argive women. Yet they utter no complaint. Nor do they, like the civilized Argives, seek the Altar of Clemency. They go instead to that of the virgin Minerva. Their chastity, rather than their lives, is threatened. They show no womanly fears—*not yet (nondum)*, Statius observes ominously (12. 529–31). The implication is that they will be forced, in time, to succumb. Concubinage and slavery will destroy pride and independence, as well as virginity. Their queen, Hippolyte, is already pregnant with Theseus' child (12. 535–39; 635–38).

Theseus enters the *Thebaid* in at least two conflicting capacities: as helper and destroyer of women. His role as woman's savior is the more unusual. Elsewhere he treats women badly, even by the standards of Greek mythic heroes. He even aided Pirithous in his attempted rape of Proserpina, as Pluto angrily notes in *Thebaid* 8. 53–54. And Statius raises other uncomfortable questions about Theseus. Among his troops are men of Sunium (12. 625–26) "where a Cretan ship with lying sail deceived Aegeus, dooming him to fall into being the name of a shifty sea." Theseus' accession to power is clouded by his father's death: did he deliberately neglect to change the sails on his ship returning from Crete, or was he simply forgetful? The first three words of line 626: "Cretan" (Crete was proverbially a land of liars), "deceived," and "lying" strongly suggest the former.

Theseus' heroism in the *Thebaid* is ultimately rudimentary, however complex and paradoxical Statius' presentation of the man himself may be. By the time he intervenes, the war and the epic are essentially over. The brothers are dead, the Argives cherish no hopes of victory. Thebes, her manpower, and her opposition lie shattered. The remaining issue is the burial of the Argive dead, and the obstacle is one, obvious, and old. The Theban king, Creon, is no warrior at the height of his powers. Neither is Theseus, whom Statius also depicts as old; his battle with Creon is a one-sided contest of the elderly. At an earlier stage, victory might have proved

more elusive, even for him. The issues were more complex, the opponents more formidable.

### The Failure of Narrative Models

Statius' *Thebaid* cannot be understood in terms of our narrative models because it is dedicated to demonstrating how inaccurate such models of thought are. In even minute details, Statius shows how situations are misconstrued precisely *because* people make models or rules, then interpret specific actions as manifestations of them. In *Thebaid* 6, as a chariot race is about to begin, Statius says that the same desire to compete burns in driver and horse alike (6. 396). Yet when Adrastus' horse Arion, drawing Polynices' chariot, "burns more wildly" (6. 427), his agitation is not for reasons we might imagine (6. 428–29): "The Argives believe he is fired by their applause; he is, in fact, trying to escape his charioteer . . ." It may be generally true that horses are excited by applause at races. Such general truth may even apply at the beginning of this race. But it ceases to apply the instant Arion realizes his driver is not his master, Adrastus. The exception to the rule eludes the onlookers who presume that what applies generally applies invariably.

This particular spectator error does not affect the *outcome* of the race—just their understanding of the outcome. Other errors have more serious consequences. When Amphiaraus' chariot crashes into the underworld at the end of *Thebaid* 7, Pluto assumes he is being attacked by Jupiter, or that the intruder is another mortal intent on stealing something from his realm. His assumptions are based on his recollection of experiences some of which precede the creation of the human race. And they are incorrect in this instance. Amphiaraus has been, in effect, buried alive by Apollo because Apollo knows that Creon will forbid burial of the Argive dead after the war. Pluto's retaliation for Amphiaraus' unwilling intrusion as a living man into the world of the dead is his decree that the dead shall lie unburied. Thus in Statius' world, Apollo's foreknowledge and his apparent intent to save Amphiaraus' body from Creon's law become the causes of the very law from which he seeks to save his priest.

Statius' human and divine protagonists behave as they do because their view of themselves and their roles has become fixed at some point or level. Although circumstances and people change, they continue to behave as if nothing has altered, can alter, or should alter. More seriously, they see themselves—their lives, their ideas—as the ultimate reality. Their delusions and misapprehensions are all too often the shaping forces of human society and of history.

## The Rhetorical Model

Our concern for explicitness and seriousness, like that of Umberto Eco's Jorge de Burgos, goes hand in hand with our concern for oneness, for unity. If something is in earnest (or divine) it must be in single focus and "serious." Indeed, a work's seriousness is a measure of its earnestness—and thus of its importance and its right to be included in a "serious" genre. We think good tragedy, for example, should be serious. Since many of Euripides' later tragedies, *Orestes* for instance, strike us as too full of bizarre or humorous elements to be genuinely "serious," we sometimes classify them as melodramas, even though, in doing so, we set ourselves at odds with ancient critics. Aristotle says contemporary critics felt the tone of Euripides' tragedies inappropriate for the opposite reason: because "many of his plays end in misfortune" (*Poetics* 1453a 8–9). So Aristotle goes on, in the same passage, to defend the poet's unhappy endings and even, wickedly, to accuse Euripides' detractors of *hamartia*: "they are in (tragic) error: *hamartanousin*."

In our assessments of ancient epic we, like Aristotle's critics, fault our originals rather than our critical models when they are at odds. Many classicists never come closer to a "Silver Age" epicist than a dismissive classroom jest because we have taught not epic itself but our model of what epic ought to be. Our models of epic narrative are flawed because they idealize a simplicity of narrative and purpose that does not exist anywhere in Greek and Latin epic.

Ancient poets, I suggest, were, in general, more like Statius than like ourselves, ready to allow a given idea, action, or narrative—even a given word—to belong to more than one field of reference, and to exploit fully its multivalence. Indeed, they had little use for the forthright expression we admire because they thought it less powerful in public speaking (Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1382b) and less effective even with friends (Plutarch *Moralia* 66E–74E). Those ancients who do praise artless speech and criticize the techniques of "formidable speaking"—*deinotes*—are often themselves the most skilled practitioners of "formidable speaking."<sup>6</sup> Plato, who defends Socrates against the charge of being formidable in argument (*deinos legein*) in the *Apology*, is (along with Homer) the source for many illustrations of the formidable style among rhetoricians. The Platonic Socrates' claims to bluntness and explicitness deceived few critics in antiquity.

Plutarch points out in *Moralia* 59D that creating the illusion of plain speaking when one is not speaking plainly is part of being formidable in argument: it is "counterfeit bluntness (*kibdelos . . . parrhesia*)." The edge between genuineness and falseness (which we often assume to be clear) is,

<sup>6</sup> The fundamental ancient text for the "forceful style" is Demetrius' *On Style*, particularly the fifth section; see F. Ahl, "The Art of Safe Criticism in Greece and Rome," *AJP* 105 (1984) 174–208, and the works cited there.

in Plutarch's opinion, so slight that one can distinguish between a friend and a flatterer in the following quotations from Homer. The friend will observe: "I'll do it if I can and if it's possible." The flatterer will say: "speak your mind" (*Moralia* 62E). Curiously, these phrases occur in adjacent lines, but in reverse order, in three Homeric locations. Calypso says them to Hermes (*Odyssey* 5. 89–90); Hephaestus says them to Thetis, who wants him to make armor for Achilles (*Iliad* 18. 426–27); Aphrodite says them to Hera, who wants to borrow Aphrodite's beauty to deceive Zeus (*Iliad* 14. 195–96).

It was not idly that Dionysius of Halicarnassus described Homer as *polyphnotatos*, the most "many-voiced," of the poets (*On Literary Composition* 16). We will look, then, at Homer and Latin epic with an ancient rhetorical model in mind.

### Rhetorically Opposed Narratives

In *Odyssey* 4, Telemachus and Peisistratus visit Menelaus' Sparta to gather information about Odysseus. We share Telemachus' curiosity, since we too have not yet "seen" Odysseus in the narrative. So it is tempting to summarize what Menelaus and Helen tell Telemachus about Odysseus, then pass on to book 5 and the hero himself. Yet if we do, we are assuming that Helen and Menelaus are introduced primarily to provide information to (and a safe haven for) Telemachus. Their narratives of Odysseus, however, are clearly shaped by their own experiences with one another, and tell us more about the narrators themselves than about him.

Homer (if I may so call him) directs our attention to Menelaus as he and his young visitors settle down to dinner (4. 49 ff.). Telemachus, of course, knows who Menelaus is. But when does Menelaus realize who Telemachus is? Homer does not give us the precise moment. He leaves us to detect it for ourselves. The princely status and age of his visitors allows several possibilities besides Telemachus. Orestes, for example.

Menelaus pays careful attention to his visitors. He overhears Telemachus' whispered admiration for the wealth around him in the palace. The tone is flattering, at worst envious, but most likely naive. Telemachus declares the atmosphere and affluence Zeus-like.

Menelaus observes his visitors equally carefully as he moves on to his own narrative. "No mortal," Menelaus responds to Telemachus, "would compete with Zeus . . . maybe there's a man who competes with me—but maybe not." (4. 78–80). He underscores his pride in his wealth, then appends a lament that his riches have come at a price: Agamemnon (Orestes' father) was murdered while he himself made his fortune in Egypt (90–93). Although Menelaus blames himself for not being present to help his brother, he does not now explain why he did not, on returning from



Egypt, avenge Agamemnon. But the mention of Agamemnon's name produces no reaction from his listeners. The subject is dropped.<sup>7</sup>

Menelaus goes on to allude, obliquely, to his personal pain: presumably the rape of Helen by Paris and the subsequent Trojan War—their fathers must have told them about it, he declares! (93–95). This time he might get a more mixed response, though Homer does not note it. Peisistratus' father Nestor is never averse to storytelling, but Telemachus has no father around to tell him about the war. Narrowing his target, Menelaus adds a wish that he could have his lost friends back, especially Odysseus, who must be so missed by Penelope and Telemachus (97–112). This series of names *does* provoke a reaction: Telemachus weeps, though he tries to hide his tears (113–16). But, as in *Odyssey* 8. 487–554, when the listener weeps and attempts to disguise his tears, he shows the watchful observer that the narrative has a special poignancy for him.

Nothing has been said directly, but Menelaus now knows who his young guest is (116–19). We may, of course, assume that it is the purest accident that Menelaus has mentioned only Odysseus, out of all the Greek heroes from Troy, and that he has gone on to name Odysseus' wife, Penelope, and his son, Telemachus. But Menelaus observes a few lines later that he was struck by the physical resemblance of Telemachus to Odysseus. We must therefore allow the possibility that Menelaus spoke as he did to test a hunch about his visitor's identity.

Appreciation of this scene is often spoiled by the scholarly assumption so ruinous to our understanding of rhetoric and poetry: that meaning lies only in what is explicit and emphatic. For us, "emphasis" occurs when a word or idea is underscored. For the ancients, "emphasis" occurs "when something latent is unearched from something said—*cum ex aliquo dicto latens aliquid eruitur*" (Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 9. 2. 64) and explicit statement is inartistic. For the classicist, then, recognition does not occur until it becomes acknowledgment. Thus if someone sees us on the street and does not answer our greeting it means he has not noticed us or has not recognized us. In the *Odyssey*, however, as in real life, it is routine for acknowledgment of what one has observed to be postponed, even withheld altogether. Communication is *normally* done indirectly, by innuendo, or while in disguise. Ill-timed self-revelation even in a moment of victory can be dangerous, as Odysseus points out in his narrative of the Cyclops (9. 500–42). Sometimes it would simply be tactless, as it would be if Alcinoos made it plain that he understood Nausicaa's hints about her own readiness for marriage in *Odyssey* 6. 66–67. In Book 4, Menelaus does not

<sup>7</sup> Further explanation of his failure to avenge is postponed until the following day when his visitor's identity as Telemachus is firmly established. Then Menelaus says that Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea, had urged him to hasten home to catch Agamemnon's murderer, Aegisthus—unless Orestes had beaten him to it (4. 543–47). Menelaus gives no sense of how long he was in Egypt, though he is clearly prompting the conclusion that he returned too late for vengeance: Orestes had already acted.

acknowledge that he knows Telemachus' identity even after Homer tells us he knows it (4. 116–19).

Knowing who Telemachus is does not explain why he is present in your house. Relatives of warriors in the Trojan War might bear ill will to the king whose wife could be considered its cause. Better to discover what is on Telemachus' mind before admitting you know who he is. So Menelaus bides his time. Withheld acknowledgment allows expressions of kindness about Odysseus and his son to appear uncalculated, and thus genuine and heartfelt. Penelope adopts a very similar strategy later in the *Odyssey* with Odysseus. She almost certainly figures out who he is long before she actually acknowledges him; the test of the bow she proposes (and he accepts) is not so much to see if he is Odysseus, but whether he is as capable as he was twenty years ago.<sup>8</sup>

Menelaus is prevented from exploiting his rhetorical advantage, however, because Helen enters (120–22). In contrast to the reticent Menelaus, she instantly declares the visitor must be Telemachus, since no one else could so closely resemble Odysseus. Menelaus concurs, giving details which show how carefully he has noted the youth's physical appearance; he now openly acknowledges he recognized Odysseus' son (138–54). It is likely that he does not want to be upstaged by the newly-arrived Helen. But his signs of recognition are precise. We do not have to assume he is feigning, so as not to be outshone by Helen. Later developments show he is her match, rhetorically.

Mutual recognition and acknowledgment set the company lamenting Odysseus and Peisistratos' brother Antilochus (155–215). Helen seizes the opportunity to drug everyone's wine with a potion that prevents grief even if one were to see one's own kin killed before the city gate (219–34)—a potion she obtained from an Egyptian woman, and which, if she had had it then, would have proved useful to her during her years of willing (or unwilling?) residence in Troy.<sup>9</sup> The drug administered, Helen narrates a story whose overt purpose and early statements show how great a man Odysseus is (235–50): he came into Troy before the city fell, disguised as a beggar; he even had himself flogged to make the effect authentic, and he fooled everyone in Troy—well, almost everyone.

But at 4. 250 the narrative changes direction: *pantes—ego de*: “everyone, but I . . .” Suddenly Odysseus is at Helen's mercy (250–64): she recognized him, despite his efforts to elude her; she bathed him; she

<sup>8</sup> See Hanna M. Roisman, “Penelope's Indignation,” *TAPA* 117 (1987) 59–68; C. Emlyn-Jones, “The Reunion of Penelope and Odysseus,” *G&R* 31 (1984) 1–18; J. A. Russo, “Interview and Aftermath: Dream, Fantasy, and Intuition in *Odyssey* 19 and 20,” *AJP* 103 (1982) 4–18 and the earlier discussions they cite.

<sup>9</sup> It seems, perhaps, more likely that she would have obtained it on the journey back with Menelaus, which, in Menelaus' account in *Odyssey* 4. 351–586, took them through Egypt. On Helen's drug see Ann Bergren, “Helen's 'Good Drug': *Odyssey* IV 1–305,” *Contemporary Literary Hermeneutics and the Interpretation of Classical Texts* (Ottawa 1981) 517–30.

swore not to (and did not) betray him, for she now longed to return home to Sparta, regretting the mad passion for Paris which had brought her to Troy in the first place, longing for her bedroom at home and her husband.

Helen's narrative, of course, foreshadows Odysseus' recognition by Eurycleia in *Odyssey* 19. 335-507 and might serve the useful purpose of alerting Telemachus to Odysseus' skill at disguising himself as a beggar.<sup>10</sup> But her narrative is self-serving, even if it is "true." Odysseus was disguised, but she, Helen, saw through it. We can credit her claimed powers of observation, for she recognized Telemachus immediately on seeing him. *But we also know she was unable to restrain herself from declaring her recognition instantly.* Could she have kept Odysseus' identity secret if she had really discovered him in Troy? And was she really ready to betray Troy and return to Greece with Menelaus?

At first, Helen's drug and her narrative seem to have worked: Menelaus declares Helen's story marvellous. But then he appends a tale of his own, introduced by a line almost identical to that used by Helen to introduce her narrative of Odysseus (4. 242 and 271) telling how Odysseus had saved the Greeks concealed in the wooden horse (4. 265-89). The story is not overtly self-promoting. On the contrary, he narrates as an observer. Helen, he says, accompanied by Deiphobus, walked three times round the horse, hailing the Greek warriors by name, and imitating the voices of their wives. One warrior, Anticlus, would have cried aloud in response, and the Greeks would have been detected, had Odysseus not clamped his hand over the man's mouth and silenced him until Athena led Helen away.

We may wonder what has happened to the power of Helen's potion, since Menelaus' story is a total refutation of hers, not just an addition to heroic lore about Odysseus.<sup>11</sup> The chronological setting is subsequent to Helen's: the eve of the fall of Troy. Menelaus' allusions to Deiphobus, Helen's *second* Trojan husband, and to her treacherous behavior undermine Helen's claims that she had come to regret leaving Menelaus for Paris and that her sympathies had reverted to her husband and home.

He has not forgotten the pain.

### Helen's Expulsion

Helen has blundered rhetorically by allowing her narrative to be undermined by her behavior, and by making her claims so blatantly that she invites refutation, and is refuted. Menelaus' counter-narrative is successful (if not necessarily "true") and puts a chill on the evening. Although Telemachus tactfully ignores the undertones of the rhetorical duel, he observes to

<sup>10</sup> Indeed, we should recall that Eurycleia herself is found later in Book 4, in dialogue with Penelope when the narrative returns to Ithaca (4. 741-58).

<sup>11</sup> Again, see Ann Bergren (above, note 9) and "Language and the Female in Early Greek Thought," *Arethusa* 16 (1983) 63-95, and especially 79-80.

Menelaus first that Odysseus' iron heart did not save him from destruction, and, second, that it is now time to sleep (190–95). Before Menelaus can respond, Helen orders the maids to make beds for Telemachus and Peisistratus on the porch, then retires to Menelaus' room, and from any further effort to assert herself as a narrator (296–305).

When conversation resumes the next day and Menelaus tells of his own return from Troy, Helen does not seem to be present. If she is, she is silent. Menelaus is free to narrate in *his* terms, to make *himself* the narrator-hero. Indeed, we might gain the impression that Helen was not with him on his return. When he describes himself withdrawn from his men, and walking the Egyptian beach deep in thought, he is alone (4. 367). He mentions Helen only as he reports what the Old Man of the Sea told him.

In Proteus' revelations (as reported by Menelaus), the most striking feature is how much more blessed Menelaus is than any other returning hero (491–592). Ajax is dead; so are his troops. Agamemnon's troops live, but Agamemnon dies. Odysseus survives; his troops are lost. Menelaus, in contrast, survives with forces intact. Odysseus, Menelaus' chief rival as "returned hero" is shown as alive, but miserable, stranded, and helpless, having neither crew nor ship, and essentially a captive of Calypso "who keeps possession of—*ischi*—him" (557–58). There is no allusion to Calypso's hope of giving him immortality, a matter the goddess later raises with Hermes in *Odyssey* 5. 135–36. Odysseus' prospects look bleak.

Proteus' version of Menelaus' future (as reported, of course, by Menelaus) is more promising. He will find bliss and eternal springtime in Elysium, not death in Argos, when his time comes. "You," Proteus says, "possess Helen—*echeis Helenen*—and are son-in-law to Zeus" (4. 361–69). The contrast with Odysseus is sharp: Telemachus' father is possessed by a goddess, whereas he, Menelaus, is possessor of the daughter of Zeus, and with her the certainty of immortality. There was, then, more than first met the eye when Menelaus, the previous evening, had rebuked Telemachus, albeit gently, for comparing his palace to Olympian Zeus: "No mortal would compete with Zeus . . . maybe there's a man who competes with me—but maybe not" (4. 78; 80).

The wily king has crushed Helen's attempt to tell her story to her own narrative advantage—by using her "superiority" to Odysseus as a means of advancing her own claims to fame and heroic recognition. Menelaus has taken over the narrative, as he takes control of Proteus despite Proteus' constant metamorphoses, and makes it tell the story his way: how much more blessed he is than any returning hero, including Odysseus. And Helen is his key to ultimate status: a family connection with Zeus, and immortality, part of the godlike affluence of his palace. That is all she is.

## Seizing the Narrative Initiative

The two competing tales about Odysseus in *Odyssey* 4 are weapons in a struggle for narrative rights between husband and wife, the outcome of which will determine Helen's image in subsequent tradition. Odysseus, however central to Telemachus' search, is as incidental to Menelaus as he is to Helen. He is the heroic corpse each struggles to expropriate in a battle of narratives that Menelaus seems to win. Similarly, Menelaus' narrative of Egypt and his encounter with Proteus make Odysseus incidental to his own greater blessedness.

Although Menelaus refutes Helen, he never outrightly calls her a liar. Nor does he claim, in his own voice, that he is superior in divine blessings to Odysseus. He adopts the kind of approach which a rhetorician of a later age, Demetrius, praises as a special part of formidable speaking, *deinotes* (*On Style* 288): "the effect is more powerful because it is achieved by letting the fact *speak for itself* rather than having the speaker make the point for himself." And Demetrius, like most ancient rhetoricians, finds the Homeric poems as illustrative of "formidable speaking" as Plato. Menelaus achieves an abusive, discrediting effect without actually using abuse, *loidoria*. He lets his narrative do the necessary work for him while he himself stands back and treats Helen with formal courtesy and speaks with huge admiration for Odysseus.<sup>12</sup> The force of what is communicated, as Demetrius notes of *deinotes* (*On Style* 241), lies not in what is said, but in what people pass over in silence.

Heroism in the *Odyssey* is to some degree determined by one's ability to seize and exploit the narrative initiative. Helen attempts and fails. Menelaus seems to succeed, momentarily, by crushing Helen yet using her, and by co-opting the inner narrative voice of Proteus to build his own boastful stature. But when we meet Helen and Menelaus again in *Odyssey* 15, Helen will have the final word: upstaging Menelaus in interpreting an omen for Telemachus (160-81). Nor has Menelaus persuaded Homer to invert his *Odyssey* and make it the tale of Menelaus. His riches, status, and a now house-broken wife are not to be the stuff of Homer's epic. Indeed, Menelaus is robbed of the status he seeks even as he thinks he is winning it. Homer is about to usher Odysseus into the center with his own authorial voice, and then to give Odysseus the second largest narrative voice after his own: four of the epic's twenty-four books.

During that narrative Odysseus will attempt, among other things, to advance his kind of heroism beyond Achilles' Iliadic glory. He will claim to have heard Achilles' lament that he would rather be a slave of the poorest

<sup>12</sup> And at a time made special not only by Telemachus' visit but by the double marriage of Menelaus' two children (only one of whom is by Helen). And Neoptolemus, killer of Priam, the father of both Helen's Trojan husbands, who is now husband of Helen's child, Hermione, is never introduced into the scene.

man on earth than king of the dead. The heroic choice of the *Iliad* dissolves in the face of death. How remarkable then Odysseus must be to reject the chance of immortality with Calypso since he knows what death is!

Lucian recognized and satirized this touch of narrative strategy which makes one's heroic rivals one's footnotes in his *True Story*: Odysseus' ghost approaches Lucian in the underworld with a letter for Calypso in which he regrets having rejected her offer of immortality and promises to slip away and meet her if he gets the chance (2. 35–36).

### Knowing One's Audience

In the *Odyssey*, as in other epics, an "inner" narrative is rarely introduced simply to provide "information," as we see from the different stories Odysseus tells various listeners about himself. In each case his narrative is a strategy which takes close account of who his immediate "inner" audience is, and what it is likely to know and to believe. When he narrates the details of his travels to the Phaeacians in *Odyssey* 9, after brief allusions to Calypso and Circe, he takes his audience first to the more or less credible Cicones (9. 39–81), then to the dreamy, but not wholly preposterous poppydom of the Lotus-Eaters (82–104). After the Lotus-Eaters he comes to the giant Polyphemus—the first encounter that appears unbelievable.

Why does Odysseus expect the Phaeacians to believe him?<sup>13</sup> First, the Phaeacians are themselves a non-geographical, "fairyland" people, despite later poets' determination to set them in Corfu or Drepane.<sup>14</sup> Second, and more important, Homer explains in *Odyssey* 6. 4–10 that Nausithous, son of Poseidon, whom Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians, says is his father (8. 564–65), brought his people to Scheria, their present home, from their original abode far across the sea "through fear of the Cyclopes, who were their superiors in strength." The mythical Phaeacians' own national tradition, then, requires that they accept not only that Cyclopes exist, but that they are formidable foes. Odysseus' narration is persuasive in the sense Aristotle mentions in *Rhetoric* 1365b: it is persuasive because it persuades someone (*to pithanon tini pithanon*)—the person it is designed to persuade. And it is clear from *Odyssey* 7. 61–63, 146, and 205–06 that Odysseus knows of Alcinous' relationship to the Cyclopes and Poseidon. Polyphemus, in fact, would be Nausithous' half-brother!

Odysseus exploits the Cyclops myth to the full, making it the major portion of his narrative in *Odyssey* 9. He even mentions that there was, close to the Cyclopes' territory, but separated by the sea, an ideal, fruitful

<sup>13</sup> On the Phaeacians and the Cyclopes see E. Dolin's excellent, "Odysseus in Phaeacia," *Grazer Beiträge* 1 (1973) 278–80, R. Mondi, "The Homeric Cyclopes: Folktales, Tradition, and Theme," *TAPA* 113 (1983) 17–38, and Hanna M. Roisman's forthcoming "Telemachus' *Kerdea*."

<sup>14</sup> See Apollonius *Argonautica* 4. 537–51; 986–92 with the notes *ad locc.* of E. Livrea, *Apolloni Rhodi Argonautica Liber IV* (Florence 1973) and G. Paduano and M. Fusillo, *Apollonio Rodio: Le Argonautiche* (Milan 1986).

land with wonderful harborage, perfect for a sea-faring people to settle with impunity: for the Cyclopes do not know how to make ships (9. 116–41). Not only, then, does Odysseus tell a tale the Phaeacians must accept, at least in general, but also suggests that their fathers' fears led to an unnecessarily distant emigration, since an alternative and perfect settlement was available close by. He himself, in contrast, was able to confront and overcome a peril from which his Phaeacian hosts had fled in panic. Odysseus' narrative of triumph over Polyphemus, then, elevates him above the Phaeacians, much as Helen's narrative suggests her own superiority to Odysseus in *Odyssey* 4. But Odysseus has no Menelaus to cut him down to size.

The Cyclops narrative is critical to Odysseus. Having sailed into Phaeacian myth, thus establishing his credentials in terms acceptable to his "inner" audience, he proceeds farther into the realms of the fantastic, past Scylla and Charybdis, through the regions of Circean metamorphosis to the very borders between life and death. He employs an occasional element of self-deprecating humor to soften his extravagant claims. The blinded Polyphemus is disappointed that he has been conquered by such a little man (9. 509–16), and Elpenor, "Man's Hope," arrives before Odysseus in the land of the dead by falling from a roof-top while asleep (10. 550–60). No less important, Odysseus' narrative, replete with monstrous forces, divine persecution, and examples of his own misjudgments and those of his crew, enable him to account for what might be the gravest indictment of his heroic leadership: the fact that he is the sole survivor of his contingent at Troy.

Odysseus wins Phaeacian acceptance without saying *anything* about his role in the fall of Troy which would identify him as the scheming warrior of the *Iliad*. His stories, aside from some details of his necromancy in *Odyssey* 11, are not even about Troy. Odysseus may well have deduced that the Phaeacians know little and care less about Troy. For he prompted Demodocus to sing of Odysseus and the wooden horse (8. 471–98). He even wept at the narrative, as Telemachus does in Sparta, and his tears too are observed by his host (8. 521–49). But, whereas Telemachus' tears confirm Menelaus' opinion that he is Odysseus' son, Odysseus' tears show Alcinoos only that the story means something special to him; he does not seem to conclude that his guest is Odysseus.

When Odysseus returns to Ithaca, the Phaeacians and most other mythic peoples he encounters are replaced in the geography of his travel narrative by Phoenicians and Egyptians, by peoples within the range of experience and credibility of a Greek shepherd (13. 256–86), a swineherd (14. 199–359), the suitors (17. 415–44), and his wife (19. 165–203). He shapes his narrative to suit each particular "audience" and situation. To all except the suitors he represents himself as a Cretan (from a land proverbial for its liars in later Greek tradition) elevating his social status in each successive narrative, and always associating himself with the Cretan king Idomeneus. The link with

Idomeneus is noteworthy, since Nestor tells Telemachus that Idomeneus lost not a single man from his forces on the way home (*Odyssey* 3. 191–92). Odysseus lost all of his.

A narrative within an epic, then, is not “simply” a vehicle for conveying information, even in the *Odyssey*. That is why it is better to avoid too literal-minded a distinction between the “truth” Odysseus tells the Phaeacians and his Cretan “lies.” Odysseus’ truth—which Homer vouches for in *Odyssey* 16. 226—is, as Alcinoüs recognizes earlier (11. 368–69), poetic rather than literal, it is a narrative, *mythos*, that is stated with understanding by a bard. That, after all, is Odysseus’ special claim to fame: he is the master of narrative, able to invent himself anew to each audience he confronts. Odysseus, as narrative mythmaker in company with the mythic Phaeacians, is entitled to present himself as he does in an order where “truth” is not factual discourse and factual discourse is not truth. Truth, in our narrowly literal and unpoetic sense, has little meaning in epic narrative. And to call fiction a lie is to undermine the basis not only of Odyssean myth but of Christian parable. Epic narrative is a complex rhetorical strategy, and was recognized as such by rhetoricians in antiquity. It requires our careful attention to the identity of the inner narrator and to the circumstances in which he is speaking. We must consider first not what we think the poet may wish to suggest to us but what the inner narrator seeks to suggest to his “inner” audience. Once we have taken that step, we are in a better position to evaluate the much trickier question of what myths the poets might expect their external audiences to believe.

Many epic characters, not only Odysseus, have good reason for *altering* a story, adapting it to his or her particular purposes at a given time. We should, in reading epic, make allowance for the playing of one stated version of a myth *against* another version that is unstated, but known to his audience, to create a kind of dialogue between the two. The narrator, or perhaps one should say internal mythmaker, often seeks to substitute his version of the myth for the one previously current. Yet we should not expect to see overt confrontation and denial. Just as Menelaüs avoids calling Helen a liar while he demolishes her mythmaking, so other internal epic mythmakers often avoid direct acknowledgment of the myths they are seeking to replace.

Two passages, one from the *Metamorphoses* and one from the *Aeneid* illustrate this Homeric technique and the refinements added by Latin epicists—who take no less delight than Homer in showing the struggle for narrative control, and in demonstrating that the nature of one’s “inner” audience affects how one tells the tale. It is probably wiser to begin with a narrative episode that does not carry obvious further resonances for the external audience, before discussing the same technique in Roman national epic. We begin, then, with Ovid’s tale of Procris and Cephalus.



## Procris and Cephalus

The myth of Cephalus and Procris tells, in broad, general outline, how Cephalus and Procris were married, how he was carried off by Aurora, who fell in love with him, how Procris either was unfaithful to him while he was away or left him suspecting that she was unfaithful, and how, finally, he accidentally killed her with a hunting spear.<sup>15</sup> In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Cephalus himself is the narrator. He is described as a man rather past his prime, who has come to Aegina when (and because) king Minos of Crete is threatening war against his native Athens (7. 456). He arrives, in fact, hot on Minos' nautical heels. For Minos has himself just visited Aegina to seek her alliance; as his ship sails out of the harbor, Cephalus' sails in (7. 469-93). Just before Cephalus begins his narrative about Procris, he has apparently concluded his embassy successfully. Minos has failed to enlist king Aeacus' help, and Cephalus has secured Aegina's aid against Minos. Cephalus is an orator, a rhetorician. He has advocated his cause with such eloquence, *facundia* (7. 505), that he is given a free hand to take as many troops as he likes (7. 501-11).

It is time for him to depart. The Sun is rising (7. 663); it is *dawn: Aurora*. Unfortunately the east wind is blowing (7. 664)—the breezes are against him. And his host, Aeacus, is asleep (667). During this delay at dawn, Phocus, son of Aeacus, notices and asks about Cephalus' unusual spear: what wood is it made of, and where does it come from (7. 671-80)? Phocus realizes it must be a first-rate throwing weapon, but claims not to recognize the wood of which it is made.

Cephalus does not reply immediately, but one of his fellow delegates adds that the spear is magic: after striking unerringly, it flies back into its owner's hands (7. 681-84). Phocus becomes even more eager to know about the spear and forces Cephalus to reply. Ovid tells us he is ashamed to say what the spear cost him, but does not explain what causes the shame (7. 687-88). Cephalus maintains silence until "tears rise to his eyes as he remembers his lost (*amissae*) wife," at which point he breaks his silence and announces: "The weapon ruined (*perdidit*) my wife and myself" (688-93). There is a contrast between Ovid's euphemistic description of Procris as "lost," and Cephalus' verb *perdidit*, with its tones of physical and *moral* destruction as well as loss.

Cephalus' problem is that his fellow Athenians know something about the magic spear and its properties: it is already legendary. They may also know something of how Cephalus obtained it. Perhaps Phocus does too.

<sup>15</sup> For other versions of Procris and Cephalus, see Servius on *Aeneid* 6. 445; Eustathius and scholia on *Odyssey* 11. 321 and F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso Metamorphosen*, vol. 3: Buch VI-VII (Heidelberg 1976) 115-19, and the sources cited there. An earlier version of my discussion here appeared in *Metaformations: Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets* (Ithaca and London 1985) 205-13.

Cephalus cannot be sure. Before Ovid gets hold of the myth, its general outline seems to have resembled, more or less, the version Apollodorus gives (*Library* 3. 15. 1): Procris agreed to go to bed with a certain Pteleon in return for a golden crown, and, on being caught by Cephalus, fled to Minos; Minos seduced her by giving her two presents: a fast dog and a swift javelin; when Procris was reconciled to Cephalus, she gave him the dog and javelin.

In Cephalus' narrative we find the dog and the javelin, and even allusions to the possibility of Procris' adultery. But he does not mention Procris' adultery, real or suspected, with the king of Crete. Minos is, however, not far away. He is very much part of the circumstances that lead to Cephalus' narrative of his love for Procris. Cephalus, we recall, is an eloquent speaker on a diplomatic mission and Minos is his apparently defeated rival for Aegina's support in a forthcoming war. But the forces have not yet sailed, and Aeacus, who could countermand their despatch, is asleep. Would Aeacus maintain his commitment to Athens if Cephalus admitted he had acquired his spear from Procris and that she had earned it—and the dog—as her reward for a sexual liaison with the enemy, Minos? The less said about how the spear was acquired, the better.

Yet Cephalus cannot tell an outright lie. First, a fellow delegate seems to know a good deal about the spear, and implies as much to Phocus (7. 681–84). Second, the aging Cephalus himself is well known to the Aeginetans, though they have not seen him for some time (7. 494–95). There is a chance his questioner will know his troubles with Procris. In responding, then, Cephalus allows for the possibility that his listeners may have heard, if not about Procris, then about Procris' sister Orithyia. He would surely, like Homer's Menelaus, be watching his listeners carefully for signs of recognition. To judge by the narrative strategies he adopts, he surmises that Phocus, or his own Athenian companion, *has* heard something before. So his task is to set forth not only a version different from the one in which Procris has an affair with Minos, but also to subvert all suggestion of Minoan infidelity without actually mentioning it.

He begins by telling how, after two months of marriage to Procris, he was abducted against his will, he says, by Aurora—Dawn—(7. 703). His first rhetorical action, then, is to make his story a parallel to that of Procris' sister, abducted by the North Wind. He is a victim. Aurora, he adds, allowed him to return when he could do nothing but talk of his lost wife. He is, then, faithful in spirit to his wife, if not in action. On returning, he came to suspect that his wife had been unfaithful during his absence. So he disguised himself with Aurora's help, though he does not tell Phocus as what or as whom (721). The scenario, then, takes on some Odyssean characteristics. Penelope was not deceived into indiscretion by Odysseus' disguise. Will Procris be deceived?

The disguised Cephalus tries to seduce Procris into what she thinks will be an affair. Despite her initial resistance, he finds her price, then throws

off his disguise and accuses her of infidelity (7. 740–41). Procris, Cephalus says, flees on being trapped by this deception. But he quickly regrets his behavior, he says, and follows her into the hills, where they are, eventually, reconciled. Cephalus does not say whether he told Procris the reason for his *own* disappearance. He mentions asking her pardon and admitting he was wrong (748), but seems to be excusing his overtly insulting and accusatory behavior rather than infidelity.

Cephalus has now accounted for the tradition that Procris had her price and was thought to be unfaithful. Yet he gives the impression he is the most seriously adulterous party and Procris the injured innocent while at the same time, by mentioning that Procris could be bought, he allows his listener to shake his head at the narrator's apparent naiveté. He presumably leaves his account open to question because it departs from other versions which leave no doubt as to Procris' guilt. He admits that Procris came to terms for sleeping with a "stranger." But that stranger, as he tells it, was really Cephalus himself who had returned, like Odysseus, *in disguise*. Since Odysseus' favorite verbal disguise in the *Odyssey* is as a Cretan (sometimes of royal blood), Cephalus has neatly allowed his "knowing" listener to rationalize away the incriminating details of the other version: that the Athenian ambassador's wife had prostituted herself to Athens' arch-enemy, Minos. Better that Phocus think him a gullible, even slyly unfaithful, husband whose own guilt makes him accuse his wife of infidelity than someone who knowingly holds in his hand a magic spear, the profits of his wife's infidelity with his political opponent.

Having thus disposed of his wife's infidelity, and established that there was a reconciliation, Cephalus says that Procris gave him a spear and a hunting dog as a present. The dog, he adds, is named Laelaps, "storm wind" or "tornado," and is, Cephalus says, "faster than a Gortynian (i. e. Cretan) arrow" (7. 778). The only trace of Crete in his narrative is his comparison of Laelaps to a Cretan arrow. This may be a slip—an Ovidian slip, in which the truth is unintentionally revealed. But it may just as well be a means of suggesting a harmless explanation for the Cretan element in the tradition. Cephalus now centers his account not on the spear but on his other gift from Procris, the dog Laelaps, and on how he *lost* the dog, not on how he (or Procris) acquired it. He describes how Laelaps is turned into stone in mid-chase—a spectacular conclusion, it appears, to his narrative (7. 787–93), for at this point he breaks off.

We observe, however, that he has not answered his questioner, whose concern was not the dog but the spear. As he ends the first segment of his narrative (7. 792–93), Cephalus has still not told Phocus about the spear. Nor does Phocus let this omission from view: "What's your complaint against the javelin itself?" he asks (7. 794). Having failed to put his questioner's curiosity to rest at the first attempt, Cephalus deflects attention from the acquisition of the spear and from the wood from which it was made

and concentrates on the spear's ultimate *use*: how it caused him to lose his wife.

He continues his story, noting that he still goes hunting early every morning (7. 803–04). The heat of the auroral hunt leaves Cephalus yearning for cool winds and appealing for *Aura*, “Breeze, Air,” to come to him, to enter his embrace, to blow away his fiery burning. Cephalus repeats the word *Aura* four times in as many lines to show the insistence of his passion for that cooling breeze (810–13). He loves, he says, to feel her breath upon his face (820). His passionate discourse about the refreshing breath of *Aura* lies, Cephalus admits, open to misconstruction (821–23):

I don't know who was putting in a listening ear to these ambiguous sounds,  
but hearing air so often called upon, he got it wrong and thought it was  
some nymph's name.

The confusion arises because the “ear,” *aurem*, similar in shape and sound to *aurae*, “Breeze, Air,” misunderstands the words spoken by the mouth, *ore*. The result is, Cephalus points out in 857, an “error” in the interpretation of what is being said that results from mishearing. When word eventually reaches Procris, she thinks Cephalus has taken a mistress, *Aura*. She fears “a name without a body,” *sine corpore nomen* (830) a phrase that inverts Vergil's famous “a body without a name,” *sine nomine corpus* (*Aeneid* 2. 558).

Procris, Cephalus continues, decides to see if her fears are true and spies on him. Again he tells his questioner of his usual routine: he sets out after dawn (*Aurora*), hunts, and calls upon *Aura* for refreshment (7. 835–37). The eavesdropping Procris betrays her presence by a slight rustling and he, the hunter, does not let an opportunity for a kill elude him. He mortally wounds Procris with the spear that she had given him. Procris, he adds, groans and emerges. Horrified, he tries to staunch her blood and begs her not to die and leave him stained with her blood (7. 849–50). Procris, in turn, begs him not to let *Aura* take over as mistress of the house, then dies in his arms (861).

There is a kind of airy, aural, oral quality about Procris as Cephalus presents her. She was sister of Orithyia, who was herself abducted by a breeze, an *Aura*, of sorts: the North Wind, Boreas. Further, Procris' husband Cephalus, is himself the grandson of Aeolus, god of the winds (*Metamorphoses* 6. 681–710). Small wonder, then, that their lives seem affected by the breezes and that the boundaries between physical love and love of the breezes or love of hunting are indistinct. This certainly seems to be the impression that Cephalus wants to convey to his listener: his obsessive early morning hunting is, in a way, his love of Dawn, *Aurora*. The difference between his affair with *Aurora* and his later erotic, though avowedly asexual, luxuriance in the *Aura*, the breeze that blows in at Dawn while he is hunting, is another form of the same kind of infidelity.

Cephalus' verbal power lies in his ability to disturb his listener's confidence in the spoken narrative by showing how easily sounds may be confused in oral/aural communication and lead to false suspicions of amatory intrigue: in short, he provides an explanation that minimizes the reliability of anything one hears (including tales of Procris' amour with Minos). Cephalus' narrative is so moving it reduces his audience to tears. He has saved the day for himself and his diplomatic mission (7. 863–65).

Whatever the "truth" about Cephalus and Procris, the visit to Aegina is a diplomatic triumph for Cephalus over Minos: revenge, perhaps, for his humiliation in the courts of Venus. As Book 8 begins, he sails off with everything he wants. The opposing breezes fall away at dawn (needless to say) and south winds hurry him and his new allies on their way (8. 1–4). Minos, frustrated, goes on to ravage Megara, thanks to the treachery of Scylla, another royal woman who lusts for his attentions (8. 7 ff.).

Cephalus' story, then, is shaped by its narrator to the needs of this particular situation. Had Ovid narrated it "in person," or had Minos, it might have assumed other dimensions altogether. Under different circumstances, Cephalus might himself have adopted other narrative strategies, as does Homer's Odysseus. And surely the same is true of mythic narratives in which Ovid departs from the "traditional" version.

#### Dido and Anna

Roman epicists, like Greek tragedians, practise not only dramatic irony but its reverse, where characters know things we do not know—and never learn. In *Aeneid* 4. 420–23, Dido addresses her sister Anna as "the only one that perfidious (*perfidus*) man shows any respect for—he entrusts to you even his hidden feelings" (*arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus*). But what Aeneas' "hidden feelings" are, and why he entrusts them to Anna, we never discover in the *Aeneid*. We are forced out of the text, into other traditions of Aeneas, Dido, and Anna.

The Servian commentary on *Aeneid* 4. 682 reports: "Varro says it was not Dido but Anna who, driven by love of Aeneas, killed herself on the pyre." Dido's observation in the *Aeneid*, then, would have had some resonance for Vergil's contemporary readers because it refracts a tradition accepted by Varro, the Roman scholar-poet who "surveyed previous views and transmitted a great accumulation of Aeneas-lore."<sup>16</sup>

Vergil builds upon the Varronian version to enrich his own narrative with allusions to an undefined, close relationship between Anna and Aeneas.<sup>17</sup> At the end of *Aeneid* 4, Vergil brings Anna, as did Varro, to the

<sup>16</sup> N. Horsfall in J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, University of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin supplement 52 (London 1987) 24.

<sup>17</sup> For other aspects of Anna's relationship with Dido and Aeneas see *Metaformations* (above, note 15) 309–15 and the sources cited.

pyre, has her mount it as it burns, and abandons the narrative without retrieving her from the flames (*Aeneid* 4. 672–92). He even has her cry, with words made ironical by Varro's alternate version: "Is this what the pyre, the flames, the altars were preparing for me?"—*hoc rogi iste mihi* . . . (676). The last words from the pyre are not Dido's but Anna's—her hope to catch with her own mouth any last breath from her dying sister (683–85). Dido and Anna merge, as do the different myths of Varro and Vergil.

It is Dido, not "Vergil," who draws attention to the tradition of Anna's close relationship with Aeneas. Vergil, like Homer in *Odyssey* 4, offers conflicting narratives without authorial comment—though he superimposes rather than juxtaposes. As in Ovid's narrative of Cephalus, internal voices, rather than the poet's authorial voice, recall mythic variants. Such practice suggests Demetrius' formidable, forceful style, *deinotes*, which not only speaks through another *persona* (*prosopon*) (*On Style* 243), but asks questions of one's listeners "without revealing one's own position on the issue, driving them to perplexity by what amounts to cross examination" (*On Style* 279).

Vergil rarely eradicates conflicting elements in the Aeneas tradition. Rather, he places them "formidably," and thus without explicit comment, in some "internal" narrative. That is why it is so important, when examining the *Aeneid*, to distinguish between what the internal narrators say and the author's own comments.

#### Punica Fides

Vergil's Aeneas cannot be fairly discussed in isolation from Odysseus. Vergil establishes the parallel clearly and explicitly. He describes, for example, the despatch of Mercury by Jupiter to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4 in what is often a *verbatim* translation of *Odyssey* 5, where Zeus sends Hermes to make Calypso release Odysseus. But comparison, like simile, highlights difference not just resemblance. Odysseus is detained against his will by the immortal Calypso when Hermes arrives. *She* must be approached, because *he* is not free. By sending Mercury to Aeneas, not Dido, Vergil points out that he is not being coerced to stay in Carthage by its mortal queen.

Carthage, unlike Calypso's island or the land of the Phaeacians, has a geographical and historical existence. Odysseus' seven years with Calypso leave no consequences beyond the limits of her magical world. There is no child. Nor do Dido and Aeneas have a child—though he is the son of Venus and brother of Amor. Yet their childless parting, his abandonment of *amor*

for *Roma*, becomes the mythic cause of the implacable hostility of Rome and Carthage as in Silius' *Punica*, and, probably, Naevius' too.<sup>18</sup>

When Aeneas is in Carthage, then, he is both symbol and "hero." His relations with Dido, even his narrative of his travels, carry historical and political resonances beyond what is recoverable from Homeric epic. Vergil's polyphony is obviously more—and more obviously—intricate than Homer's. When, for example, Dido calls Aeneas "perfidious" on discovering he intends to leave her (*Aeneid* 4. 305), she uses an adjective fundamental to Roman propaganda against the Carthaginians—*perfide*. *Punica fides* was proverbial among Romans for "bad faith."<sup>19</sup> So Punic Dido is turning Roman proverbs topsy turvy by accusing Roman Aeneas of acting in bad faith in calling her his wife and taking the first steps towards a married relationship—*inceptos hymenaeos* (4. 316).

Aeneas replies, like a defendant in a court, that he never entered a formal marriage treaty (*foedus*) with her, and thus, by implication, is not guilty of perfidy (*Aeneid* 4. 339). To Mercury, an outside divine observer, however, Aeneas, dressed in Punic robes, seems *uxorius*, "doting on his wife" (4. 266). John Conington commented: "Dido was not Aeneas' wife; but he was acting as if she were."<sup>20</sup> Vergil's Dido is understandably not persuaded by Aeneas' denial of perfidy on the grounds that no *foedus* was made, when her charge was broken *fides*. She describes him, with beautiful irony, as *perfidus* again at 4. 421 when asking her sister Anna, Aeneas' intimate *confidante*, to plead with him on her behalf.

Vergil leaves the verdict to us. It was not self-evident even to Roman readers who admired Vergil that his intent was to exculpate Aeneas. Silius Italicus, epicist, author of the *Punica*—Rome's wars with Dido's descendant, Hannibal—and commentator on Vergil, calls Aeneas Dido's "runaway husband"—*profugi . . . mariti* (*Punica* 8. 53), a bourgeois modification of Vergil's *fato profugus*, a man made "runaway by destiny" (*Aeneid* 1. 2).

<sup>18</sup> On Naevius, see M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry*, Hermes Einzelschrift 24 (Wiesbaden 1972) 34–39; for Silius see F. Ahl, M. Davis, and A. Pomeroy, "Silius Italicus," *ANRW* 32. 4 (1986) 2492–2561, especially 2493–2501.

<sup>19</sup> Vergil uses *perfidus* only six times in the *Aeneid*—three times by Dido of Aeneas (4. 305, 366, and 421). Livy 21. 4. 9 describes Hannibal as having *perfidia plus quam Punica*; Punic perfidy is in the opening of Silius' *Punica* (1. 5–6): *perfida pacti / gens Cadmea*; and Regulus' Marcia, with bitter irony, accuses her husband of perfidy when he abandons his marriage vows (*foedera*) and fidelity (*fides*) by keeping his word of honor (*fides*) to the Carthaginians and returning to Carthage. Aeneas and the Trojans are several times referred to as perfidious by use of the patronymic Laomedontian, in reference to Priam's father who broke his oath to Hercules: *Aeneid* 3. 248; 7. 105; 8. 18, 158, 162 and, most pertinently here, 4. 105, where Dido talks of *Laomedontaeae . . . periuria gentis* in reference to Aeneas' treachery (cf. *Georgics* 1. 502).

<sup>20</sup> *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, fourth edition, revised by H. Nettleship (London 1884) II 278.

## Aeneas' Audience

Vergil's Aeneas, like Cephalus, is an orator, and needs to make the rhetorical best of awkward situations. When asked to talk about his sufferings he faces a dilemma potentially more embarrassing than Cephalus' in Aegina, and very different from Odysseus' in Phaeacia, despite the overt Homeric parallels. His audience is of "real" people, familiar with the western Mediterranean, and less likely to be taken in by a monster tale than the Homeric Phaeacians. Aeneas, though he sets his narrative in the wake of Odysseus, often depicts himself as arriving on (or near) the mythic scene too late, as Apollonius' Jason arrives at the garden of the Hesperides after Heracles has stolen its golden apples and thus much of its mythic significance (*Argonautica* 4. 1432–35). Aeneas steers himself as elegantly across the four hundred year gap between the myth of Troy's fall and the legendary date for the foundation of Carthage as Odysseus steers in the opposite direction: away from the world of men and heroes into the world of goddesses and monsters.

The Phoenician Carthaginians, unlike Homer's Phaeacians, are interested in the Trojan Wars and know more about who their narrator is than he knows about them.<sup>21</sup> Aeneas' mother, Venus, briefed him on Dido and Carthage in *Aeneid* 1. 335–68, and he himself had observed the Carthaginians building walls, temples and theatres, and establishing a senate and constitutional government (1. 418–40). He knows he is addressing an audience of cultured, hard-working, political refugees, led by a widow, but not much more.

Aeneas, unlike Odysseus, never has to establish who he is. He is known, in name and reputation, to his listeners. Cephalus' audience may know more than is comfortable; Aeneas' *definitely* does: Aeneas is from a people defeated in war whose city was sacked; he must account not, as Odysseus does, for *why* he lost his troops, but for *how* he managed to survive with so many followers. The literary and artistic record before Vergil raises some question as to whether Aeneas is not, in some way, the cause of Troy's fall.

Aeneas often appears in ancient art assisting Paris' abduction of Helen from Sparta—a tradition drawn from the *Cypria*, a work of the so-called "Epic Cycle," dating to before 550 B.C.<sup>22</sup> The chief ancient authority for Aeneas' negotiations with the Greeks is a contemporary of Vergil's, who lived and taught at Rome: Dionysius of Halicarnassus who, in *Roman*

<sup>21</sup> W. Clausen's racial distinction between the Phaeacians as Greeks and the Carthaginians as "aliens" who "have no share in the heroic world of the Greeks" is inaccurate on this score alone—quite apart from other considerations (*Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* [Berkeley and Los Angeles 1987] 30). There are, besides, numerous allusions to Phoenicians in the *Odyssey*.

<sup>22</sup> L. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène* (Paris 1955); J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963) 458 no. 1, and Galinsky (see next note) 40–41.



*Antiquities* 1. 46–48, summarizes earlier writers, particularly the fifth-century Hellenicus of Mytilene: Aeneas abandoned Troy after Neoptolemos captured the acropolis, taking with him “his father, his ancestral gods, his wife, and his children, and the most valuable people and possessions” (46. 4); he then negotiated to leave the Troad after surrendering all the fortresses (47. 4–5). Sophocles in his *Laocoon* had Aeneas move to Mt. Ida before Troy’s capture (48. 2). Menecrates said Aeneas, after Achilles’ funeral, quarrelled with Paris, overthrew Priam, and became “one of the Achaeans,” betraying the city to them (48. 3–4). It was “a literary tradition which . . . had its roots in the pre-Vergilian literary tradition.”<sup>23</sup> “Virgil’s account of Aeneas’ motivation does in passing answer very carefully the charges made by the hero’s detractors, which it is clear enough that Virgil must have known.” So Horsfall observes in reference to *Aeneid* 2.<sup>24</sup> And he is correct in all but one vital point: the narrative is in *Aeneas*’ voice, not in Vergil’s authorial voice.

Because scholars, using modern narrative models, assume Vergil wants to justify Aeneas, they often fail to distinguish between the poet and Aeneas as narrators. Horsfall comments on *Aeneid* 1. 599: “When Virgil describes the Trojans as *omnium egenos*, he intends primarily a contrast with the wealthy Dido, but we may also suspect a deliberate rejection of those stories in which Aeneas was permitted to carry off property and treasure from Troy, incurring thereby the suspicion of treason.”<sup>25</sup> The speaker who describes the Trojans as destitute of everything is, however, Aeneas. The authorial Vergil, in contrast, says the Trojans were carrying Trojan treasure (*gaza*) with them, some of which goes down with Orontes’ ship: *Troia gaza per undas* (1. 113–19). Yet Aeneas still has enough state treasure on hand to present Dido, ominously, with Helen’s wedding regalia for her “unpermitted marriage” with Paris, and the scepter, necklace, and double crown of Ilione, Priam’s eldest daughter (1. 647–56). That leaves him Priam’s scepter, crown, and robes in reserve to give Latinus in 7. 246–48. How and when he obtained these treasures from Priam we are not told. Vergil is as tight-lipped on this subject as he is about Aeneas’ confessional relationship with Anna.

In *Aeneid* 2, Aeneas, like Ovid’s Cephalus, is an internal narrator with good reason to subvert tales of Troy’s fall which an unfriendly critic might adduce. Like Cephalus, he responds to implicit suggestions of impropriety without ever actually acknowledging them. Vergil, like Ovid, does not mount the defense “himself.” He makes it our decision whether or not to believe Aeneas’ *apologia*, and often leaves, as he does elsewhere, unsettling traces of the conflicting versions.

<sup>23</sup> G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 40, and the sources cited. See also V. Ussani’s important article, “Enea traditore,” *SIFC*, n. s. 22 (1947) 108–23.

<sup>24</sup> “The Aeneas Legend and the *Aeneid*,” *Vergilius* 32 (1986) 8–17 (16–17).

<sup>25</sup> “The Aeneas Legend,” 14–15.

## The Greek Aeneas

Aeneas does not have to prompt a Demodocus to find out what the Carthaginians know about Troy. The story is carved in detail on the temple of Juno in the center of Carthage (1. 441–93), and includes persons and incidents not only from Homer, but from other traditions, notably Penthesilea and the death of Troilus. The artistry has at least some verisimilitude, since Aeneas recognizes himself among the images (488): *se quoque principibus permixtum agnovit Achivis*—“he recognized himself mixing it up with (or mixed in with) the Greek leaders.” Pictures are rarely self-explanatory. What is Vergil suggesting Aeneas has seen himself doing? The Homeric parallel is obviously *promachoi si migenta*—“mixing it up with the champions” (*Iliad* 4. 354; *Odyssey* 18. 379). But the Latin is more ambiguous. In *Aeneid* 10. 237–38, when the Arcadian cavalry is “mixed up” with the Etruscans (*forti permixtus Etrusco / Arcas eques*) they seem to be fighting on the same side, but in *Punica* 15. 452, when Laelius is *permixtum Poenis*, he is fighting against them. *Permixtus* allows either interpretation in a military context. In *Punica* I. 428–29, when Hannibal is mixed up with both sides—*permixtus utrisque*—in the confusion of the fighting, he is in danger from both. In Lucan *Pharsalia* 4. 196–97, the mixing of soldiers with one another indicates that they have come to a truce: *pax erat, et castris miles permixtus utrisque / errabat*. In fact, they celebrate with libations of mixed wine: *permixto libamina Baccho* (4. 198).

What Aeneas has seen, I suggest, is a negative or ambiguous representation of himself which he would wish to resolve in his favor. Fortunately for him the Phoenician bard, Iopas, sings a Hesiodic or Lucretian song, not heroic epic as does Demodocus. It is easier to cope with a tradition fixed in stone than one that is shaped—and can be reshaped—in words. But there is some sort of verbal tradition at Carthage too, as we can see from Dido's questions at the end of Book 1: what were Diomedes' horses like? How great was Achilles?—*nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles?* (1. 752).<sup>26</sup> These would not be easy questions for Aeneas to answer, and Vergil does not give us his responses. Liger uses similar words to taunt Aeneas in mid-battle later in the epic: “*Non Diomedis equos, nec currum cernis Achillis*—You're not looking at Diomedes' horses or the chariot of Achilles” (10. 581).

Between *Iliad* 5. 311 and 454 Aeneas is twice rescued from certain death at Diomedes' hands, first by Aphrodite, then by Apollo, and at the cost of his horses, which Diomedes uses to win the chariot race in the funeral

<sup>26</sup> Scholars are readier to grant that ancient readers are expected to grasp the presence of rhetorical figures than to understand their force. Clausen (above, note 21) 31 says Vergil would expect his audience to notice the exquisite rhetorical figure, the inverted tricolon, in this line and the one preceding it.

games in *Iliad* 23. 377–513.<sup>27</sup> Diomedes' horses, then, were once Aeneas'. Mention of Achilles could hardly stir happier memories. In *Iliad* 20. 283–92, Achilles would have killed Aeneas had Poseidon not intervened and declared that Aeneas must live and establish his dynasty among the Trojans (20. 293–308).

Aeneas' problem in Book 2, however, is not his inferiority as a warrior to the now dead Achilles; and it is not yet his inferiority to Diomedes, which becomes menacing only when the Rutulians invite Diomedes to join the war on their side in 8. 9–17. His problem is to account for his actions when Troy fell: for the charge of *perfidia*, treachery. As he responds to Dido and tells his story he must, above all, explain away anything in the tradition and in the temple reliefs that might be interpreted as indicating treachery on his part.

His strategy is rhetorically magnificent. Throughout *Aeneid* 2 and 3 he shows that he was not the person issuing the orders or taking command: he portrays himself more as Jason than as Odysseus: fumbling, hesitant, absent-minded, mentally unprepared either for the fall of Troy or for leadership. In his account of the wooden horse, Laocoon, and the breach of the city walls, from 2. 13–267, he does not even mention himself. His protagonists are Priam, Laocoon, and Sinon, a Greek agent who plays on Trojan sympathy and gullibility, pretending he has been chosen as a parting sacrifice by Calchas and Ulysses to counterbalance the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Indeed, Aeneas uses Sinon's voice to narrate over half of the first two hundred lines of his "Fall of Troy" (69–72; 76–104; 108–44; 154–94). He takes a back seat at his own narrative. His voice is subsumed in Sinon's.

We can easily forget that Aeneas is narrator—and perhaps this is Aeneas' intent. For if we do, it will not disturb us that Aeneas can describe how the Greek fleet used "the friendly silence of the quiet moon" to sail in from Tenedos and how Sinon opened the wooden horse; that he can name the warriors in the horse, note how they came out, and their happy mood (2. 254–67). Other versions of the fall have the Trojan Antenor signalling the Greeks at Tenedos, helping the Greeks out of the horse, and, with Aeneas' help, opening the Scaean gates.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> For the explanation that Dido is referring to the horses of Diomedes the notorious Thracian king rather than the Iliadic Diomedes, see W. Nethercut, "Foreshadowing in *Aeneid* 1. 751–52," *Vergilius* 22 (1976) 30–33. This suggestion is less an answer than an attempt to dodge the problem. Silius Italicus seems to have assumed that Diomedes' horses were those taken from Aeneas, and has their descendants appear in the funeral games for Scipio's father in *Punica* 16. 368–71. For the horses of Thracian Diomedes, see Lucretius 5. 30.

<sup>28</sup> Scholia on Lycophron *Alexandra* 340; Dionysius 1. 46. 1; Dares Phrygius 37 ff. (note especially 41); Dictys 4. 18 ff. (especially 5. 8). The original version of Dares probably dates to the first century A.D. Dictys is possibly two centuries later. Servius (on *Aeneid* 1. 242) says Antenor and Aeneas betrayed Troy according to Livy. But Livy 1. 1. 1 does not actually go beyond saying Antenor negotiated with the Greeks. Sisenna (fr. 1 P [OGR 9. 2]) shows that the

The first direct glimpse Aeneas gives of himself follows immediately on his catalogue of Greek warriors in the horse: he is fast asleep as the city is being stormed. Indeed, he is so far from imagining Troy's doom that he dreams, he says, of Hector appearing to him all covered in wounds as he was after Achilles killed him and dragged him round the walls. Aeneas says he remembers asking Hector's spirit: "What delayed you so long?" (*quae tantae tenuere morae?*), "Where have you come from?—how we longed for you!" (*quibus . . . ab oris expectate venis?*), "What disgraceful cause has mangled your serene face?" (*quae causa indigna serenos foedavit vultus?*), "Why do I see these wounds?" (*cur haec vulnere cerno?*) (4. 282–87). He represents himself as honoring Hector, as so missing him that his dreaming mind has rationalized Hector's death into a puzzling absence, and therefore cannot account for the visible wounds. On the night Troy falls, then, Aeneas contends, Hector's message—Troy is doomed, you must run away—is utterly lost on him, since his unconscious mind has not accepted Hector's death.

Yet to these naive, uncomprehending and sleepy hands Hector entrusts the fire of Vesta, the guardianship of the city (2. 296–97). No jealousy or rivalry here, and certainly no treachery from one asleep! And Aeneas reaffirms his naiveté and incomprehension on awakening by comparing himself to a shepherd watching flames destroying fields and not understanding what is going on (2. 304–08). When he finally grasps the desperate situation, thanks to a briefing by Panthus, priest of Phoebus, he calls on those around him to die fighting (2. 318–54). They set off, he says, like wolves, to hunt (2. 355). The wolf simile is odd in the mouth of a man who has just compared himself to an uncomprehending (*inscius*) shepherd. It suggests an abrupt change from hapless defender to predator. And predator he quickly becomes when he encounters Androgeos, an uncomprehending (*inscius*) Greek, who, Aeneas says, makes a curious error. He mistakes Aeneas and his companions for fellow Greeks, and, on realizing his error, reacts as if he had trodden on a snake (2. 370–85). The prevalent snake imagery of *Aeneid* 2 has, until this point, harmed only the Trojans.<sup>29</sup> It now not only heralds a Greek's death, but a shift in Aeneas' appearance.

Androgeos thinks Aeneas a Greek, and Trojan Coroebus' suggestion that they exchange armor with the dead Greeks, to which Aeneas accedes, completes the visual metamorphosis (2. 387–401). Aeneas now looks Greek, and moves with and among Greeks, appearing to be one of Troy's lupine predators, not its naive shepherd—a shepherd in wolves' clothing: "We go," he says, "*immixti Danais*—mixed in with the Greeks" (2. 396). Aeneas thus offers Dido an "innocent" explanation of how he appears in the

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charge of Aeneas' treachery was well enough known in republican times at Rome to be the stuff of polemic; see Horsfall (above, note 24) 16.

<sup>29</sup> See B. W. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame," *AJP* 71 (1950) 379–400.

sculptures on Juno's temple in Carthage where he is *principibus permixtum* . . . *Achivis* (1. 488). He hastens to add that though the purpose was to damage the Greeks, the consequences were disastrous: his fellow Trojans thought he was a Greek and slaughtered many of his men (2. 410–12). Any scenes of Aeneas fighting Trojans are thus explained away. No less important, the notion of switching armor is reduced to idiocy. The idea, he claims, was not his—the only idea he admits to is the patriotic urge to die with the city. The suggestion was Coroebus'. And Coroebus earned a special reputation in antiquity as among the great fools of all time (Aelian *Varia Historia* 13. 15). Still, better to be a partner in idiocy than in treachery.

### The Mark of the Gods

The Greek-armored Aeneas now sweeps on into the royal palace behind Pyrrhus when the latter breaks down the door into the central chamber: *vidi*, he claims, "I saw!" (2. 499; 501) as he describes Hecuba and the Trojan Women and Priam fouling the altar with his blood (2. 469–505). Aeneas suggests no attempt on his part to intervene. He then recounts Priam's death again in more detail, from what appears now to be a rooftop position, but this time as a less excited, more passive observer, as a messenger in—even a spectator at—an ancient tragedy (2. 506–58).

Aeneas does not name anyone he killed in the fighting for Troy. The only person he says he tried to kill is Helen—if we accept the authenticity of 2. 567–88, a passage fiercely disputed. Aeneas says that from his high vantage point he sees Helen cowering out of view and decides to kill her for the ruin she has brought on Troy, but is prevented by his mother Venus. This "Helen episode" is one of only two lengthy *lacunae* postulated in Latin heroic epic; the other, Silius *Punica* 8. 144–226, also depicts Aeneas in a less than chivalrous manner—cause enough for its excision by many editors, ancient and modern. The textual difficulties in the passage are notorious—as we might expect when verses remain outside the textual tradition for an extended period.<sup>30</sup> The juxtaposition of Trojan Aeneas in Greek armor, and Greek Helen in Trojan robes would indeed be powerful stuff, especially in light of the tradition that Aeneas helped Paris abduct Helen. It focuses ironic attention on who is to blame for Troy's fall.

Yet such attention may be precisely what Aeneas has in mind. For when his mother, Venus, shows Aeneas that it is not humans like Helen or Paris who are to blame for Troy's fall, but divine inclemency, she also exculpates Aeneas (2. 589–620). What is not stated, but would be clear to an ancient reader, is that the divine inclemency is at least partially Venus'—

<sup>30</sup> See W. E. Heitland, "The 'Great Lacuna' in the Eighth Book of Silius Italicus," *Journal of Philology* 24 (1896) 188–211 and Ahl, Davis, and Pomeroy (above, note 18) 2497–2501.

she, after all, offered Helen as the prize to Paris for judging her the most beautiful goddess.

Aeneas uses Venus' revelation of the divine forces ruining the city to mark a major change in his narrative. The sight of Priam dying had reminded him earlier, he says, that he too had an aged father, a wife, and a son (2. 559–66). Now, after Venus' revelation, Aeneas suggests that there is a divine hand guiding him: he is no longer aimless, feckless, and marginal even to his own narrative. He is suddenly the focus of everything: indestructible (2. 632–33), his son is marked with tongues of fire (2. 679–700), himself a symbol of *pietas*, not only carrying his aged father on his back, but deferring to the old man's authority (2. 707–34). When he says he puts a lion skin on his broad shoulders and places himself beneath the load (*onus*) one would think we were watching Hercules shouldering the heavens rather than Aeneas a frail old man (2. 721–23).

We may easily miss, as Aeneas describes his departure from Troy, his allusion to an apparently prearranged assembly point for refugees: the shrine of Ceres (2. 741–44). Indeed, when he returns to the assembly-point after plunging back again briefly into Troy, a huge crowd of people joins him there, then heads for the hills (2. 796–804). Aeneas' picture much resembles that of Sophocles' *Laocoon*, as reported in Dionysius 1. 48. 2, although in Sophocles Aeneas' *exodus precedes*, rather than follows, the fall of Troy. If we don't notice the rendezvous, it is because Aeneas focuses his narrative on the sad story of his wife's disappearance and death—a story whose pathos rivals that of Cephalus' narrative of Procris' death (2. 736–40).

The search for Creusa not only gives Aeneas the chance to make an emotional appeal to his audience, but to explain any tradition that set him in Troy after the fall. Aeneas puts on his armor (Greek or Trojan?) and finds himself wandering the streets of Troy, calling pitifully for Creusa, and seeing piles of Trojan treasure guarded by Phoenix and Ulysses, as well as women and children ready to be led into slavery (2. 749–67): the Troy of Greek and Roman tragedy. And from this Troy, according to Aeneas, Creusa's ghost liberates him for the future as she appears and bids him go to the Western Land, Hesperia, where the Lydian Tiber flows (2. 771–90)—instructions he seems to forget in Book 3 much as he forgets Creusa, whom he never mentions again.<sup>31</sup>

#### Conclusion: A Matter of Belief

Vergil's Aeneas was a master of Demetrius' "formidable style." He convinced not only Dido, for a while, that he was not a perfidious traitor, but the majority of Vergil's readers from the Renaissance onwards. Yet because we have confused his voice with Vergil's, we have more often

<sup>31</sup> Iulus refers to her in 9. 297, but when Aeneas is away.

treated Vergil himself as a propagandist than as the ultimate master of the rhetorical "formidable style" Aeneas handles so well. Vergil, like Homer, Statius, and Ovid, knew that epic myth is not a matter of absolute truth, of "rejecting" one version in favor of another. The mythic narrator establishes the best picture he can of himself, given the tradition in terms of which he is working, and given the internal audience he is addressing. Vergil, like Ovid, takes it for granted that the external audience will know the alternative versions, and that its reading will be informed by them. It probably did not occur to him that Aeneas' narrative would displace all others. And they certainly were not displaced in antiquity and the middle ages.

The tantalizing glimpses Vergil affords us of Aeneas and Anna, or Aeneas' list of Greek warriors sliding down the rope from the wooden horse remind us that any narrative shows us only part of what is happening and from limited perspectives. Statius makes the same point more explicitly. He shows us Apollo answering for the muses the question as to whether our world is the bedrock of the universe or part of a much larger order that eludes our understanding (*Thebaid* 6. 360-64). But Apollo never tells us what the answer is.

Statius, I suggest, is *typical* of epicists in making insistent attacks on fixed boundaries and definitions, in subjecting characters and actions to constantly changing perspectives and frames of reference. That is why the shift of narrative voice must be noted with care. Homer, Vergil, and above all Ovid, grasp that what is seen or narrated depends on who is looking or narrating, and when and where he or she is looking. Attempts at finding simple answers yield radical misunderstanding: one is artificially isolating things which belong in interrelationships of great complexity.

That is why, I suspect, we could do worse than return to the ancient rhetorical model for examining epic to take new stock not just of the verbal and metrical talents and massive learning of ancient poets, but of their extraordinary force of mind that set them among the leading intellects of their times.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> I should like to thank the editors of *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* for permission to rework parts of my "Statius' *Thebaid*: A reconsideration" for inclusion here, and Cornell University Press for permission to use revised sections from *Metaformations*. The discussions of Homer were presented first at Trinity College, Dublin and University College, Cork in 1980, and I am grateful for the suggestions made at that time by the late W. B. Stanford, and more recently by Hanna Roisman of the University of Tel Aviv who made numerous helpful suggestions and corrections.





## Tityrus in Rom—Bemerkungen zu einem vergilischen Thema und seiner Rezeptionsgeschichte

JOCHEM KÜPPERS

Das Thema "Tityrus in Rom," dem die folgenden Ausführungen gelten, spielt eine wichtige Rolle bei der Beantwortung der entscheidenden, die 1. Ekloge Vergils weithin bestimmenden Frage nach dem Glück des Hirten Tityrus. Dieses Glück des Tityrus, nämlich der friedvolle Aufenthalt in einer heiter hellen, nach außen hin abgeschirmten Welt des *otium* und der musischen Betätigung, ist um so erstaunlicher, als ihm das Unglück eines zweiten Hirten, des Meliboeus, diametral entgegensteht: Meliboeus befindet sich zusammen mit seiner Herde auf der Flucht aus angestammter Heimat. Diese Antithetik bringt Meliboeus mit allem Nachdruck in seinem den Wechselgesang der 1. Ekloge einleitenden Part (V. 1–5) zum Ausdruck, und sie wird auch das gesamte weitere Gedicht beherrschen, ohne eine Auflösung zu finden.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Folgendermaßen lauten die Eingangsverse der vergilischen Eklogensammlung (Verg. ecl. 1, 1–5):

<i>MELIBOEUS</i>	<i>Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena; nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva. nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.</i>
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Die Gegensätzlichkeit der Situation des Tityrus und derjenigen des Meliboeus, die Meliboeus mit deutlich vermehrbarem bitteren Unterton zeichnet, wird stilistisch dadurch unterstrichen, daß dem anaphorischen *nos . . . nos* (V. 3. 4) hart das alliterierende *tu, Tityre* (V. 4<sup>b</sup>) entgegentritt, mit dem zugleich das einleitende *Tityre, tu* (V. 1<sup>a</sup>) chiasmisch wieder aufgenommen wird. Ausführlich interpretiert die einleitenden Verse der vergilischen ecl. 1 zuletzt E. A. Schmidt, *Bukolische Leidenschaft oder Über antike Hirtenpoesie* (Studien zur Klass. Philol. 22) (Frankfurt/M. 1987) 30 ff., wobei dem Aspekt der Musikalität besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet wird; außerdem vgl. zu den hier insgesamt nur angedeuteten Gesichtspunkten V. Pöschl, *Die Hirtendichtung Virgils* (Heidelberg 1964) 9 ff.—Übrigens beschränken sich die hier in den Anm. mitgeteilten Literaturangaben zur 1. Ekloge Vergils bewußt weitgehend auf neuere Veröffentlichungen. Für weitere Literatur sowie eine umfassendere Würdigung auch der älteren Vergilforschung sei insgesamt verwiesen auf K. Büchner, s. v. "P. Vergilius Maro," in: *RE VIII A 1* (1955) 1180–86 sowie die letzte ausführliche Bibliographie, nämlich diejenige von W. W. Briggs, "A Bibliography of Virgil's 'Eclogues' (1927–77)," *ANRW II*. 31. 2 (1981) 1301–07.

Aus dieser Grundsituation der I. Ekloge, die sicher nicht zufällig, sondern vielmehr in programmatischer Funktion die vergilische Eklogensammlung einleitet,<sup>2</sup> läßt sich eine wesentliche Besonderheit der vergilischen Bukolik ablesen: Während die poetisch-fiktionale Welt der Hirten in den bukolischen Gedichten Theokrits und in den frühen, durch enge Theokritnachfolge sich auszeichnenden Eklogen 2 und 3 des Vergil weitgehend in sich geschlossen ist, öffnet sich diese in Ekloge 1 wie auch in der ein wenig früher entstandenen Ekloge 9 für die Realität und vermutlich auch—zumindes partiell—für die persönlichen Geschehnisse des Dichters.<sup>3</sup> Denn bereits die antike Vergilerklärung nahm an, daß beiden Gedichten neben dem unmittelbar zugänglichen Sinn eine hintergründige Bedeutung eignet, indem sie bewußt auf die zeitgeschichtlich-politischen Vorgänge ihrer Entstehungszeit um das Jahr 40 v. Chr. anspielen, nämlich auf die Landverteilung der Triumvirn an die Veteranen und die damit einhergehende Enteignung der Landbevölkerung, die nach der Schlacht bei Philippi im Jahre 42 v. Chr. besonders hart die Transpadana traf und denen auch Vergil bzw. seine Familie zum Opfer fiel.<sup>4</sup> Dementsprechend erhalten die Schicksale der Hirten Tityrus und Meliboeus in der I. Ekloge Vergils eine bedeutsame reale Dimension, die durch die umfassendere vergilische Aneignung des bereits bei Theokrit im Ansatz vorgegebenen Mittels der sogen. "bukolischen Maskerade" ermöglicht wird<sup>5</sup>: Meliboeus repräsentiert den in diesen chaotischen Zeiten nicht seltenen Fall eines Landmannes, dessen Besitz enteignet wurde, Tityrus vertritt aber mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit die Geschehnisse des Dichters selbst, dem aus zunächst ungenanntem Grunde sein Landgut erhalten blieb. So erklärt bereits Servius in seinem Komm. zu ecl. 1, 1: *et hoc loco Tityri sub persona Vergilium*

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. E. A. Schmidt a. O. 129 f.; zu der Gesamtproblematik der Makrostruktur der Eklogensammlung zuletzt ausführlich J. van Sickle, "Reading Virgil's Eclogue Book," *ANRW* II. 31. 1 (1980) 576–603 mit einer kritischen Musterung der unterschiedlichen Positionen.

<sup>3</sup> Hierauf weisen jetzt wieder besonders E. A. Schmidt a. O. 129 ff. sowie G. Binder, "Hirtenlied und Herrscherlob. Von den Wandlungen der römischen Bukolik," Vortrag (gehalten auf der Tagung des DAV, Bonn 5. bis 9. April 1988), erscheint in: *Gymnasium* 96 (1989) hin.—Zu den Verbindungen zwischen ecl. 1 und 9 vgl. ebenfalls zuletzt E. A. Schmidt, a. O. 179 ff. sowie van Sickle a. O. *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> So heißt es z. B. bei Serv. comm. in Verg. buc. prooem. p. 2. 17–19 Th.-H.: . . . *et aliquibus locis per allegoriam agat gratias Augusto vel aliis nobilibus, quorum favore amissum agrum recepit*; p. 3. 3–5 Th.-H.: *perdito ergo agro Vergilius Romam venit et potentium favore meruit, ut agrum suum solus reciperet*.—Zur modernen Beurteilung dieser Bezüge sowie zur Problematik allegorisierender Vergilerklärung insgesamt vgl. u. a. Büchner, *RE* a. O. 1183 f. und das folgende.

<sup>5</sup> Trotz aller Schwierigkeiten einer genauen Identifizierung ist mit hintergründigen Anspielungen auf reale Personen vor allem bei den Hirten in Theokrits "Thalysien" (id. 7) zu rechnen und somit mit autobiographischen, Theokrit selbst betreffenden Zügen des Lykidas; vgl. den Forschungsbericht bei T. Choitz/J. Latacz, "Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der 'Thalysien' – Deutung (Theokrit, Id. 7)," *WJA* 7 (1981) 85–95.

*debemus accipere*; warnt aber gleichzeitig: *non tamen ubique, sed tantum ubi exigit ratio*.<sup>6</sup>

Vor diesem Hintergrund der Aspekte einer bewußten Öffnung der poetisch-fiktionalen, bukolischen Welt für die Realität und einer subtilen allegorisierenden Ausdeutung der Hirtengestalten ist auch Tityrus' direkte Antwort auf die implizit von Meliboeus in den einleitenden Versen gestellte Frage nach dem exzeptionellen Glück des Tityrus zu sehen (V. 6): *O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit*. Diese zutiefst ängstliche Aussage bildet das Leitthema für das gesamte folgende Wechselgespräch zwischen den beiden Hirten bis einschließlich V. 45: Mit Hilfe mehrerer ausführlicher Digressionen (V. 7–39) wird folgender grundsätzliche Sachverhalt zum Ausdruck gebracht: Tityrus, der zuvor ein Sklave war, hat schließlich eine Reise nach Rom unternommen, wo allein er sich freikaufen konnte. In den anschließenden V. 40–45 und somit fast genau in der Mitte des 83 Verse umfassenden Gedichtes fließen die unterschiedlichen, zuvor entwickelten Motive in der zentralen Aussage zusammen, daß Tityrus in Rom jenen göttlichen Jüngling sah, der der Urheber seines dem Meliboeus so erstaunlich erscheinenden Glückes ist, nämlich des Erhalts von Gut und Herde des Tityrus.

Schon diese knappe Paraphrase der V. 6–45, in denen dem Thema "Tityrus in Rom," das als komplexe thematische Einheit sukzessiv insbesondere in den Versen 19–26 sowie 40–45 entwickelt wird, eine zentrale Bedeutung zukommt, verdeutlicht hinreichend, wie mannigfaltige Probleme sich hier dem Interpreten stellen<sup>7</sup>: So läßt die namenlose und deshalb dezent unaufdringliche Appellation des "Retters" mit *iuvenis* (V. 43) einen Rest an Unklarheit, um welche Person es sich hier handelt, etwa um Oktavian, wie man meistens und wohl zu Recht annimmt,<sup>8</sup> oder aber um eine andere einflußreiche politische Persönlichkeit der Zeit um 40 v. Chr.<sup>9</sup> Unklar bleibt auch, in welcher Weise die auf den ersten Blick heterogenen Motive des Freikaufs bzw. der "manumissio" des alten Tityrus und der

<sup>6</sup> Die Gestalt des Tityrus ist letztendlich von einer Vieldeutigkeit, die jeder Art von "einfacher" Gleichsetzung widerstrebt: vgl. R. Rieks, "Vergils Dichtung als Zeugnis und Deutung der römischen Geschichte," *ANRW* II. 32. 2 (1981) 768 f.; für die moderne Beurteilung der Tityrus-Gestalt, die sich mit einer grundsätzlich "ästhetischen" statt allegorisierenden Interpretation der 1. Ekloge verbindet, verweist Rieks auf F. Klingner, *Virgil. Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis* (Zürich/Stuttgart 1967) 16–33; V. Pöschl, *Die Hirtendichtung Virgils* a. O. 9 ff. und K. Büchner, *RE* a. O. 1182 ff.; außerdem vgl. das hier folgende.

<sup>7</sup> Einen Überblick über die Hauptprobleme und die wichtigsten Lösungsansätze gibt Büchner, *RE* a. O. 1183 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. zuletzt etwa Rieks a. O. 768 f. und H. Strasburger, "Vergil und Augustus," *Gymn.* 90 (1983) 48 f.

<sup>9</sup> So versucht C. Hardie, "Der *iuvenis* der Ersten Ekloge," *AU* 24. 5 (1981) 17 ff. mit allerdings kaum überzeugenden Argumenten nachzuweisen, daß der *iuvenis* mit Antonius identisch sei.

Schenkung des Besitzes durch den *iuuenis* zusammengehen.<sup>10</sup> Letztendlich ist ebenfalls rätselhaft, inwieweit sich exakt tatsächliche Begebenheiten im Zusammenhang mit Vergils Landenteignung in den hier beschriebenen Erlebnissen des Tityrus widerspiegeln, bzw.—umgekehrt gefragt—ob in einem vordergründig allegorisierenden Interpretationsverfahren aus der 1. Ekloge zu erschließen ist, daß Vergil tatsächlich nach Rom reiste, daß dort Oktavian tatsächlich durch ein Dekret den Erhalt des ländlichen Besitzes verfügte u.a.m., oder ob man nicht vielmehr die von Vergil vergegenwärtigte pastorale Welt als einen weithin symbolhaften und ästhetischen Raum zu erfassen suchen sollte, der ausgehend von Realem sich immer mehr verselbständigt hat.<sup>11</sup>

Die genannten Fragen sollen hier bewußt im Raum stehen bleiben, um jedoch vor ihrem Hintergrund einen anderen Aspekt näher zu betrachten, nämlich denjenigen der Wirkungsgeschichte des zentralen Motivs "Tityrus in Rom," und zwar innerhalb der nachvergilischen Bukolik der Kaiserzeit und der Spätantike. Demgegenüber bleibt die Rezeption dieses Themas in anderen literarischen Genera wie etwa bei Properz 4, 1 und Ovid, Tristien 3, 1 unberücksichtigt, da die Vergiladaption hier entweder allgemeiner Art oder aber auch sehr punktuell ist.<sup>12</sup> Für das bukolische Genos gilt demgegenüber, daß einerseits die Rezeptionsgeschichte des genannten Themas gleichzeitig zur Deutungsgeschichte der vergilischen Eklogen wird, da dieses Thema nicht rezipiert werden kann, ohne zugleich eine bestimmte Interpretation zu erfahren. Andererseits kann die Berücksichtigung des spezifischen vergilischen Hintergrundes des rezipierten Themas aber auch zur Klärung von z. T. divergierenden modernen Beurteilungen der einzelnen nachvergilischen Bukoliker beitragen.

<sup>10</sup> Auch die letzte Stellungnahme zu diesem Problem, nämlich diejenige von E. A. Schmidt a. O. 133 f., der erklärt, daß der Freikauf der Schenkung des Besitzes als konditionierendes Element mit dem Ziel der dramatischen Zuspitzung "vorgeschoben" sei, stellt nicht zufrieden.

<sup>11</sup> Daß nur eine in der letztgenannten Richtung fortschreitende Interpretation dem spezifischen Charakter der vergilischen Eklogen gerecht werden kann, haben Untersuchungen wie u. a. die zuvor in Anm. 6 genannten deutlich gemacht. Vgl. für diese Problematik bezogen auf das vergilische Gesamtwerk auch Riex a. O., *passim*, obwohl hier an nicht wenigen Stellen traditionelle Erklärungen ungeprüft übernommen werden, die ihrerseits auf allegorisierende antike Ausdeutungen zurückgehen. Grundsätzlich stellt sich auch die hier nicht weiter zu verfolgende Frage, ob nicht viele Angaben der Vergil-Viten, die dann weitgehend für historisch gesichert angesehen wurden und werden, ihrerseits auf allegorisierenden Ausdeutungen etwa der ecl. 1 und 9 basieren.

<sup>12</sup> Außerdem kann hierfür auf G. Luck, "Besuch in Rom," in: *Festschrift für R. Muth* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Bd. 22), (Innsbruck 1983) 231–36 verwiesen werden. Die wesentlich signifikantere Nachwirkung des Motivs innerhalb der nachvergilischen Bukolik bleibt bei Luck unberücksichtigt.—Übrigens basiert die Rezeptionsgeschichte des Motivs "Tityrus in Rom" im bukolischen Bereich auf der zentralen Ausgestaltung des Themas in Vergils 1. Ekloge. Demgegenüber braucht die "Vorbereitung" bzw. "Hinführung" hierzu in ecl. 9 nicht weiter berücksichtigt zu werden; vgl. zu letzterem E. A. Schmidt a. O. 179 ff.

Die erste nachvergilische bukolische Dichtung stellt die insgesamt 7 Gedichte umfassende Eklogensammlung des Calpurnius Siculus dar.<sup>13</sup> Nach der "communis opinio," die auch hier gebilligt wird, entstand sie in den Anfangsjahren der Herrschaft Neros, also kurz nach 54 n. Chr.<sup>14</sup> Bei Calpurnius begegnet das Motiv "Tityrus in Rom" an zwei Stellen, nämlich zunächst punktuell in ecl. 4, 160–64 und dann als Leitthema in ecl. 7. Dabei korreliert die spezifische Ausformung dieses Motivs mit der Betonung panegyrischer Tendenzen, die die Bukolika des Calpurnius weithin prägen. Denn bei den Gedichten 1, 4 und 7, d. h. aber dem Anfangs-, Mittel- und Schlußstück der bewußt so strukturierten Sammlung, handelt es sich um unverhohlene Preisgedichte auf den jungen Herrscher Nero, die kunstvoll in eine bukolische Rahmenhandlung eingekleidet sind.<sup>15</sup>

Diese auffällige und gerade auf den modernen Leser zumeist befremdend wirkende panegyrische Grundhaltung der Bukolika des Calpurnius basiert zunächst grundsätzlich auf einem ganz bestimmten Verständnis der vergilischen Eklogen, nämlich der Deutung vor allem der berühmten 4. Ekloge Vergils, aber auch anderer Stellen, insbesondere in der 1. Ekloge, als eindeutige und gleichsam offizielle Lobpreisungen auf Oktavian, obwohl Vergil selbst diese Intention fern liegt: Denn die 4. Ekloge Vergils will mit der ihren Kern bildenden Prophezeiung der Wiederkehr des "Goldenen

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. zu Calpurnius Siculus den Forschungsbericht von R. Verdière, "Le genre bucolique à l'époque de Néron: les 'Bucolica' de T. Calpurnius Siculus et les 'Carmina Einsidlensia.' État de la question et prospectives," *ANRW* II. 32. 3 (1985) 1845–1924, dessen Hauptteil jedoch bereits 1972 abgeschlossen war; die danach erschienene Literatur wird in den "Addenda" a. O. 1914–24 aufgeführt. Eine wichtige Gesamtbehandlung hat W. Friedrich, *Nachahmung und eigene Gestaltung in der bukolischen Dichtung des T. Calpurnius Siculus*, Diss. (Frankfurt/M. 1976) vorgelegt.

<sup>14</sup> Die von E. Champlin, "The Life and Times of Calpurnius Siculus," *JRS* 68 (1978) 95–110 vorgenommene Spätdatierung des Calpurnius Siculus in die Zeit nach dem Herrschaftsantritt des Severus Alexander, also nach 222 n. Chr., ist in einer lebhaften Diskussion mit zahlreichen Argumenten als falsch zurückgewiesen worden: vgl. R. Mayer, "Calpurnius Siculus: Technique and Date," *JRS* 70 (1980) 175 ff.; G. B. Townend, "Calpurnius Siculus and the *Munus Neronis*," *JRS* 70 (1980) 166 ff.; T. P. Wiseman, "Calpurnius Siculus and the Claudian Civil War," *JRS* 72 (1982) 57 ff. und Verf., "Die Faunus-Prophezeiung in der 1. Ekloge des Calpurnius Siculus," *Hermes* 113 (1985) 340 ff. Gleichwohl hält Champlin in einem weiteren Beitrag mit dem Titel "History and the date of Calpurnius Siculus" in: *Philologus* 130 (1986) 104 ff. an seiner Hypothese fest, ohne wesentliche neue Argumente beisteuern zu können. Die zur Stützung gedachten sprachlichen und stilistischen Argumente, die D. Armstrong, "Stylistics and the date of Calpurnius Siculus," ebenfalls in: *Philologus* 130 (1986) 113 ff. vorbringt, können kaum überzeugen, da viele der angeblichen Besonderheiten und Lizenzen nur deshalb exzeptionell sind, da adäquates Vergleichsmaterial des Zeitraumes der frühen Kaiserzeit fehlt.

<sup>15</sup> Zu der genannten Makrostruktur der Eklogensammlung des Calpurnius vgl. D. Korzeniewski (Hrsg.), *Hirtengedichte aus Neronischer Zeit* (Texte zur Forschung 1), (Darmstadt 1971) 2 und Verf., *Hermes* a. O. 340 Anm. 2. —Die entscheidende Grundvoraussetzung für die Verknüpfung von Bukolik und Panegyrik durch Calpurnius ist die bei Vergil vorgegebene Öffnung der Hirtendichtung zur historisch-politischen Realität hin und die damit einhergehende Verquickung zweier ursprünglich völlig unverbundener Bereiche: vgl. E. A. Schmidt a. O. 14 ff.

Zeitalters" nichts mehr und auch nichts weniger als die großartige Vision einer besseren Zukunft sein, die aus der Sehnsucht nach einem politischen Neubeginn vor dem Hintergrund des Chaos der Bürgerkriege geboren wird.<sup>16</sup> Der Lobpreis des *iuuenis* in der 1. Ekloge Vergils aber ist äußerst privat und intim, da er das positive Wirken dieses *iuuenis* in einem ganz individuellen Fall betrifft.<sup>17</sup> Doch Calpurnius weiß knappe 100 Jahre nach dem Entstehen der Eklogen Vergils, daß die Vision der 4. Ekloge—nach seiner Meinung zumindest partiell—in dem Prinzipat des Oktavian—Augustus Wirklichkeit geworden ist, ein Sachverhalt, den auch Vergil explizit formuliert, allerdings noch keineswegs in den Eklogen, sondern erst in den Aeneis—Versen 6, 791 ff. innerhalb der berühmten Heldenschau.<sup>18</sup> Dieses "Mehr—Wissen" des Calpurnius gegenüber den vergilischen Eklogen bildet *eine* Voraussetzung für seine eigenen Panegyrici auf Nero in der 1. und 4. Ekloge: Denn hier wird die "aurea aetas" als der durch den Regierungsantritt Neros Wirklichkeit gewordene Zustand gefeiert.<sup>19</sup> Die *zweite* Voraussetzung dieser Panegyrik ist in der 1. Ekloge die neronischen Herrschaftsprogrammatik bzw. auch —propaganda vorgegeben, wie sie uns vor allem durch Senecas "Apocolocyntosis" und dessen Fürstenspiegel "de clementia" faßbar wird: Denn sie sieht in Nero nicht nur einen zweiten, sondern sogar einen besseren Augustus und gibt so den großen Erwartungen Ausdruck, die man nach den bitteren Erfahrungen mit den vorhergehenden Kaisern, wie etwa Claudius, an die Herrschaft Neros bei dessen Regierungsantritt knüpfte, einem Zeitpunkt also, zu dem das

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. etwa Ricks a. O. 769 ff.; zur 4. Ekloge insgesamt vgl. eine der letzten ausführlichen Musterungen der Forschungssituation, nämlich W. Kraus, "Vergils vierte Ekloge: Ein kritisches Hypomnema," *ANRW* II. 31. 1 (1980) 604–45.

<sup>17</sup> Dazu besonders Pöschl a. O. 15 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Die berühmten Verse Aen. 6, 791–95\* lauten:

*hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,  
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet  
saecula qui rursus Latium regnata per arva  
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos  
proferet imperium; . . .*

<sup>19</sup> Grundsätzlich ist dieses "Mehr—Wissen" des Calpurnius auch die Quelle für die weitgehend allegorisierende Interpretation der 1. Ekloge Vergils insgesamt durch Calpurnius, übrigens der früheste uns bekannte Fall allegorischer Vergil—Auslegung, wie Büchner, *RE* a. O. 1184, Ricks a. O. 768 u. a. betonen. —Die eigentlichen "Panegyrici" bilden in ecl. 1 die in eine heilige Buche eingeritzte Prophezeiung des Faunus (V. 33–88; vgl. hierzu Verf., *Hermes* a. O. sowie Friedrich a. O. 122 ff.) und in ecl. 4 der Wechselgesang zwischen Corydon und Amyntas (V. 82–146; hierzu u. a. Friedrich a. O. 149 ff.).

spätere Willkür- und Wahnsinnsregiment dieses Herrschers noch nicht abzusehen war.<sup>20</sup>

Die durch das "Mehr-Wissen" des später Lebenden geprägte Rezeption und Deutung der in vielen Dingen ängstlichen und deshalb nach vielen Seiten hinsichtlich der Erklärung offenen Eklogen Vergils, die in der panegyrischen Grundhaltung des Calpurnius faßbar werden und die man nicht von vornherein als "Mißverständnis" oder "Fehldeutung" aburteilen sollte,<sup>21</sup> sind in besonderem Maße auch bestimmend für die besondere Art und Weise, in der Calpurnius das Thema "Tityrus in Rom" adaptiert. Es begegnet zum erstenmal in der 4. Ekloge des Calpurnius, jenem Gedicht also, das mit seinem kunstvoll als Wechselgesang zwischen den Hirten Corydon und dessen Bruder Amyntas gestalteten Preislied auf Nero nicht nur formal die Mitte der Sammlung bildet.<sup>22</sup> Ein dritter Hirte, nämlich Meliboeus, hatte dieses Preislied mit hohem Lob bedacht, woraufhin Corydon folgende Worte an ihn richtet (Calp. ecl. 4, 160–64):

*tu mihi talis eris, qualis qui dulce sonantem  
Tityron e silvis dominam deduxit in urbem  
ostenditque deos et "spreto" dixit "ovili  
Tityre, rura prius, sed post cantabimus arma."*

Die Anspielung auf das Thema der Reise des Tityrus nach Rom in Vergils 1. Ekloge fällt unmittelbar ins Auge.<sup>23</sup> Dabei steht die Hirtenfigur des Tityrus ohne alle Ambivalenz für Vergil selbst; Corydon aber, hinter dessen Maske sich Calpurnius verbirgt, sieht sich als den Nachfolger des Tityrus-

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. zu diesem Gesamtkomplex die immer noch grundlegenden Ausführungen von O. Weinreich, *Senecas Apocolocyntosis, Einführung, Analyse und Untersuchungen, Übersetzung* (Berlin 1923) 36 ff. und zusammenfassend Verf., *Hermes* a. O. 351 ff. mit weiteren Literaturangaben. Den entscheidenden Gesichtspunkt der "Tendenz einer überbietenden Beziehung auf Augustus," eine Formulierung, die W. D. Lebek, *Lucans Pharsalia, Dichtungsstruktur und Zeitbezug* (Hypomnemata 44), (Göttingen 1976) 105 im Anschluß an Weinreich a. O. 46 ff. geprägt hat, und zwar einer überbietenden Beziehung in protreptischer Absicht, übersieht S. Wolf, *Die Augustusrede in Senecas Apocolocyntosis. Ein Beitrag zum Augustusbild der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Beiträge zur klass. Philologie 170), (Königstein/Ts. 1986), die bei ihrer Untersuchung des Augustusbildes in der frühen Kaiserzeit zwar richtig feststellt, daß Augustus von verschiedenen Autoren, insbes. aber von Seneca in der "Apocolocyntosis," durchaus kritisch und negativ beurteilt werde; hieraus schließt sie aber aufgrund der alleinigen Berücksichtigung des Gesichtspunktes der Parallelisierung zwischen Augustus und Nero falsch, daß die Augustuskritik hintergründig auch Nero betreffe. Sie folgt deshalb unzutreffend, daß alle Nero-Panegyrik, so auch diejenige des Calpurnius (dazu Wolf a. O. 139–44), von Skepsis und kritischen Untertönen geprägt sei.

<sup>21</sup> So E. A. Schmidt, *Poetische Reflexion. Vergils Bukolik* (München 1972) 120 ff. Auch die Bemerkungen von Schmidt, *Bukolische Leidenschaft* a. O. 14 ff. verkennen die hier unmittelbar zuvor entwickelten Zusammenhänge der neronischen Herrschaftsprogrammatik bzw. -propaganda.

<sup>22</sup> Zur Makrostruktur der Eklogensammlung des Calpurnius bereits oben Anm. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Gleichwohl vermißt man einen diesbezüglichen Hinweis in der modernen Forschungsliteratur, etwa in der sonst sehr sorgfältigen Dissertation von Friedrich oder dem Similienapparat bei Korzeniewski.

Vergil; programmatisch heißt es ebenfalls in ecl. 4, 59–63 von Corydon: er spiele jetzt auf der Flöte, die einst Tityrus blies.<sup>24</sup> Neben dieser bewußten Nähe zur 1. Ekloge des Vergil sind jedoch auch gravierende Unterschiede unverkennbar: Tityrus geht nicht selbst nach Rom, um dort ebenfalls einen bedeutsam–schicksalhaften, allerdings letztlich etwas ganz anderes betreffenden Bescheid aus dem Mund des göttlichen *iuuenis* zu erhalten, nämlich die Schenkung seines Gutes, sondern ein Gönner führt ihn dorthin, um ihn bei den Göttern, d. h. bei Hofe, einzuführen und ihm die Weisung zu erteilen, Abschied von den "Schafen," d. h. der Hirtendichtung, zu nehmen und sich größeren, den Ruhm des Herrschers besser preisenden Genera zuzuwenden, nämlich den "rura," d. h. den vergilischen "Georgica" bzw. allgemein dem Lehrgedicht, und den "arma," also der "Aeneis" bzw. allgemein dem Epos. Aus dem in einem spezifischen Zusammenhang originell verwandten Motiv der Romreise des Tityrus bei Vergil wird also jetzt ein komplexes Bild für die Dichterkarriere Vergils, wie Calpurnius sie deutet. Eine solche Umdeutung der vergilischen Vorbildstelle ermöglicht wiederum das "Mchr-Wissen" des Calpurnius, das er mit der eigentlich rezipierten Vorbildstelle verknüpft, nämlich 1) das sicherlich unmittelbar verfügbare Wissen um die vergilische Werktrias, die Calpurnius unbefangen als panegyrische Klimax deutet,<sup>25</sup> und 2) die bereits detaillierte Kenntnis des

<sup>24</sup> Die gesamte Versreihe (ecl. 4, 58–63), die den Abschluß einer längeren Rede des Corydon (ecl. 4, 29 ff.) bildet, lautet:

*quod si tu faveas (sc. Meliboeus) trepido mihi, forsitan illos  
experiar calamos, here quos mihi doctus Iollas  
donavit dixitque: "truces haec fistula tauros  
conciat nostroque sonat dulcissima Fauno.  
Tityrus hanc habuit, cecinit qui primus in istis  
montibus Hyblaea modulabile carmen avena."*

Zu dem implizit anklingenden Motiv der Dichterweihe (vgl. auch Calp. ecl. 2, 28) Friedrich a. O. 10 mit Anm. 45; 42. Außerdem zu der gesamten Passage W. Schetter, "Nemesians Bucolica und die Anfänge der spätlateinischen Dichtung," in: *Studien zur Literatur der Spätantike*, hrsg. von Chr. Gnlika u. W. Schetter (Antiquitas R. 1, Bd. 23), (Bonn 1975) 5 f.; dort finden sich auch einige Bemerkungen zu der Gleichsetzung Corydon = Calpurnius sowie zu den Schwierigkeiten der Identifizierung des Meliboeus, des Förderers des Calpurnius.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. auch für die Periphrasen der vergilischen Werke durch Concreta das zuerst in der Sueton–Donat–vita 36 (p. 13. 139 f. Hardie) mitgeteilte Grabepigramm Vergils:

*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc  
Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces.*

Als deutliche Klimax werden die vergilischen Werke in dem interpolierten Aeneis–Anfang präsentiert:

*Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena  
carmina et egressus silvis vicina coegi,  
ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,  
gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis—  
arma virumque cano . . .*



biographischen Sachverhaltes des Gönnerturns in Falle Vergils, wobei bezogen auf das Gesamtwerk Vergils an Maecenas gedacht sein dürfte.<sup>26</sup> Indem Corydon–Calpurnius aber seinerseits diese Karriere Vergils für sich selbst wünscht, und zwar durch Vermittlung des Meliboeus, hinter dem sich der Gönner des Calpurnius verbirgt, eine offensichtlich bei Hofe einflußreiche, uns aber nicht näher faßbare Persönlichkeit,<sup>27</sup> wird die Vergil–Adaption in der Ausgestaltung des Calpurnius zur unverhohlenen Werbung um Dichterpatronage.

Die aufgezeigte Umdeutung des vergilischen Themas "Tityrus in Rom" durch Calpurnius steht—wie bereits bemerkt wurde—in enger Korrelation mit der weitgehend panegyrischen Intention seiner Eklogen: Für seine Preislieder auf den Herrscher erhofft Calpurnius im Gegenzug Anerkennung und Sicherung der materiellen Existenz durch diesen Herrscher und führt hierfür gewissermaßen als Präzedenzfall Vergil und dessen Bios an, eine sicherlich vereinfachende und pauschale Beurteilung des gerade hinsichtlich seiner affirmativen Tendenzen sehr subtilen vergilischen Oeuvres.<sup>28</sup> Calpurnius sieht Vergil durch die Brille des Hofpoeten, der er selbst ist bzw. besser sein möchte. Denn das Thema "Gönnerschaft" durchzieht alle drei panegyrischen Eklogen des Calpurnius wie ein roter Faden: Zunächst schließt die 1. Ekloge mit dem Wunsch, Meliboeus möge den Panegyricus im Mittelpunkt des Gedichtes dem Kaiser zu Ohren bringen (V. 94): *forsitan Augustas feret haec Meliboeus ad aures*, was gleichzeitig deutlich auf die hier breit behandelte Stelle im 4. Gedicht vorausweist. Den Abschluß und zugleich auch eine nicht unbedingt erwartete Auflösung findet dieses Motiv aber mit dem 7. Gedicht des Calpurnius, in dem außerdem das Thema "Tityrus in Rom" und mit ihm ein wesentliches Handlungselement der 1. Ekloge Vergils eine auffällige, neue Ausgestaltung erfahren. Eine knappe Inhaltsparaphrase verdeutlicht dies: Corydon (i. e. Calpurnius), der zwanzig Tage lang vom Lande abwesend war, wird bei seiner Rückkehr freudig von dem alten Lycotas begrüßt (V. 1–3). Doch Corydon will nichts von dessen Freude wissen, scheint ihm doch jetzt das Leben der Hirten auf dem Lande allzu banal und gering: Denn er war in der Weltstadt Rom und hat dort unvorstellbar Großartiges erlebt (V. 4–18), insgesamt Ausführungen, die ebenso wie das ganze Gedicht implizit vom bukolischen

<sup>26</sup> Demgegenüber dürfte der Gönner und Mittler Vergils während der Eklogendichtung Asinius Pollio gewesen sein: vgl. Büchner, *RE* a. O. 1051. Zu der engen Bindung Vergils an Maecenas, mit der etwa ab 37 v. Chr. zu rechnen ist, vgl. ebenfalls Büchner, *RE* a. O. 1056 f.

<sup>27</sup> Ob hinter Meliboeus C. Calpurnius Piso, das Haupt der sogen. "pisonischen Verschwörung," steht, wie E. Cizek, *L'époque de Néron et ses controverses idéologiques* (Roma Aeterna 4), (Leiden 1972) 372 f. vermutet, muß ungewiß bleiben; zu weiteren, ebenso unsicheren Identifikationsversuchen vgl. L. Duret, "Dans l'ombre des plus grands: II. Poètes et prosateurs mal connus de la latinité d'argent," *ANRW* II. 32. 5 (1986) 3156 f. mit Anm. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. bereits oben 37 f. und z. B. V. Pöschl, "Virgil und Augustus," *ANRW* II. 31. 2 (1981) 709–27.

Genos wegführen.<sup>29</sup> Die Neugier des Alten ist geweckt (V. 19–22), und auf dessen Bitte hin berichtet Corydon von seinen Erlebnissen in Rom. In einer Art indirekter Huldigung auf den Kaiser werden das hölzerne Amphitheater und die prächtigen Spiele dort, bei denen Corydon staunend zuschaute, beschrieben (V. 23–72).<sup>30</sup> Im Anschluß an diesen Erlebnisbericht preist der alte Lycotas den jungen Corydon glücklich, im Unterschied zu ihm selbst solches erlebt haben zu dürfen (V. 73–75); doch gleichzeitig fragt er, was sich alsbald als peinlich herausstellen soll, wie denn der Gott, nämlich Nero, aussah, den er doch sicher im Amphitheater gesehen habe (V. 76–78). Hierauf kann Corydon mit nicht zu verbergender Resignation nur antworten, daß seine ärmliche, bäurische Kleidung ihm einen Platz in den vorderen Reihen verwehrt und er deshalb seinen Gott nur von den hintersten Rängen aus schwach sehen konnte<sup>31</sup>; dabei schien es ihm aber, als habe der Gott zugleich die Gestalt eines Mars und eines Apollo (V. 79–84).<sup>32</sup> Mit diesen Worten schließt aber nicht nur das 7. Gedicht des Calpurnius, sondern auch die gesamte Gedichtsammlung. Unausgesprochen steht hinter ihnen, daß sich der immer wieder betonte Wunsch des Calpurnius nach Zugang zum Herrscher, der durch die spezifische Adaption des Motives "Tityrus in Rom" mit der vergilischen Karriere verglichen wurde, nicht erfüllt hat. Calpurnius' erhoffter Erfolg als Hofpoet ist ausgeblieben. Hierdurch fällt aber auch auf die panegyrischen Lobpreisungen der 1. und 4. Ekloge des Calpurnius ein bezeichnendes Licht: Sie wird nicht in Frage gestellt durch angebliche Untertöne des Mißtrauens und der Skepsis,<sup>33</sup> sondern durch Calpurnius' eigenes Eingeständnis des Mißerfolges in den Schlußversen der 7. Ekloge

<sup>29</sup> Die Distanzierung vom bukolischen Genos—vgl. grundsätzlich Friedrich a. O. 157 f. mit Anm. 26 (S. 249)—wird in erster Linie durch die den Mittelpunkt des Gedichtes bildende Ekphrasis des hölzernen neronischen Amphitheaters erreicht (V. 23–72). Eine noch größere Verselbständigung werden solche ursprünglich epischen Ekphrasisen dann in den "Silvae" des Statius erfahren. Bei Calpurnius wirkt jedoch die spezifische Ausgangsbasis, nämlich die vergilische ecl. 1 mit ihrem Gegensatz "Land—*urbs*" und der darin implizierten panegyrischen Intention, stark nach und ist maßgebend für die besondere Gestalt der ecl. 7 des Calpurnius. Zu dem Gegensatz "Stadt—Land" in der vergilischen Ausprägung vgl. zuletzt etwa E. A. Schmidt, *Bukolische Leidenschaft* a. O. 191, wobei jedoch die Formel: "der Weg in die Stadt ist das Symbol für die Entdeckung der Politik für die Dichtung" die komplexen Zusammenhänge zu stark vereinfacht; vgl. bei Schmidt selbst a. O. Anm. 38. Die Ursprünge dieses Motivs innerhalb der Bukolik bei Theokrit behandelt ausführlich T. Reinhardt, *Die Darstellung der Bereiche Stadt und Land bei Theokrit* (Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Klass. Philologie 38), (Bonn 1988).

<sup>30</sup> Am ausführlichsten zu den Einzelheiten Townend a. O. (vgl. Anm. 14); zur Ergänzung vgl. Chr. Gnlika, "Die Tiere im hölzernen Amphitheater des Nero," *Wiener Studien* N. F. 8 (1974) 124 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. zu den Einzelheiten Friedrich a. O. 126 und Townend a. O. 173.

<sup>32</sup> Friedrich a. O. 249 Anm. 26 sieht in diesem Vergleich Neros mit Mars und Apollo "erneut eine Reminiszenz an Augustus und seine Vorliebe für die Kulte des Apollo Palatinus und Mars Ultor."

<sup>33</sup> Die diesbezüglichen Thesen Wolfs a. O. sind als verfehlt zurückzuweisen: vgl. oben Anm. 20.

sowie durch das ebenfalls im 7. Gedicht sich andeutende Abstandnehmen vom bukolischen Genos als einem Medium des Herrscherpreises. Dieses Abstandnehmen hat aber endgültigen Charakter; denn von *rura* und *arma* in Analogie zu Vergil wird Calpurnius niemals singen.

Das Thema "Tityrus in Rom," das der neronische Hofpoet Calpurnius zunächst grundsätzlich zur festen Chiffre für die dichterische Karriere Vergils werden läßt, erhält durch die spezifische Adaption in Calpurnius' 7. Ekloge eine hintergründige, die Existenz des Dichters selbst betreffende Bedeutsamkeit und wird somit insgesamt zum Träger programmatischer poetologischer Selbstaussagen. In vergleichbarer Funktion begegnet das Motiv "Tityrus in Rom" nun aber auch bei Nemesian, dem nächsten und zugleich letzten Vertreter der paganen lateinischen Hirtendichtung der Antike, dessen kleine Sammlung von vier bukolischen Gedichten zu Beginn der 80er Jahre des 3. Jh. entstand, also unmittelbar am Vorabend des diokletianischen Dominats, das nach dem Chaos der Reichskrise des 3. Jh. einen entscheidenden Neubeginn setzt.<sup>34</sup> Es zeigt sich in der spezifischen nemesianischen Ausgestaltung dieses Motiv einerseits bereits der grundsätzliche Sachverhalt, daß die weitere Rezeption der vergilischen Bukolik in wichtigen Punkten durch die Vermittlung des Calpurnius geprägt ist,<sup>35</sup> andererseits werden aus ihr aber auch gravierende Unterschiede in den grundlegenden Intentionen beider Dichter deutlich, die u. a. in engem Zusammenhang mit dem jeweiligen sozio-kulturellen und historischen Umfeld zu sehen sind, in dem die bukolischen Gedichte des Calpurnius bzw. des Nemesian entstanden sind. Denn den nemesianischen Bukolika liegt jegliche Panegyrik auf den bzw. die Herrscher fern. Vielmehr sind sie in den gebildeten, vermutlich aristokratischen Kreisen der Provinz Africa entstanden, deren Hauptanliegen die Rückbesinnung auf die großen klassischen Dichter Roms ist. Besonders deutlich wird das völlig unterschiedliche sozio-kulturelle Umfeld der Eklogen des Calpurnius und derjenigen des Nemesian durch einen Vergleich der einleitenden Gedichte der beiden Sammlungen: Während bei Calpurnius ein Panegyricus auf den Herrschaftsantritt Neros die Mitte der 1. Ekloge ausmacht, singt der Hirte Thymoetas in dem 1. Gedicht des Nemesian ein feierliches Epikedion auf eine Privatperson, nämlich auf Meliboeus, ein von Calpurnius übernommenes Pseudonym, hinter dem sich vermutlich ein wohlhabender und einflußreicher Aristokrat verbirgt, der in einem Kreis von

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. hierzu den maßgeblichen neueren Beitrag zur Interpretation der Eklogen Nemesians von W. Schetter a. O. (vgl. oben Anm. 24) 1 ff. sowie zusammenfassend Verf., "Das Proömium der 'Cynegetica' Nemesians," *Hermes* 115 (1987) 473 f. Eine ausführliche Behandlung der nemesianischen Bukolik hat zuletzt H. Walter, *Studien zur Hirtendichtung Nemesians* (Palingenesia 26), (Stuttgart 1988) vorgelegt, und zwar weithin ausgehend von Schetters Untersuchungsergebnissen.—Der Text der Eklogen Nemesians ist leicht zugänglich bei D. Korzeniewski (Hrsg.), *Hirtengedichte aus spätrömischer und karolingischer Zeit* (Texte zur Forschung 26), (Darmstadt 1976) 13–50; außerdem vgl. dort auch die Einleitung S. 1–4.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. z. B. Schetter a. O. 4 ff.

Gleichgesinnten die Literatur und Künste und somit vermutlich auch Nemesian förderte.<sup>36</sup>

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die gleichsam zum Programm erhobene klassizistische Grundhaltung Nemesians zu sehen, die mehrfach in den bukolischen Gedichten wiederum in einer Art poetologischer Selbstreflexion formuliert wird, wobei Nemesian bezeichnenderweise auf das Thema "Tityrus in Rom" in der Ausdeutung des Calpurnius zurückgreift, sich zugleich aber auch in bedeutsamen Punkten unterscheidet. So fällt zunächst bei Nemesian ecl. 2, 82<sup>b</sup>–84 der Anklang an Calp. ecl. 4, 160–61 unmittelbar ins Auge. Die nemesianischen Verse lauten:

*cantamus avena,  
qua divi cecinere prius, qua dulce locutus  
Tityrus e silvis dominam pervenit in urbem.*

Bei Calpurnius heißt es:

*tu mihi talis eris, qualis qui dulce sonantem  
Tityron e silvis dominam deduxit in urbem.*

Abgesehen vom Verbum und dem unterschiedlichen Casus bei *Tityrus* sind die Verse 84 bei Nemesian und 161 bei Calpurnius identisch. Gleichwohl differiert die Aussage Nemesians von der des Calpurnius insofern nicht unerheblich, als das Motiv des Gönners, der Tityrus in die Stadt führt, bewußt unterdrückt wird. Wie bei Calpurnius steht jedoch das Bild "Tityrus in Rom" eindeutig für Vergils Karriere, die von den *silvae*, also der Bukolik, ihren Ausgang nahm.<sup>37</sup> Im nemesianischen Kontext versucht der Hirtenknabe Alkon durch diesen Vergleich mit Vergil innerhalb seines Werbeliedes um die schöne Donake die eigene Sangeskunst ins rechte Licht zu rücken. Ein dichtungskritischer Zusammenhang, der sich auf Nemesians eigene Dichtung bezieht, liegt hier also nur indirekt vor; eindeutig begegnet er aber in dem Rahmengespräch des 1. Gedichtes zwischen dem alten Tityrus, der—einstmals ein berühmter Sänger—jetzt aber seine Sangeskunst endgültig aufgegeben hat, und dem jungen Thymoetas, der an die Stelle des Tityrus getreten ist und dessen Ruhm als Dichter sich schon weit über das Land verbreitet hat. Die Zeichnung des Tityrus bei Nemesian entspricht in wesentlichen Punkten derjenigen in Vergils 1. Ekloge, so daß der

<sup>36</sup> Diese hier nur angedeuteten entscheidenden Unterschiede zwischen den beiden ersten Gedichten des Calpurnius und des Nemesian hat mit besonderer Deutlichkeit N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, "Nemesians 1. Ekloge," *Rhein. Museum* 115 (1972) 342–56 herausgearbeitet. Außerdem zu dem Umfeld, in dem die nemesianischen Dichtungen entstanden sind, Verf., *Hermes* 115 (1987) 497 f.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. zur Umdeutung des Motivs "Tityrus in Rom" durch Calpurnius oben 39 ff.. Die Gründe dafür, daß bei Nemesian das Gönnerum keine Rolle mehr spielt, werden unmittelbar anschließend genannt.

nemesianische Tityrus letztlich zur Allegorie für Vergil selbst wird.<sup>38</sup> Analog dazu haben wir hinter der Maske des Thymoetas Nemesian selbst zu sehen, der sich somit unmißverständlich als Nachfolger Vergils vorstellt. Diese bewußt evozierten Assoziationen gipfeln dann in folgender Prophezeiung des Tityrus, mit der er dem Lied des Thymoetas, das dieser in V. 35–80 vorgetragen hat, nämlich das bereits erwähnte Epikedion auf den verstorbenen Meliboeus, sein Lob zollt (V. 81–83):

*Perge puer, coeptumque tibi ne desere carmen.  
nam sic dulce sonas, ut te placatus Apollo  
provehat et felix dominam perducatur in urbem.*

Auch hier bildet das Motiv "Tityrus in Rom" in der Ausdeutung des Calpurnius, nämlich als Chiffre für die Dichterkarriere, den Höhepunkt der poetologischen Programmatik Nemesians, jedoch wird es auffällig modifiziert: Tityrus selbst prophezeit dem ihm nachfolgenden Thymoetas die gleiche Karriere, die einst ihm gelang. Dazu bedarf es aber keines bei Hofe einflußreichen Gönners wie bei Calpurnius: Der Musagetes Apollo selbst ist Garant dieser Karriere. Hierin äußert sich ein nicht gerade geringes Selbstbewußtsein des Nemesian, das seinen Grund in einer möglicherweise wie befreiend empfundenen Erkenntnis des Nemesian und der gebildeten Zirkel seiner Zeit, also des ausgehenden 3. Jh., haben mag, der Erkenntnis nämlich, daß wieder eine feste Basis für die eigene literarische Tätigkeit gefunden ist, und zwar in der bewußt klassizistischen Grundhaltung bzw. der bewußten Rückwendung zu den großen Dichtern Roms und allen voran zu Vergil.<sup>39</sup>

Nur am Rande sei darauf hingewiesen, daß Nemesians weiterer dichterischer Weg ganz der in den Eklogen programmatisch formulierten Vergilnachfolge entspricht. Denn nach den Bukolika wendet er sich dem Genos des Lehrgedichts zu und verfaßt ein Lehrgedicht über die Jagd, die "Cynegetica," von dem nur der Anfangsteil, nämlich die Verse 1–325, erhalten ist. Innerhalb des ausführlichen Prooems dieser Cynegetica begegnet aber noch einmal das Motiv des "Tityrus in Rom," und zwar in

<sup>38</sup> Wenn Schetter a. O. 8 f. und Walter a. O. 29 ff. der Gleichsetzung des Tityrus bei Nemesian mit Vergil skeptisch gegenüberstehen, so sind Gründe dafür nur schwer auszumachen. Für die Gleichsetzung sprechen vor allem auch die gerade behandelten Verse 2, 82 ff. Außerdem hält Schetter a. O. 10 es für unzweifelhaft, daß sich hinter Thymoetas Nemesian selbst verbirgt.—Zu dem Namen Thymoetas, einer Emendation M. Haupts statt des fehlerhaften Timetas in den Hss., vgl. ebenfalls Schetter 9 ff.: Nemesian greift bewußt diesen Namen eines Sängers des Dionysos (Diodor. 3, 67, 5) auf, um sich selbst stolz als den Dichter der dionysischen Ekloge 3 zu präsentieren.

<sup>39</sup> Zum Klassizismus des Nemesian vgl. neben Schetter auch Verf., *Hermes* 115 (1987) *passim*.—Walter a. O. 29 erkennt übrigens die hier gerade entwickelten Zusammenhänge, wenn er mit ironischem Unterton bemerkt: "Bei Calpurnius war es 'nur' ein Mensch, eben Meliboeus, der den Weg nach Rom ebnen soll. Nun aber: bei Nemesian-Thymoetas muß es auch schon ein Gott sein, der den Dichter nach Rom führt, da sein Mäzen—und sicher nicht deshalb nur, weil er schon tot ist—so weitreichenden Einfluß nicht mehr hat."

variierender Form: Durch eine "recusatio" kündigt Nemesian ein historisch-panegyrisches Epos auf die Heldentaten der letzten sogen. "Soldatenkaiser" Carinus und Numerianus (283–84 bzw. 285 n. Chr.) an, sobald er ihre göttlichen Antlitze und Rom in all ihrer Pracht gesehen habe.<sup>40</sup> Mit dieser Metapher führt Nemesian also sein dichterisches Programm in Analogie zur vergilischen Werktrias, nämlich Hirtengedichte, Lehrgedicht und Epos, zu seinem Höhepunkt. Hierbei ist es unerheblich, daß der Plan eines Epos—zumindest soweit wir wissen—nicht zur Ausführung gelangte; dem standen schon die politischen Ereignisse im Wege.

Wenn hier die Bemerkungen zu einem vergilischen Motiv, dessen auffällige Rezeptionsgeschichte wichtige Aufschlüsse zu Intention und Programmatik der nachvergilischen paganen Bukolik der Antike vermitteln kann, abgeschlossen werden, so deshalb, weil an dieser Stelle der Bereich der antiken paganen Bukolik nicht überschritten werden soll. Das darf aber nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß die Wirkungsgeschichte des Motives "Tityrus in Rom" keineswegs bei Nemesian endet. Eine umfassende Behandlung dieses Themas hätte vielmehr u. a. einerseits die christliche Sonderform spätantiker Bukolik, wie sie vor allem in dem Gedicht "de mortibus boum" des Endelechius begegnet, zu berücksichtigen, und zwar deshalb, weil der Tityrus der 1. vergilischen Ekloge, der von seiner eigenen Rettung durch die Huld eines göttlichen *iuuenis* in Rom kündigt, umgedeutet wird zum werbenden Prädikanten christlicher Heilschre.<sup>41</sup> Andererseits wäre aber auch der Blick über die Antike hinaus ins Mittelalter zu richten, und zwar dort besonders auf die um 800 n. Chr. entstandene Eklogendichtung des Modoinus, die in ihrem Kern unverhüllte Panegyrik auf Karl den Großen repräsentiert und die somit eng an Calpurnius anknüpft.<sup>42</sup> Mit dieser panegyrischen Grundintention korreliert auch bei Modoinus die erneut durch das Bild des "Tityrus in Rom" zum Ausdruck gebrachte Erwartung der als Gegenleistung verstandenen Protektion und Förderung des Kaisers. Insgesamt betrachtet verdeutlicht besonders die karolingische Eklogendichtung des Modoinus, daß die entscheidende, zu Beginn dieser Ausführungen hervorgehobene Besonderheit der vergilischen Bukolik

<sup>40</sup> Hierzu ausführlich Verf., *Hermes* 115 (1987) 494 f.

<sup>41</sup> An dieser Stelle soll ein Hinweis auf den zentralen Beitrag zu dieser Thematik genügen, nämlich W. Schmid, "Tityrus Christianus. Probleme religiöser Hirtendichtung an der Wende vom vierten zum fünften Jahrhundert," *Rhein. Museum* 96 (1953) 101–65; überarbeitete Fassung in: K. Garber (Hrg.), *Europäische Bukolik und Georgik* (WdF 355), (Darmstadt 1976) 44–121.—Der Text von Endelechius "de mortibus boum" ist wiederum leicht zugänglich bei D. Korzeniewski (Hrg.), *Hirtengedichte aus spätrömischer und karolingischer Zeit* a. O. 57–71.

<sup>42</sup> Auch hier soll nur auf einige bedeutsame Beiträge hingewiesen werden, nämlich: B. Bischof, "Die Abhängigkeit der bukolischen Dichtung des Modoinus, Bischofs von Autun, von jener des T. Calpurnius Siculus und des M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus," in: *Serta Philologica Aenipontana* (Innsbruck 1962) 387–423; A. Ebenbauer, "Nasos Ekloge," *Mittelalt. Jb.* 11 (1976) 13–27; W. von den Steinen, "Karl und die Dichter," in: *Karl der Große, Bd. II: Das geistige Leben* (Düsseldorf 1965) 63–94.—Zum Text des Modoinus vgl. Korzeniewski a. O. (vorige Anm.) 76–101.

gegenüber Theokrit, nämlich die Öffnung für die Realität, der bukolischen Gattung "die Variabilität und Mutabilität ihrer Grundstrukturen garantiert, die allein die Anpassung an die jeweils spezifischen historischen Bedingungen und Bedürfnisse ermöglicht"<sup>43</sup> und daß sie somit die Basis für die so erstaunliche Wirkungsgeschichte der vergilischen Bukolik bis in die Neuzeit legt.<sup>44</sup>

### *Technische Hochschule Aachen*

<sup>43</sup> So Garber a. O. (vgl. Anm. 41) Einleitung VII.

<sup>44</sup> Dies gilt bezüglich der Rezeption der Bukolik Vergils insgesamt. Das Motiv des "Tityrus in Rom," das—wie die Ausführungen an dieser Stelle deutlich gemacht haben—entweder im Zusammenhang mit panegyrischen Zielsetzungen oder aber mit programmatischen poetologischen Äußerungen begegnet, spielt innerhalb der Bukolik nach Modoinus kaum noch eine Rolle.





*Parce, precor . . .* ou Tibulle et la prière.  
Etude stylistique

J. HELLEGOUARC'H

La prière tient une grande place dans l'oeuvre de Tibulle: qu'il supplie sa maîtresse ou qu'il implore les dieux de protéger ses amours, il n'est pas de poème où, sous une forme ou sous une autre, la prière ne soit présente. Cette place est relativement réduite dans certains d'entre eux, par exemple, dans I, 4, dont le thème essentiel est le "sermon" de Priape et où la prière n'apparaît guère que dans les deux derniers vers (83-84: *Parce, puer, quaeso . . .*); dans I, 6, la dernière des élégies déliennes, où le poète exprime un trouble et un désarroi qui sont peut-être la cause d'une composition peu claire et d'un développement un peu confus; dans I, 10, pièce de caractère essentiellement idyllique et élégiaque. Dans d'autres, au contraire, la prière est l'objet principal du développement; ainsi en I, 5, où l'auteur exprime son désarroi à la suite de sa rupture d'avec sa maîtresse et se laisse aller à la supplier.<sup>1</sup> Certains des poèmes ont un caractère nettement précatif: par exemple II, 1 et II, 5, invocations à Bacchus et à Phoebus, qui ont dès le début le ton d'une prière de caractère religieux.<sup>2</sup> Ajoutons que l'une des formes de ces poèmes, le *paraclausithyron*,<sup>3</sup> particulièrement favorable à l'expression précative, se retrouve peu ou prou dans plusieurs de ces pièces.<sup>4</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> I, 5, 7-8:           Parce tamen, per te furtivi foedera lecti  
                          per Venerem quaeso compositumque caput.
- <sup>2</sup> II, 1, 1-4:           Quisquis adest, faueat: fruges lustramus et agros  
                          ritus ut a prisco traditus exstat auo.  
                          Bacche, ueni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uua  
                          pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge Ceres.
- II, 5, 1-4:           Phocbe, faue: nous ingreditur tua templa sacerdos;  
                          huc age cum cithara carminibusque ueni:  
                          nunc te uocales impellere pollice chordas,  
                          nunc precor ad laudes flectere uerba meas.

<sup>3</sup> Sur ce genre, cf. Frank O. Copley, *Exclusus amator. A study in Latin love poetry* (Baltimore 1956); sur Tibulle, pp. 91-112.

<sup>4</sup> I, 2, particulièrement 7-14: cf. K. Vretska, "Tibulls Paraklausithyron," *Wien. St. 68* (1955) 20-46; Y. C. Yardley, "The Elegiac Paraklausithyron," *Eranos* 76 (1978) 19-34, spécialement 28-29; I, 5, particulièrement 67-75: cf. F. O. Copley, *op. cit.*, 107-11; II, 3, 73-74; II, 4, 18-22; II, 6, notamment 11-14.

Quelles sont les formes de cette prière, quels procédés stylistiques la mettent en valeur, c'est ce que je voudrais montrer dans cette étude par une analyse des livres I et II du *Corpus Tibullianum* (C.T.), les seuls incontestablement authentiques. Ce faisant, il nous faudra garder à l'esprit deux idées de base: 1. il n'y a pas de frontière nette entre l'expression de la prière et l'expression poétique en général, et ce n'est que par la mise en lumière de la convergence de divers procédés<sup>5</sup> que pourra apparaître une forme spécifique de cette dernière; 2. les procédés que nous mettrons en lumière ne sont pas non plus spécifiques de la poésie tibullienne et se manifestent chez d'autres poètes; mais une analyse plus détaillée nous permettra cependant de déceler ce qui caractérise plus particulièrement l'oeuvre de Tibulle.

L'analyse du vocabulaire doit nous fournir une première approche pour préciser la place du thème de la prière dans l'oeuvre de Tibulle; nous la ferons par une confrontation établie entre le précieux *Index uerborum du Corpus Tibullianum* (I.C.T.) réalisé au L.A.S.L.A. (Laboratoire d'analyse statistique des langues anciennes) de Liège par Mme S. Govaerts<sup>6</sup> et le *Dictionnaire fréquentiel* (D.F.) consacré à l'ensemble du vocabulaire latin par le même organisme,<sup>7</sup> qui l'un et l'autre fournissent, à côté d'un index alphabétique, un deuxième index où les mots sont rangés dans l'ordre de fréquence décroissante. Le directeur du L.A.S.L.A., L. Delatte, a lui-même montré, et à propos de Tibulle justement, ce que l'examen des termes les plus fréquemment utilisés, les "mots-clefs," peuvent apporter à la connaissance d'une oeuvre et de son auteur.<sup>8</sup> Parmi les mots les plus fréquents en rapport avec les deux aspects du thème de la prière qui apparaîtront dans la suite de cette étude, je relève les suivants, accompagnés, dans une première colonne du nombre d'occurrences et de leur classement dans l'I.C.T.,<sup>9</sup> et dans une deuxième colonne des mêmes données dans le D.F.:

<sup>5</sup> Sur cette notion de la "convergence des effets," cf. mon article "Les structures stylistiques de la poésie latine: méthode d'analyse et application pratique," *L'Inf. litt.* 30 (1978) 234-45 (p. 244).

<sup>6</sup> S. Govaerts, *Le Corpus Tibullianum. Index uerborum et relevés statistiques. Essai de méthodologie statistique*, Travaux publiés par le Laboratoire d'analyse statistique des langues anciennes, fasc. 5 (La Haye, Mouton 1966).

<sup>7</sup> L. Delatte—E. Evrard—S. Govaerts—J. Denooz, *Dictionnaire fréquentiel et index inverse de la langue latine* (Liège, L.A.S.L.A. 1981).

<sup>8</sup> L. Delatte, "Key-words and poetic themes in Propertius and Tibullus," *R.E.L.O.* (1967) 37-79; cf. aussi, dans le même sens, deux articles de E. D. Kollmann, "A study of the vocabulary of Vergil's Eclogues," *R.E.L.O.* (1973) no. 3, pp. 1-19; "Word frequencies in Latin literature," *ibid.* no. 4, pp. 1-13.

<sup>9</sup> Les chiffres donnés sont ceux de l'ensemble du C.T.; ceux des livres I et II sont bien précisés dans une deuxième colonne, mais l'ordre de fréquence décroissante n'y est plus maintenu. Cela ne me paraît pas devoir modifier la validité de la comparaison.

	I.C.T.		D.F.	
	O	R	O	R <sup>10</sup>
<i>Deus</i>	68	15*	1507	56*
<i>amor</i>	64	19*	623	164*
<i>per</i>	49	27*	2407	38*
<i>Venus</i>	45	28*	23	3458* <sup>11</sup>
<i>dico</i>	43	29*	2589	33*
<i>cano</i>	28	51*	188	591*
<i>carmen</i>	24	68*	296	391*
<i>precor</i>	19	100*	169	754*
<i>sacer</i>	19	101* <sup>12</sup>	379	375*
<i>parco</i>	18	107*	212	578*
<i>cantus</i>	15	136*	89	1412*
<i>fores</i>	15	140*	94	1339*

On voit que, de tous ces mots, seuls *dico* et *per*, qui apparaît dans de nombreuses formules de supplication, ont à peu près le même rang dans les deux colonnes; tous les autres tiennent dans le vocabulaire de Tibulle une place nettement plus importante que dans le vocabulaire général. Même *Deus*, qui est également un des mots les plus fréquents dans celui-ci, y est cependant devancé comme substantif, par *res*, *animus*, *rex* et *locus* qui, avec 4 occurrences pour les trois premiers et 5 pour le quatrième, se situent au-delà du 500<sup>ème</sup> rang dans le *C.T.*

Dans le chapitre "Poétique" de ses *Essais de linguistique générale*<sup>13</sup> (p. 219), R. Jakobson fait l'importante observation suivante: "Les particularités des divers genres poétiques impliquent la participation, à côté de la fonction poétique prédominante, des autres fonctions verbales dans un ordre hiérarchique variable. La poésie épique, centrée sur la troisième personne, met fortement à contribution la fonction référentielle: la poésie lyrique, orientée vers la première personne, est intimement liée à la fonction émotive; la poésie de la seconde personne est marquée par la fonction conative, et se caractérise comme supplicatoire ou exhortative, selon que la première personne y est subordonnée à la seconde ou la seconde à la première." Voilà une particularité de l'expression poétique qu'il nous est également possible de préciser grâce à la comparaison entre *I.C.T.* et le *D.F.* Je me limiterai sur ce point à l'examen de la fréquence des pronoms personnels et des adjectifs possessifs, ainsi que des anaphoriques et des

<sup>10</sup> O: nombre d'occurrences; R: rang occupé dans la liste de fréquence décroissante.

<sup>11</sup> En fait, S. Govaerts distingue *amor*, nom commun (39) et *Amor*, nom propre (25), et le *D.F.* fait de même; je crois légitime de regrouper les deux emplois, car la distinction entre eux est fragile et aléatoire; même chose pour *Venus* (38) et *uenus* (7), avec de plus le fait que, pour ce dernier mot, aucune distinction n'est faite par le *D.F.*, ce qui rend toute vérification impossible.

<sup>12</sup> Dans des cas de ce genre, la différence de rang résulte simplement de l'ordre alphabétique.

<sup>13</sup> Roman Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale* (Paris, Ed. de Minuit 1963) chap. XI, "Poétique," pp. 209-48.

démonstratifs qui en sont les substituts pour la troisième personne. Voici, comme précédemment, mais limitée cette fois aux livres I et II du *C.T.*, la liste de ces termes dans l'ordre de fréquence décroissante avec l'indication du nombre des occurrences et, sur la droite, cette même liste telle qu'elle se dégage du *D.F.*, chaque mot étant accompagné de deux chiffres précisant, le premier sa fréquence générale, le deuxième sa fréquence dans les textes poétiques:<sup>14</sup>

	<i>C.T.</i>		<i>D.F.</i>	
<i>ego</i>	141	<i>hic</i>	8174	2117
<i>tu</i>	125	<i>ille</i>	6460	1324
<i>ille</i>	87	<i>sui</i>	4773	581
<i>hic</i>	75	<i>tu</i>	4737	2278
<i>ipse</i>	53	<i>ego</i>	4442	1896
<i>meus</i>	39	<i>ipse</i>	3602	834
<i>tuus</i>	39	<i>suus</i>	3232	476
<i>sui</i>	21	<i>nos</i>	1644	314
<i>suus</i>	20	<i>meus</i>	1538	784
<i>noster</i>	17	<i>tuus</i>	1528	731
<i>uos</i>	13	<i>noster</i>	1320	497
<i>nos</i>	9	<i>uos</i>	737	205
<i>uester</i>	3	<i>uester</i>	407	107

La collation des deux tableaux atteste à l'évidence la prédominance de la première personne, qui caractérise la poésie lyrique selon R. Jakobson, et, constatons-le, la poésie en général; en revanche, la subordination de la première personne à la seconde qui est, selon lui, la marque de la poésie "supplicatoire" n'apparaît pas à première vue dans le tableau de distribution du vocabulaire du *C.T.*, surtout si on le compare au tableau général où la prédominance de la deuxième personne est nette. Cela conduit à la conclusion nécessaire que la forme supplicatoire, qui est celle de la prière, ne constitue qu'un aspect de la poésie de Tibulle, qu'il convient donc de déterminer encore par d'autres traits.

Dans une étude fort intéressante, Mlle L. Deschamps<sup>15</sup> s'est attachée à l'analyse de l'emploi du subjonctif dans le *C.T.* En se référant à l'ouvrage de J. Perret sur le verbe latin,<sup>16</sup> elle rappelle le caractère subjectif du subjonctif latin, qui est en réalité un subjonctif-optatif, ce qui le rend apte à exprimer un procès comme une des représentations qu'un être se fait du réel et lui donne une aptitude "à rendre toutes les nuances dont un esprit peut colorer un fait" (p. 49). Elle observe tout d'abord la grande fréquence des emplois de

<sup>14</sup> Pour l'interprétation de ces données, il convient de préciser que dans le *D.F.* les textes poétiques représentent à peu près 25% du corpus total.

<sup>15</sup> L. Deschamps, "Le rêve et la prière chez Tibulle, ou la poésie du subjonctif," *L'Inf. litt.* 30 (1978) 49-53.

<sup>16</sup> J. Perret, *Le verbe latin* (Paris, C.D.U. 1963).

ce mode chez notre auteur: 431 pour 1368 vers (contre 1241 dans le corpus que j'ai retenu),<sup>17</sup> "soit à peu près un subjonctif tous les trois vers, ou 31,74% de vers contenant un subjonctif," alors qu'il n'y en a que 11% dans *Aen.* I, 1-100, et un peu moins dans d'autres parties du poème de Virgile, 14 à 15% dans certains discours de Cicéron. Elle distingue ensuite entre ce qu'elle appelle les emplois *imposés*, résultant de la simple application des règles de la syntaxe (par exemple, subjonctif après *ut* final ou consécutif) et les emplois *positifs*, où le poète utilise le mode d'une façon qui lui est spécifique. Or, même dans le premier cas, le subjonctif peut être chargé d'une nuance précatrice; ainsi dans I, 2, 63-64:

Non ego totus abesset amor, sed muuus esset  
orabam.<sup>18</sup>

Mais ce sont surtout les subjonctifs *positifs* qui sont propres à exprimer, indépendamment de toute autre considération de texte, une nuance précatrice, à côté d'un certain nombre d'autres. Le propre du subjonctif est alors de placer le procès hors du vécu et de le transposer par conséquent dans le monde de l'irréel et du rêve; l'auteur cite comme exemple la fin du poème 3 du livre I, 3, 83-94:

At tu casta precor maneat, sanctique pudoris  
adsideat custos sedula semper anus.  
Haec tibi fabellas referat positaque lucerna  
deducat plena stamina longa colu;  
at circa grauibus pensis adfixa puella  
paulatim somno fessa remittat opus.  
Tunc ueniam subito, nec quisquam nuntiet ante,  
sed uidear caelo missus adesse tibi;  
tunc mihi, qualis eris longos turbata capillos,  
obuia nudato, Delia, curre pede.  
Hoc precor, hunc illum nobis Aurora nitentem  
Luciferum roseis candida portei equis.

Ce cas est particulièrement remarquable, en effet, car, dans les deux premiers comme dans les deux derniers vers, les subjonctifs peuvent paraître tout aussi liés au verbe *precor* qu'ils l'étaient à *orabam* dans l'exemple précédent, mais entre les deux, il y a une expression du subjonctif dans des verbes qui sont pratiquement autonomes.

<sup>17</sup> L. Deschamps ne précise pas son corpus et indique seulement (n. 1) qu'elle ne retient que les poèmes qu'on s'accorde à attribuer à Tibulle; apparemment, elle ajoute aux livres I et II, les poèmes 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 19 et 20 du livre III dans l'édition M. Ponchont (Paris, *Les Belles Lettres* 1950) à laquelle elle se réfère, comme je le fais moi-même.

<sup>18</sup> On observera cependant que dans un tel cas la nuance précatrice résulte surtout du fait que le subjonctif est employé comme complément du verbe *orabam*, ce qui nous reporte aux problèmes de vocabulaire qui seront examinés plus loin; le vers possède de plus un double intermot trochaïque dans deux pieds consécutifs: cf. *infra*.

Un autre procédé morphologique important pour l'expression de la prière est l'emploi de l'impératif.<sup>19</sup> Tibulle recourt à ce mode d'une façon relativement abondante: 108 occurrences pour les 1241 vers du *C.T.* I-II, soit 0,08 par vers; c'est le double de ce qu'on relève par exemple dans un chant de l'*Enéide*.<sup>20</sup> Mais on ne saurait se limiter à cette donnée brute. Il n'y a pas une répartition uniforme de ces emplois à travers les différents poèmes: 3 pour les 94 vers de I, 3, mais 18 dans II, 1, pour un nombre de vers un peu moins élevé (90). Les impératifs sont fréquents dans des passages qui ont un caractère religieux, comme II, 1, 81-90 ou II, 5, 1-10, mais aussi dans des textes où l'aspect précatif est dépourvu de ce caractère, comme dans I, 8, 47-52:

At tu dum primi floret tibi temporis aetas  
 utere: non tardo labitur illa pede.  
 Neu Marathum torque: puero quae gloria uicto est?  
 in ueteres esto dura, puella, senes;  
 parce, precor, tenero: non illi sontica causa est  
 sed nimius luto corpora tingit amor.

Un cas intéressant est celui des formes d'impératifs du verbe *uenire*. Le nombre des occurrences de ce verbe relevé dans l'*I.C.T.* et dans le *D.F.* ainsi que son rang dans les deux listes sont les suivants:

<i>I.C.T.</i>		<i>D.F.</i>	
O	R	O	R
53	23*	1212	76*

Etant donné que le nombre des vocables représentés est forcément moins élevé dans l'*I.C.T.* que dans le *D.F.*, on peut considérer les deux classements comme approximativement équivalents; toutefois, les 1212 occurrences du *D.F.* se décomposent en 785 pour la prose et 427 pour la poésie, soit respectivement 64,77% et 35,23%; si l'on tient compte que le corpus du *D.F.* se répartit, comme je l'ai précédemment indiqué, en 75% pour les textes de prose et 25% pour les textes poétiques, on estimera que *uenire* est un peu plus fréquent dans ces derniers, sans que la différence soit cependant très significative. L'emploi des impératifs par Tibulle est en revanche remarquable.<sup>21</sup> Il y a 10 occurrences de *ueni* et 1 de *uenite*, soit environ 1/5

<sup>19</sup> Cf. E. D. Kollmann, "A study of the vocabulary of Vergil's Eclogues" (cf. n. 8), p. 2: "There are also certain grammatical forms which, independent of the meaning of words, may be characteristic of a certain style; these are the vocative and the imperative, the most immediate and expressive forms of the noun and the verb, respectively."

<sup>20</sup> 34 occurrences sur 756 vers dans le chant I, 43 sur 908 vers dans le chant X, soit dans les deux cas 0,04 par vers.

<sup>21</sup> D'autres formes de *uenire* que l'impératif sont également pourvues d'une connotation précatif et religieuse, par exemple, *uenit* en II, 1, 1.

des formes de *uenire* présentes chez le poète, dont 8 (7 + 1) dans les livres I et II.<sup>22</sup> Tous ont une valeur fortement précativ; ainsi en II, 1, 3-4:

Bacche, veni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uua  
pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres.

Trois de ces emplois se trouvent dans les 7 premiers vers de II, 5, dont j'ai signalé au début de cette étude le caractère précatif particulièrement marqué:

1-2 Phoebe, faue: nous ingreditur tua templa sacerdos;  
huc age cum cithara carminibusque ueni . . .

5-7 Ipse triumphali deuinctus tempora lauro  
dum cumulant aras ad tua sacra ueni  
sed nitidus pulcherque ueni . . .<sup>23</sup>

Or, sur les 196 occurrences de *uenire* recensées chez Virgile par M. N. Wetmore,<sup>24</sup> il y en a seulement 7 d'impératifs: 3 *ueni* et 2 *uenito*<sup>25</sup> et qui n'ont pas tous une valeur précativ et religieuse.

On peut faire des observations du même ordre sur *fauere*: 15 occurrences dans l'*I.C.T.* contre 74 seulement (28 + 46) dans le *D.F.*, ce qui indique le caractère principalement poétique des emplois de ce mot; les impératifs sont au nombre de 5 dans le *C.T.* (4 *faue*, 1 *faueto*), mais deux seulement sont présents dans les livres I et II:

II, 2, 1-2: Dicamus bona uerba: uenit Natalis ad aras;  
quisquis ades, lingua, uir mulierque faue.

II, 5, 2: cf. *supra*.

Virgile a 8 occurrences de *fauere*, dont 2 *faue* (*Buc.* IV, 10; *Georg.* IV, 230) et 1 *fauete* (*Aen.* V, 71).

Ces emplois d'impératifs font le plus souvent partie d'invocations ou de prières aux dieux; ce sont principalement:

Les Lares:

I, 10, 15: sed patrii seruate Lares . . .

I, 10, 25: At nobis, aerata, Lares, depellite tela.

Bacchus:

II, 1, 3: cf. *supra*.

II, 3, 63-64: et tu Bacche tener, iucundae consitor uuae,  
tu quoque deuotos, Bacche, relinque lacus.

<sup>22</sup> *ueni*: I, 7, 64; 10, 67; II, 1, 3; 81; II, 5, 2; 6; 7; *uenite*: II, 1, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. aussi l'emploi de la formule *Sancte, ueni* en II, 1, 81 et III, 10, 9.

<sup>24</sup> M. N. Wetmore, *Index uerborum Vergilianus*<sup>2</sup> (New Haven-London-Oxford 1930).

<sup>25</sup> *ueni*: *Georg.* II, 7; *Aen.* VIII, 365; XI, 856; *uenito*: *Buc.* III, 77; VII, 40.

## Phoebus:

- II, 5, 1: Phoebæ, faue . . . , cf. *supra*.  
 II, 5, 17: Phoebæ, sacras Messalinum sine tangere chartas  
 II, 5, 105–06: Pace tua pereant arcus pereantque sagittæ  
                   Phoebæ, modo in terris erret inermis Amor  
 II, 5, 121: Adnue: sic tibi sint intonsi, Phoebæ, capilli.

Mais c'est naturellement Vénus qui est la divinité la plus présente dans le *C.T.* avec 38 occurrences en tant que nom propre<sup>26</sup> dont 31 dans les livres I et II, ce qui lui donne le 35<sup>ème</sup> rang dans la liste de fréquence décroissante; toutefois, la déesse n'apparaît qu'une fois dans ces livres comme destinataire d'une prière exprimée par un impératif: I, 2, 97: *At mihi parce, Venus*;<sup>27</sup> cependant, elle est aussi quelquefois celle qui reçoit des prières ou exauce des vœux.<sup>28</sup>

Parmi les mots dont j'ai indiqué au début de cette étude la relative fréquence chez Tibulle se trouvent *cano* et *carmen*, accessoirement *cantus* auquel on peut joindre le verbe *cantare*, bien que ce dernier verbe ne se trouve que 5 fois dans la totalité du *C.T.* C'est en effet comme des *carmina* que Tibulle présente ses poèmes:

- I, 9, 49–50: Illa uelim rapida Vulcanus carmina flamma  
                   torreat et liquida deleat amnis aqua.  
 II, 4, 19: ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero.

En II, 1, 37, il proclame: *Rura cano rurisque deos* et cette déclaration rappelle les paroles qu'il prête à la Sibylle, la *uates*, en II, 5, 63: *Vera cano*; cf. aussi le v. 65: *Haec cecinit uates et te sibi, Phoebæ, uocauit*.<sup>29</sup>

Dans une étude de tout premier intérêt, J. Veremans,<sup>30</sup> citant une phrase de O. Gigon,<sup>31</sup> remarque que la poésie de Tibulle se signale par un "emploi extraordinairement surabondant, même presque abusif de l'anaphore" et, plus largement, de toutes les figures liées à la répétition des mots, et il montre

<sup>26</sup> 7 occurrences en tant que nom commun; pour les autres dieux indiqués ci-dessus, les chiffres sont: *Lares* 9, *Bacchus* 17, *Phoebus* 19; il y a 10 occurrences de *Iuppiter*, mais le nom de ce dieu n'est jamais en rapport avec un impératif.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. aussi III, 11, 13.

<sup>28</sup> I, 4, 71–72 *Blanditiis uult esse locum Venus ipsa; querellis / supplicibus, miseris fletibus illa fauet*; I, 9, 81–82: *At tua tum me poena iuuat, Venerique merenti / fixa notet casus aurea palma meos*; cf. aussi I, 6, 83–84.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. aussi II, 3, 19–20 (à propos d'Apollon): *O quotiens ausae, caneret dum ualle sub alta / rumpere mugitu carmina docta boues!*

<sup>30</sup> J. Veremans, "L'anaphore dans l'oeuvre de Tibulle," *L'Ant. class.* 50 (1981) 774–800.

<sup>31</sup> Dans *Hésiode et son influence*, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 7 (Vandoeuvres-Genève 1962) 288.



fort bien ce que la poésie de Tibulle doit en cela à la tradition du *carmen*: cela tient tant à la structure du vers qu'à l'organisation générale du poème.

On note tout d'abord des procédés de répétition qui tiennent de l'anaphore ou de l'épanalepse, dont l'effet est de souligner l'intensité de la prière:

- I, 1, 37-38:      *Adsitis, diui, nec uos e paupere mensa  
                          dona nec e puris spernite fictilibus*
- I, 2, 95:           *Hunc puer, hunc iuuenis turba circumterit arta*
- I, 3, 27:           *Nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi . . .*
- I, 9, 15:           *uretur facies, urentur sole capilli*
- II, 4, 5-6:         *et seu quid merui seu quid peccauius, urit;  
                          uror, io! remoue, saeua puella, faces.*

Parfois, la répétition d'un même terme à l'intérieur d'un vers est complétée par sa répétition au début du distique suivant, ou bien le mot est répété en tête de l'hexamètre et du pentamètre (I, 2, 23-24: *nec . . . nec*), en tête d'un pentamètre et de l'hexamètre suivant (I, 3, 4-5: *abstineas . . . abstineas*), à l'intérieur de l'hexamètre et en tête du pentamètre suivant:

- I, 2, 35-36:       *neu strepitu terrete pedum neu quaerite nomen  
                          neu prope fulgenti lumina ferte face.*

Parfois aussi, nous avons une série de distiques dont l'hexamètre et le pentamètre commencent par le même terme, mais différent pour chacun d'entre eux:

- I, 2, 47-52:       *iam tenet infernas magico stridore cateruas  
                          iam iubet aspersas lacte referre pedem.  
Cum libet, haec tristi depellit nubila caelo;  
                          cum libet, aestiuo conuocat orbe niues.  
Sola tenere malas Medae dicitur herbas,  
                          sola feros Hecatae perdomuisse canes.*

Mais on voit aussi que le poète utilise souvent l'anaphore pour organiser en quelque sorte des quatrains à l'intérieur de son poème:

- I, 1, 61-64:       *Flebis et arsuro positum me, Delia, lecto,  
                          tristibus et lacrimis oscula mixta dabis;  
flebis: non tua sunt dura praecordia ferro  
                          uincta, nec in tenero stat tibi corde silex.*
- I, 2, 79-82:       *Num Veneris magnae uiolau numina uerbo  
                          et mea nunc poenas impia lingua luit?  
Num feror incestus sedes aduisse deorum  
                          sertaque . . .*

- I, 9, 7-10:           Lucra petens habili tauros adiungit aratro  
                              et durum terrae rusticus urget opus,  
                              lucra petituras freta per parentia uentis  
                              ducunt instabiles sidera certa rates.

Cf. encore I, 4, 47-50 (*nec ... nec ...*); I, 5, 27-30 (*Illa ... Illa ...*); 37-40 (*Saepe ... saepe ...*); II, 1, 39-42 (*illi ... illi ...*).

Il arrive que cette construction en quatrains se poursuive sur toute une partie du poème, ainsi que nous pouvons l'observer dans le poème I, 7, 1-4 (*hunc cecinere ... hunc fore*) et surtout dans l'invocation au Nil et l'hymne à Osiris (v. 23 sq.): 25-28 (*Te ... te*), 29-32 (*primus ... primus*), 35-38 (*illi ... ille*); 39-42 (*Bacchus et ... Bacchus et*); cf. aussi I, 2, 79-86 (*Num Veneris ... Num feror ...; Non ego ... non ego*) à quoi s'opposent fortement les vers 87-88 (*At tu ...*); cf. également II, 6, 31-34 (*Illa ... illius ...*); 47-50 (*saepe ... saepe ...*); 51-55 (*tunc ... tunc ...*) et surtout II, 3, 33-62, dont J. Veremans (195-97) analyse parfaitement la construction d'ensemble.

Parfois, sans qu'il y ait formellement anaphore, deux distiques consécutifs commencent par des termes très proches les uns des autres par la forme et les sonorités:

- I, 9, 37-40:           *Quin etiam* flebas: at non ego fallere doctus  
                              tergebam umentes credulus usque genas.  
                              *Quid faciam*, nisi et ipse fores in amore puellae?  
                              Sit precor exemplo sed leuis illa tuo,

ou bien par des mots qui sont en correspondance l'un avec l'autre:

- I, 1, 53-56:           *Te* bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique,  
                              ut domus hostiles praeferat exuias:  
                              *me* retinent uinctum formosae uincla puellae,  
                              et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.

Le poète applique parfois les deux procédés à la structure de tout un hémistiche, utilisant une technique de construction du vers dont j'ai étudié l'emploi pour l'hexamètre principalement chez Ennius, Lucrèce et Virgile.<sup>32</sup>

- I, 9, 25-28:           *Ipsē deus tacito* permisit fleue† ministro  
                              ederet ut multo libera uerba mero;  
                              *ipse deus somno* dormitos emittere uocem  
                              iussit et inuitos facta tegenda loqui.

Dans certains cas, Tibulle élargit la structure ainsi établie en ajoutant aux deux éléments initiaux de chaque distique un troisième au début du deuxième pentamètre:

<sup>32</sup> J. Hellegouarc'h, "Fabricator poeta: existe-t-il une poésie formulaire en latin?" *R.E.L.* 62 (1974) 166-91.

I, 9, 31-34: *Tunc mihi iurabas nullo te diuitis auri  
pondere, non gemmis, uendere uelle fidem,  
non tibi si pretium Campania terra daretur,  
non tibi si Bacchi cura Falernus ager.*

Il peut y avoir aussi correspondance entre deux quatrains situés à une certaine distance l'un de l'autre: II, 1, 47-50 (*Rura ... rure ...*), 59-62 (*rure ... rure ...*).<sup>33</sup>

Le poème I, 6 offre un bon exemple du recours à ces divers procédés d'anaphore directe ou indirecte: 3-6 (*quid tibi ... nam mihi ...*), 7-10 (*Illa quidem ... ipse miser ...*); 17-20 (*neu iuuenis ... neu ... neu te ...*), 25-28 (*saepe ... saepe ...*), 29-32 (*Non ego ... ille ego ...*), à quoi j'ajouterais même 33-37 (*Quid tenera ... Te tenet ...*) où la correspondance se limite à un simple rappel de sonorités.

On pourrait m'objecter que de tels procédés relèvent plus de la rhétorique en général que de l'expression de la prière proprement dite. Cela est fort juste; mais il est intéressant d'observer que ces répétitions ont aussi une valeur incantatoire, surtout quand elles sont utilisées dans des conditions particulières. Il n'est guère possible dans une étude limitée comme celle-ci de faire autre chose que de donner quelques exemples significatifs. Je les prendrai tout d'abord dans le poème I, 2 qui possède cette double particularité d'être pour une bonne part un *paraclausithyron* et de développer des thèmes en rapport avec la magie.<sup>34</sup> Dans les v. 7-10, l'amant s'adresse à la *dura ianua* (v. 6), qui ne veut pas s'ouvrir, avec une insistance marquée par la répétition de *ianua* et de *te*, appuyée par des allitérations (*difficilis domini, Ianua iam*):

*Ianua difficilis domini, te uerberet imber,  
te louis imperio fulmina missa petant.  
Ianua, iam pateas uni mihi uicta querellis,  
neu furtim uerso cardine aperta sones.*

Ce caractère incantatoire est ensuite prolongé par la répétition de *te* et *tu* en tête des vers 13 et 15, par l'anaphore de *illa* aux vers 17, 19, 20, 21, enfin de *nec* dans les vers 23 et 24. Ces répétitions vont le plus souvent par trois, car, comme le remarque A. M. Tupet, "ces répétitions par trois ou multiples de trois sont constantes dans les rites magiques de tous le temps, et les poètes latins, Ovide en particulier, les mentionnent souvent."<sup>35</sup> Le C.T. nous offre quelques exemples frappants de cette présence en tête de trois

<sup>33</sup> Le thème auquel correspondent ces deux quatrains est d'ailleurs annoncé dans le v. 37, qui comporte lui aussi une répétition et indique en même temps qu'il s'agit d'un *carmen*: *Rura cano rurisque deos*, ce qui est rappelé à la fin de ce développement, v. 65-66: *atque aliqua adsidue textrix operata mineruam | cantat.*

<sup>34</sup> Cf. A. M. Tupet, *La magie dans la poésie latine* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1976) 337-48 (Tibulle).

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 342.

distiques consécutifs d'un même mot qui exprime le thème dominant du passage:

- I, 5, 61–66: *Pauper* erit praesto semper, te pauper adibit  
 primus et in tenero fixus erit latere;  
*pauper* in angusto fidus comes agmine turbae  
 subicietque manus efficietque uiam;  
*pauper* ad occultos furtim deducet amicos  
 uinclaque de niueo detrahet ipse pede.

Cette disposition est elle-même susceptible d'extension et d'élargissement; ainsi dans:

- I, 5, 9–16: Ille ego cum tristi morbo defessa iaceres  
 te dicor uotis eripuisse meis,  
*ipse*que te circum lustrauī sulpure puro  
 carmine cum magico praecinuisset anus;  
*ipse* procuraui ne possent saeua nocere  
 somnia, ter sancta deueneranda mola;  
*ipse* ego uelatus filo tunicisque solutis  
 uota nouem Truīiae nocte silente dedi.

Le sizain constitué par les trois distiques allant des vers 11 à 16 et commençant par *ipse* est précédé d'un premier distique dont l'initiale *ille ego* n'est pas sans rapport avec les trois autres et est surtout très directement rappelée par la troisième *ipse ego*. En II, 6, 21–28, un hymne à l'espérance (*Spes*) compte trois distiques, mais le premier est séparé des deux autres par un quatrième élément; dans le premier hexamètre (v. 21), *Spes* est répété en anaphore au début de chaque hémistiche et le mot se trouvait déjà à l'initiale du pentamètre précédent (v. 20).

Le caractère de *carmina* que comportent ces développements se manifeste encore par d'autres traits, dont le principal est le jeu des sonorités et des allitérations qui sont propres à cette forme d'expression;<sup>36</sup> en voici quelques exemples significatifs:

- I, I, 33–34: allitérations en *p*:

At uos exiguo pecori, furesque lupique,  
 parcite: de magno praeda petenda grege.

- I, 9, 13–16: expression d'un vœu; allitérations en *p* et anaphore *uretur* ... *urentur*:

<sup>36</sup> Sur tous ces procédés, liés au jeu des répétitions, cf. H. Kleinknecht, *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike* (Stuttgart–Berlin 1937) 179–87.

Iam mihi persoluet poenas, pulvisque decorem  
 detrahet et uentis horrida facta coma;  
 uretur facies, urentur sole capilli,  
 deteret inualidos et uia longa pedes.

II, 6, 9–12; 17–18: allitérations en *m* et *u* principalement; anaphores et répétitions diverses:

Castra peto, ualeatque Venus ualeantque puellae;  
 et mihi sunt uires et mihi facta tuba est.  
 Magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi magna locuto  
 excutiant clausae fortia uerba fores . . .

Tu miserum torques, tu me mihi dira precari  
 cogis et insana mente nefanda loqui.

II, 1, 83–85: association de répétitions, de paronomases et d'allitérations en *u*, *c* et *p* principalement:

Vos celebrem cantate deum pecorique uocate  
 uoce; palam pecori, clam sibi quisque uocet,  
 aut etiam sibi quisque palam . . .

Cf. encore I, 4, 52–54 et 61–64, où le caractère de *carmen* est très nettement affirmé:

I, 4, 52–54: Tunc tibi mitis erit, rapias tum cara licebit  
 oscula; pugnabit, sed tamen apta dabit;  
 rapta dabit primo . . .

I, 4, 61–64: Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas,  
 aurea nec superent munera Pieridas:  
 carmine purpurea est Nisi coma; carmina ni sint,  
 ex umero Pelopis non nituisset ebur.

Le ton du *carmen* est encore plus affirmé dans les deux cas suivants où à une double (*p p, ff*) ou même triple allitération (*p p, ff, c p c p*) est associé l'emploi de mots et de tours spécifiques du style précatitif: *parce, quaeso, per*:

I, 4, 83–84: Parce, puer, quaeso, ne turpis fabula fiam  
 cum mea ridebunt uana magisteria.

I, 5, 7–8: Parce tamen, per te furtiui foedera lecti  
 per Venerem quaeso compositumque caput.

L'intensité de la prière est également marquée chez Tibulle par le recours à divers procédés de construction et de disposition du vers:

#### 1. l'enjambement:

Le rejet de *orabam* en I, 2, 63–64 (texte cité et commenté *supra*) fournit un bon exemple de la spécificité et de l'efficacité du procédé; en voici quelques autres exemples:

- I, 2, 11–12: et mala si qua tibi dixit dementia nostra,  
ignoscas.
- I, 5, 59–60: At tu quam primum sagae praecepta rapacis  
desere: nam donis uincitur omnis amor.
- II, 5, 17–18: Phoebe, sacras Messalinum sine tangere chartas  
uatis, et ipse, precor, quid canat illa doce.

L'enjambement est souvent associé aux allitérations et aux jeux de sonorités:

I, 1, 33–34; II, 1, 83–84 (textes ci-dessus).

Particulièrement remarquables sont les deux cas suivants où l'enjambement de *ianua* souligne le ton du *paraclausithyron*:

- I, 5, 67–68: Heu! canimus frustra nec uerbis uicta patescit  
ianua sed plena est percutienda manu.
- II, 3, 73–74: Nullus erat custos, nulla exclusura dolentes  
ianua; si fas est, mos, precor, ille redi.

2. La ponctuation ou l'articulation bucolique:

- I, 5, 75–76: Nescio quid furtiuus amor parat. Vtere quaeso,  
dum licet . . .
- I, 3, 23: Quid tua nunc Isis mihi, Delia, quid mihi prosunt.
- I, 4, 63–64: Carmine purpurea est Nisi coma; carmina ni sint  
ex umero Pelopis non nituisset ebur.

Cf. encore I, 2, 37; 4, 27; 6, 57; 9, 11; 21; II, 6, 27.<sup>37</sup>

3. La césure trochaïque 3<sup>ème</sup>, la principale dans le vers grec, a pour des raisons diverses, principalement phonétiques, un caractère très marqué aux yeux des Latins dont ces derniers ont fait une exploitation stylistique.<sup>38</sup> C'est tout spécialement le cas lorsqu'elle comporte une ponctuation ou une forte articulation syntaxique; ainsi:

- I, 2, 27: Quisquis amore tenetur, eat tutusque sacerque.
- I, 8, 7: Desine dissimulare: deus crudelius urit.
- II, 2, 1: Dicamus bona uerba: uenit Natalis ad aras.

<sup>37</sup> Sur la valeur expressive de la ponctuation ou de l'articulation bucolique, cf. R. Lucot, "Ponctuation bucolique, accent et émotion dans l'*Enéide*," *R.E.L.* 43 (1965) 261–74; J. Hellegouarc'h, "La ponctuation bucolique dans les *Satires* de Juvénal: étude métrique et stylistique," *Mélanges R. Fohalle* (Gembloux, Duculot 1970) 173–89.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. mon article, "Les structures stylistiques," cité n. 5 et J. Gérard, *La ponctuation trochaïque dans l'hexamètre latin, d'Ennius à Juvénal* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1980).

J'y joindrai II, 5, I, dont le ton est analogue à celui du précédent et qui présente une césure trithémimère relativement exceptionnelle parce que marquée par une forte ponctuation sans être en rapport avec un enjambement:

Phoebe, faue: nous ingreditur tua templa sacerdos.

4. Mais c'est surtout l'accumulation dans un même vers des intermots trochaïques qui est particulièrement propre à traduire l'intensité de la prière et à lui donner un ton pathétique;<sup>39</sup> j'en ai naguère relevé un bon nombre de cas dans les *Tristes* et les *Pontiques* d'Ovide.<sup>40</sup> Il peut s'agir de deux seulement de ces intermots, consécutifs ou non, mais associés à d'autres éléments, comme dans le vers I, 2, 63 cité, à la suite de L. Deschamps au début de cette étude, ou dans II, I, 17:

Di patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes,

vers dans lequel nous voyons l'association de l'allitération, de l'anaphore et de la paronomase.

Le procédé ne manifeste le plus souvent toute son intensité que s'il y a trois de ces intermots dans le même vers; ainsi dans II, I, 37 évoqué ci-dessus, qui possède le ton du *carmen*: *Rura cano rurisque deos: his uita magistris*; voici quelques autres cas:

I, 3, 25:                   quidue, pie dum sacra colis, pureque lauari.

On relève d'une part le jeu des sonorités dans ce vers, d'autre part le fait que le pentamètre précédent comporte lui aussi trois intermots de ce type.

II, 1, 5:                    Luce sacra requiescat humus, requiescat arator.

Association de l'anaphore et des intermots trochaïques; même remarque pour II, 6, 9 (texte ci-dessus).

On trouve cette disposition métrique, accompagnée d'une anaphore, dans un vers où Tibulle exprime de façon pathétique son regret de la disparition du temps où *Amor* régnait en maître:

II, 3, 27:                 Delos ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est, ubi Delphica Pytho?<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Le caractère pathétique de cette structure a été bien mis en lumière par J. Perret dans deux articles: "Mots et fins de mots trochaïques dans l'hexamètre latin," *R.E.L.* 32 (1954) 183-99; "Le partage du demi-pied dans les anapestiques et dans l'hexamètre," *R.E.L.* 33 (1955) 352-66.

<sup>40</sup> J. Hellegouarc'h, "Aspects stylistiques de l'expression de la tristesse et de la douleur dans les poèmes ovidiens de l'exil," *Acta conuentus omnium gentium ovidianis studiis fovendis* (Bucarest 1976) 326-40.

<sup>41</sup> Cette disposition se trouve également deux vers plus haut, en II, 3, 25: *quisquis inornatumque caput crinesque solutos.*

Dans II, 4, 11, c'est au contraire la tyrannie que lui impose l'amour que déplore le poète:

Nunc et amara dies et noctis amarior umbra est.

C'est par un hexamètre comportant un triple intermot trochaïque, suivi d'un pentamètre qui présente la même particularité que s'exprime la fureur du poète contre la *lena* qui a présenté à Délie un amant riche:

I, 5, 53-54:            ipsa fame stimulante furens herbasque sepulcris  
                                  quaerat et a saevis ossa relictâ lupis.

L'oeuvre de Tibulle comporte même un vers, I, 2, 27, dans lequel il célèbre les avantages de l'amour, comportant quatre intermots trochaïques, dont trois consécutifs—disposition tout à fait exceptionnelle,<sup>42</sup> et dont celui du 3<sup>ème</sup> pied coïncide avec une ponctuation forte (texte cité ci-dessus dans le paragraphe consacré à la césure trochaïque troisième).

On voit donc la richesse du registre auquel Tibulle recourt pour marquer fortement le ton précatif de ses poèmes. Toutefois, les divers éléments relevés ci-dessus ne sont pas toujours strictement appliqués à la prière; les répétitions, les reprises ne sont pas nécessairement liés à ce type d'expression.<sup>43</sup> Ce qui donne aux emplois considérés leur nuance ou leur saveur particulière, c'est la "convergence des effets" à laquelle j'ai déjà fait ci-dessus référence et dont nous avons vu, au fil de cette analyse, différents exemples d'application. Je me propose maintenant, en terminant, de m'arrêter quelque peu sur un aspect très particulier du style précatif, dans lequel nous verrons mises en oeuvre les ressources du vocabulaire, de la morphologie, de la syntaxe, de la construction de la phrase et de la structure du vers.

Il s'agit d'exemples qui mettent en jeu deux des mots dont j'ai signalé ci-dessus la particulière fréquence chez Tibulle et qui appartiennent spécifiquement au vocabulaire de la prière et de la supplication: *parco* et *precor*. Il y a 19 occurrences du verbe *precor* dans le *C.T.* dont 17 sous la forme de la 1<sup>ère</sup> personne du singulier de l'indicatif présent; 14 d'entre elles figurent dans les livres I et II;<sup>44</sup> à titre de comparaison, il n'y en a aucune occurrence ni chez Catulle, ni chez Lucrèce;<sup>45</sup> la totalité de l'oeuvre de

<sup>42</sup> J'en ai relevé un exemple dans un pentamètre des *Tristes* (V, 1, 26), un vers dont le pathétique n'est pas douteux puisque le poète y évoque tous les malheurs qui l'accablent: *Si tamen e uobis aliquis tam multa requiret / unde dolenda canam: multa dolenda tuli*; cf. "Aspects stylistiques . . . dans les poèmes ovidiens de l'exil," p. 335.

<sup>43</sup> On peut en avoir une idée par l'examen de l'ouvrage de J. Evrard-Gillis, *La récurrence lexicale dans l'oeuvre de Catulle. Etude stylistique* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1976).

<sup>44</sup> I, 2, 12; 3, 5; 83; 93; 6, 56; 8, 51; 9, 40; II, 1, 25; 82; 3, 72; 5, 4; 18; 6, 29; 53.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. S. Govaerts, *Lucrèce, De natura rerum. Index uerborum, listes de fréquence, relevés grammaticaux*, L.A.S.L.A., fasc. 11 (Liège 1986); j'ai par ailleurs, pour différents relevés, eu



Virgile ne comporte que 41 formes du verbe, dont 11 *precor* (8 dans l'*Enéide*);<sup>46</sup> il est présent 17 fois chez Lucain, avec notamment 7 *precor*.<sup>47</sup> Ces quelques indications soulignent suffisamment combien la poésie de Tibulle est orientée vers l'expression de la prière; l'examen des emplois montre que celle-ci tend à prendre des formes déterminées, voire figées. Les deux brèves de *precor* devant un mot suivant à initiale vocalique sont souvent celles du deuxième demi-pied d'un dactyle initial de vers, dont le premier demi-pied est par conséquent formé par un monosyllabe long: un interrogatif,<sup>48</sup> un démonstratif,<sup>49</sup> un adverbe,<sup>50</sup> la forme de subjonctif *sit*,<sup>51</sup> en revanche, le pronom personnel *te*, qui se trouve chez Virgile et chez Lucain,<sup>52</sup> n'est pas présent dans le C.T. A l'intérieur du vers, *precor* est associé à d'autres éléments qui en accentuent fortement la valeur; par exemple:

I, 3, 83: At tu casta precor maneat, sanctique pudoris,

emploi du pronom personnel *te*, deux monosyllabes initiaux et association des phonèmes sourds *t* et *p*.

II, 6, 53: Tunc tibi, lena, precor diras: satis anxia uiuas,

remarques analogues.

I, 3, 5: Abstineas, Mors atra, precor: non hic mihi mater,

accumulation des sonorités en *a* (allitération), *t* et *p*; intermot trochaïque 3<sup>ème</sup> relativement marqué.

II, 5, 18: uas, et ipse, precor, quid canat illa doce.

Dans plusieurs cas, *precor* est employé au début du deuxième hémistiche du pentamètre dans les mêmes conditions qu'au début de l'hexamètre: I, 6, 56 (*sit precor*); 2, 12 (*sint precor*); II, 1, 82 (*hinc precor*).

Il y a dans le C.T. 18 occurrences du verbe *parco*, dont 15 dans les livres I et II; sur ces 15 formes, on compte 9 *parce*<sup>53</sup> et 4 *parcite*,<sup>54</sup> et, par conséquent, deux formes seulement qui ne sont pas des impératifs. Le verbe

recours aux index de W. Ott, dans la série *Materialen zu Metrik und Stilistik* (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer 1973 et suiv.).

<sup>46</sup> Virg., *Aen.* IV, 621; VI, 117; IX, 525; X, 461; 525; XII, 48; 179; 777.

<sup>47</sup> Luc. V, 787; VI, 592; 773; VII, 265; 540; VIII, 580; 827.

<sup>48</sup> *Quid precor*: III, 6, 27.

<sup>49</sup> *Hoc precor*: I, 3, 93; cf. Luc. V, 787; *Haec precor* dans Virg., *Aen.* IV, 621.

<sup>50</sup> *Nunc precor*: II, 5, 4; *tunc precor*: III, 11, 12.

<sup>51</sup> *Sit precor*: I, 9, 40.

<sup>52</sup> *Te precor*: Virg., *Aen.* X, 461; 525; Luc. V, 787; cf. Enn., *Ann.* 52: *Te sale nata, precor, Venus et genitrix patris nostri*.

<sup>53</sup> I, 1, 67; 68; 2, 97; 3, 51; 4, 83; 5, 7; 8, 51; II, 5, 114; 6, 29.

<sup>54</sup> I, 1, 34; 2, 33; 6, 51; 9, 5; il y a aussi un *parcite* en III, 5, 21.



Ce couple des deux mots initiaux allitérants en *p* apparaît comme une sorte de formule<sup>58</sup> dans laquelle l'intermot trochaïque fournit un élément supplémentaire d'intensité; cela nous rappelle *mutatis mutandis* la formule *pius/pater Aeneas* dont j'ai par ailleurs étudié l'emploi et la valeur.<sup>59</sup> On remarque justement que *pater* une fois chez Tibulle (ci-dessus I, 3, 51) et *pius* deux fois chez Virgile sont le deuxième mot associé à *parce*:

*Aen.* I, 526: Parce pio generi, et propius res aspice nostras.

III, 42: Parce pias, scelerare manus. Non me tibi Troia . . .

C'est toutefois le dernier des trois vers de Tibulle cités ci-dessus qui mérite de retenir davantage notre attention; nous y voyons associés les deux verbes dont nous avons noté que Tibulle fait un emploi particulièrement important; nous les avons déjà vus placés dans le même vers, mais sans être directement liés (II, 6, 29). En I, 8, 51, *parce, precor* constitue une formule plus intense encore que les autres, parce que les deux éléments participent du vocabulaire de la prière et de la supplication et que à l'allitération en *p* s'en ajoute une seconde en *c*; elle semble être un cliché du style précatit, puisque nous la trouvons à deux reprises chez Lucain, à l'intérieur du vers:

VI, 773: fortis adit. Ne parce, precor: da nomina rebus.

VII, 540: Istis parce, precor: uiuant Galataeque Syrique,

mais surtout chez Horace, au début de *Od.* IV, 1, dans une prière à Vénus où son intensité est renforcée par le redoublement de *precor*:

Intermissa, Venus, diu  
rursus bella moues? parce, precor, precor.<sup>60</sup>

Nul doute, par conséquent, qu'en utilisant la formule *Parce, precor* et d'autres analogues, Tibulle tirait profit d'un procédé d'expression dont il avait reconnu toute la valeur et l'efficacité.

Ce qui peut nous assurer de la spécificité du procédé chez notre poète, c'est une comparaison avec les emplois des même verbes chez Properce. Dans les 4.000 vers, exactement, de ce dernier, il y a 10 occurrences de *parce* et 7 de *precor*,<sup>61</sup> donc moitié moins pour le premier et trois fois moins pour le deuxième dans un corpus environ trois fois plus étendu que le *C.T.*; de plus, les emplois sont assez nettement différents. Il n'y a que 2 vers où *precor*<sup>62</sup> se place après monosyllabe initial et il n'apparaît jamais après *parce*.

<sup>58</sup> Sur les "formules" dans la poésie hexamétrique, cf. mon article, "*Fabricator poeta*," cité *supra*, n. 32.

<sup>59</sup> J. Hellegouarc'h, "*Pius Aeneas. Une retractatio*," in *Hommages à Henri Le Bonniec*, Coll. Latomus 201 (Bruxelles 1988) 267-74.

<sup>60</sup> Pour un commentaire de ces vers, voir H. Kleinknecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80, n. 2.

<sup>61</sup> *Parce*: I, 15, 26; 16, 11; 17, 28; II, 5, 18; 28, 13; 29, 19; III, 9, 29; 15, 43; IV, 6, 81; 9, 53; *precor*: II, 9, 38; 24, 51; III, 4, 12; 10, 12; 11, 50; IV, 3, 63; 9, 33.

<sup>62</sup> IV, 3, 63: *Ne precor*; 9, 33: *Vos precor*.

Nous trouvons 5 occurrences d'impératifs du verbe *parco*,<sup>63</sup> les formes de *parce* étant initiales dans 2 d'entre eux, un hexamètre (IV, 9, 53) et un pentamètre (II, 5, 18); c'est seulement dans ce dernier cas que le mot suivant est iambique (*parce tuis animis . . .*).

Je n'ai pu aborder dans ce développement que quelques aspects très partiels de l'expression de la prière dans l'oeuvre de Tibulle; cela pourrait être la matière de tout un livre; mais, au terme de cette analyse qui m'a amené à évoquer les aspects les plus divers de l'expression linguistique, je crois avoir montré que les procédés de style précatif jouent un rôle de tout premier ordre dans l'oeuvre de Tibulle et donnent à cette dernière un ton qui distingue assez nettement notre poète des autres élégiaques de l'époque augustéenne.

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<sup>63</sup> *Parce*: I, 15, 26; II, 5, 18; IV, 9, 53; *parcite*: I, 17, 28; II, 29, 19.

## Was Ovid a Silver Latin Poet?

KARL GALINSKY

One characteristic Ovid has come to share with the Silver Latin poets is the critics' tendency to fit their poetry and his into convenient schemes and label it with sweeping value judgments. It did not use to be that way; until the Renaissance, Ovid and the epic poets of the first century A.D. enjoyed a bountiful reputation—one needs to think only of Dante—which came to atrophy in the subsequent "Augustan" and Romantic periods.<sup>1</sup> Instead of offering a critical assessment, much of 19th and 20th century scholarship simply clothed the old value judgments in the garb of aesthetic and literary terminology. Gold turned into silver, ascent to the heights into decline, the classical into the counter-classical, epigonism, and mannerism. The endeavor was to document this change and decline by emphasis on the perceived flaws and excesses of these poets, "rhetoric" serving as the main whipping boy. Since Ovid is not Vergil or Horace, he is, even according to the *Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, the harbinger of the Silver Age of Latin literature,<sup>2</sup> and that is not always meant as a compliment.

A second influential trend has contributed to schematizing of this sort. That is the largely monolithic view of the Augustan age as propagated, e. g., by Syme, whose chapter on "The Organization of Opinion" clearly is simplistic and outdated.<sup>3</sup> One result has been to see Ovid's stature mostly in political terms; somehow he was out of step with "Augustanism" and paid for it. Yet this has done little to further appreciation of Ovid's unique role in the context of Augustan culture. Nor has he benefitted from the wildly idiosyncratic recent assessments of Vergil by Anglo-American interpreters—their approaches cannot be transferred to Ovid, and that is probably just as well. Alternatively and *faute de mieux*, the discussion of late has returned to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the contrasting views of M. B. Vida and B. Marino cited by H. Friedrich in H. Meier, ed., *Wort und Text. Festschrift für Fritz Schalk* (Frankfurt 1963) 34–35.

<sup>2</sup> D.W.T.C. Vessey in *CHCL* II (1982) 498. For a general critique of the prejudices encountered by the Silver Latin poets see F. M. Ahl, *ANRW* II, 32. 5 (1986) 2804–11.

<sup>3</sup> *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 459–75; *inter alia*, there is no discussion of the visual evidence. Cf. E. Simon, *Augustus* (Munich 1986) 9–10 and, for the general perspective, my article on "Recent Trends in the Interpretation of the Augustan Age," *Aug. Age* 5 (1986) 22–36.

the lines drawn by Richard Heinze, i. e. elegiac vs. epic style,<sup>4</sup> and there has been a general avoidance of studying afresh his relation to the Neronian and Flavian epic writers.

This is a good time, therefore, for a more differentiated assessment. A more balanced discussion of Augustan culture has been facilitated especially by the recent work of art historians such as Paul Zanker and Erika Simon.<sup>5</sup> A related perspective is that terms such as "mannerism," which are used to characterize Ovid and the Silver Latin poets, are borrowed from the arts, and we are now in a better position to assess their utility. To some extent, therefore, this is an essay in methodology. Its aim is to explain some of the salient features of the *Metamorphoses* which have been considered as ushering in the Silver Age, by reference to the Augustan cultural context and, when appropriate, the previous literary tradition. In its second part, I will analyze some of Silver epic poets' Ovidian adaptations. The aim is to provide at least some useful definitions for a complex of questions which could profitably occupy a monograph.

## I

An instructive point of departure is E. R. Curtius' oft-cited definition of mannerism which has had all but the force of *ipse dixit*. Curtius used the term as "the common denominator for all literary tendencies which are opposed to classicism, whether they be pre-classical, post-classical, or contemporary with classicism."<sup>6</sup> He deliberately chose this term in preference to "baroque," which he felt could be misused (as, in fact, it has been for the poets we are discussing), and his mannerist examples, interestingly enough, include several from Vergil; this alone should caution us not to draw lines too rigidly. But while Curtius purposely eschewed the art-historical connotations of the term to adapt it more broadly, its discussion in that context is directly relevant to one of the central issues concerning Ovid and his "influence" on the Silver Latin poets. I am

<sup>4</sup> See, e. g., P. E. Knox, *Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Traditions of Augustan Poetry* (Cambridge 1986) and Stephen Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone: Ovid and the Self-Conscious Muse* (Cambridge 1987).

<sup>5</sup> Simon (note 3, above); Paul Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munich 1987), hereafter referred to as "Zanker."

<sup>6</sup> *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. by W. R. Trask (New York 1953) 273. For the application of the term to Silver Latin poetry see, e. g., Willi Schetter, *Untersuchungen zur epischen Kunst des Statius* (Wiesbaden 1960), esp. 122-25; D.W.T.C. Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid* (Cambridge 1973), esp. 7-14 (hereafter referred to as "Vessey"); E. Burck, *Vom römischen Manierismus* (Darmstadt 1971). Michael von Albrecht's commendable resolve not to use "mannerism" in his forthcoming history of Roman literature is equalled only by Cato's decision to write the history of the Second Punic War without mentioning the human protagonists by name.

referring to the view that Ovid's "mannerisms" were predominantly stylistic and formal and that the Silver Latin poets filled them with "meaning."<sup>7</sup>

Art historians are divided on this phenomenon. Some view mannerism, in W. R. Johnson's words, "essentially as a matter of stylistic innovations which come about because of important but rather mysterious shifts in aesthetic tastes and artistic ambitions."<sup>8</sup> Others argue that the stylistic innovations can be explained, at least to some extent, by the social and cultural milieu or the *Zeitgeist*. This perspective is helpful because it will liberate Ovid from the limbo he often occupies: while living during Augustus' reign, he is not "Augustan" nor can he be translocated chronologically to the Silver Age proper; hence he is "a transitional figure."

I would argue that especially in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid is, perhaps paradoxically, the truest product of the Augustan age. He embodies many of the most prominent aspects of the Augustan culture. It is not the culture of the early, post civil-war years, which is reflected by Vergil, Horace, and Livy—there is no such *Aufbruchsstimmung* in Ovid's poetry. He simply belonged to a different generation, one that knew only the *pax Augusta*,<sup>9</sup> which he celebrates and reflects in his own way. His poetry underscores the fact that the Augustan age evolved. Ovid is no less typical a representative of it than are Horace and Vergil.

Let us consider, from this vantage point, some of the characteristics which his poetry shares with Silver Latin poetry within the total context of his innovations of style, form, and content. Foremost among the latter is that the *Metamorphoses* represents what Wilhelm Kroll called many years ago *die Kreuzung der Gattungen*.<sup>10</sup> The poem combines the characteristics of various genres—drama both comic and tragic, mime,<sup>11</sup> hymn, the catalogue poem, epic, epigram, epyllion, and elegy, to name only the most important. Several perspectives open up from here. One, if we confine

<sup>7</sup> So, e. g., Burck (note 6, above) 92–104; E. Lefèvre, "Die Bedeutung des Paradoxen in der römischen Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit," *Poetica* 2 (1970) 59–82; M. Fuhrmann, "Die Funktion grausiger und ekelhafter Motive in der lateinischen Dichtung," in H. Jauss, ed., *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste. Grenzphänomene des Ästhetischen* (Munich 1967) 41 ff.

<sup>8</sup> "The Problem of the Counter-classical Sensibility and Its Critics," *CSCA* 3 (1970) 124 n. 4. For treatments of mannerism in art see W. Friedländer, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting* (New York 1958); John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Baltimore 1967); A. Hauser, *Mannerism: The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art* (London 1965); G. Briganti, *Italian Mannerism* (Leipzig 1972); G. R. Hocke, *Die Welt als Labyrinth. Manier und Manie in der europäischen Kunst* (Hamburg 1957) and *Manierismus in der Literatur* (Hamburg 1959).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. my comments in *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Berkeley 1975) 256; D. Little, *Mnemosyne* 25 (1972) 400; E. Lefèvre in G. Binder, *Saeculum Augustum* II (Darmstadt 1988) 189–96.

<sup>10</sup> *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart 1924) 202–24.

<sup>11</sup> N. Horsfall, *CJ* 74 (1979) 331–32. Fuller discussions of the various genres represented in the *Metamorphoses* are found in W. Kraus' revised *RE* article in M. v. Albrecht and E. Zinn, *Ovid* (Darmstadt 1968) 114–16 and J. B. Solodow, *The World of the Metamorphoses* (Chapel Hill 1988) 17–25.

ourselves to literary antecedents, this procedure of being aware of generic criteria and, at the same time, not abiding by them has its roots in Hellenistic poetry, especially the *Iambi* of Callimachus and Theocritus' *Idyls*. In a thoughtful analysis, which must be taken together with Kroll's, L. E. Rossi aptly characterized the Alexandrian period, in the context of surveying the written and unwritten laws of literary genres in antiquity, as one of *leggi scritte e non rispettate* and of *normatività a rovescio*.<sup>12</sup> Ovid, of course, practiced this on an unprecedented scale, but his link to Hellenistic literature is paralleled by the link between Hellenistic epic and the Silver Latin epics.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, and related to this: Kroll's emphasis on Horace as the foremost practitioner of *Kreuzung der Gattungen* should caution us all by itself not to consider Ovid's penchant as aberrant from Augustan poetic practice. The same emphasis could be placed on Vergil's *Eclogues* which continue and intensify this particular aspect of Theocritus' *Idyls*.<sup>14</sup> Third and most important, this mixture of styles was not merely a literary phenomenon but informed Augustan culture in general.

This is particularly evident in the arts. In Augustan art and architecture, there is a confluence of the archaic, the classical, the Hellenistic, and of Roman/Italian traditions. As Zanker remarks: "Besondere Möglichkeiten der Steigerung ästhetischer Vorzüge meinten die eklektischen Künstler—entsprechend der Lehre der attizistischen Rhetoriklehrer—durch die Kombination mehrerer vorbildlicher Stile zu erreichen."<sup>15</sup> *Ut pictura et architectura*—Augustan buildings, such as his own Forum, and temples like the Maison Carrée are a deliberate *mixtum compositum*—*poesis*.<sup>16</sup> The similarities are striking: besides the recognized mixture of genres, there is the principle of *Steigerung*, so obvious in the *Metamorphoses*, the emphasis on aesthetics and style, and, conversely, Zanker's appropriate reference to literary theory as exemplified by Dionysius' *Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων*. With the similarities come the differences: whereas Augustan art introduces the archaic for its *σεμνότης* and the classical to temper the excesses of the Hellenistic, Ovid reverses the procedure. It thereby becomes similar to the amalgam of Greek art forms typical of the decoration of private villas of the late Republic. The prevailing spirit is aptly characterized by Zanker as follows (p. 37): "(Sie) evozierten eine eigene Welt, fern von politischen Pflichten . . . Das in unserem Zusammenhang Interessanteste . . . ist das völlige Fehlen römischer Thematik . . . Die eigene staatliche Tradition hat keinen Platz in der Welt des *otium* gefunden." It was an escapist phenomenon, created in reaction to

<sup>12</sup> *BICS* 18 (1971) 83–86; cf. also Hinds (note 4, above) 115 ff.

<sup>13</sup> O. Zwierlein, *RhM* 131 (1988) 67–84.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Knox (note 4, above) 10–14 with reference to *Ecl.* 6.

<sup>15</sup> Zanker 251–52.

<sup>16</sup> Maison Carrée: Zanker 255–57; Forum: Zanker, *Forum Augustum* (Tübingen 1968) 11 with notes 37 and 38.



the turmoil and disintegration of the late Republic. By contrast, the *pax* of Augustus, who *cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1. 2), created a carefree and lasting ambiance in which the poetry of *otium* and the fantastic could flourish all the better.<sup>17</sup> Contrary to the evolving style of Augustan art which overlaid the previously predominant Hellenistic forms with elements of the classical and the archaic because of their moral connotations, *pietas*, and *σεμνότης*, Ovid saw it the other way around. The civil wars and their memory, which were a formative influence on the first generation of Augustan poets, were gone. It remained to celebrate the *pax* and *otium* of the time for their own sake. The result is *homo Ovidianus* who is "unburdened of nationality, liberated from the past, unoppressed by the future, delivered from responsibility and morality."<sup>18</sup> What had been a wishful projection in the late Republic now became a fitting expression of the spirit of the times. It may, of course, not have been the kind of expression particularly liked by Augustus, who belonged to an earlier generation than Ovid.

Let us consider a related aspect of the *Metamorphoses* which has become a staple in the scholarly discussion of Ovid's legacy to Neronian and Flavian epic. That is his indisputable emphasis on the individual episode as opposed to an equilibrated narrative.<sup>19</sup> Again, more is involved than a strictly Ovidian idiosyncrasy, and Augustan art once more provides a useful point of reference. In the art of the period, we do not find large narrative friezes such as still prevailed, e. g., on the Great Altar of Pergamum. Indeed, the prevailing scheme—evident, e. g., in the representations of Aeneas and Romulus—is the collocation of individual scenes; good examples are the Ara Pacis and the Boscoreale Cups. The scenes, of course, are not unconnected—the figures on the cuirass of the Primaporta Augustus are another obvious instance—but they are tied together by multiple associations many of which the observer is called upon to make. The reduction to individual scenes, which was at once repetitive and varied, was motivated by their didactic purpose: "Jetzt wurde das erzieherische Interesse

<sup>17</sup> For another useful connection with the arts, compare the distinction made by B. Schweitzer between *mimesis* (classical style) and *phantasia* ("Asian" irregular style full of tension) in *Zur Kunst der Antike* (Tübingen 1967) 11 ff. ("Der bildende Künstler in der Antike. MIMESIS und PHANTASIA"). More specifically, the affinity of the *Metamorphoses* with the arts of painting and sculpture has often been noted; see, e. g., Kraus (note 11, above) 118–19; S. Viarre, *L'image et la pensée dans les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* (Paris 1964) 45–96, and now E. W. Leach, *The Rhetoric of Space. Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton 1988) 440–67 who concludes quite rightly that Ovid "perpetuated at once both a verbal tradition and a visual tradition" (p. 467). Cf. P. Gros, *Collection Ecole Franc. Rome* 55 (1981) 353–66.

<sup>18</sup> Solodow (note 11, above) 156.

<sup>19</sup> Detailed comments, e. g., in Gordon Williams, *Change and Decline* (Berkeley 1978) 246–55 and G. Krumbholz, *Glotta* 34 (1955) 247–55.

so beherrschend, dass der Erzählzusammenhang völlig in den Hintergrund trat . . . Die Mythendeutung wird in wenigen Einzelszenen geleistet . . ."<sup>20</sup>

How well this Augustan tendency was understood is illustrated by the massive sculptural decoration of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.<sup>21</sup> The South Portico there had reliefs of gods and emperors in the upper storey, and of Greek myths in the lower storey. Instead of a continuous frieze, there are forty-five individual panels on each level. The relation, if any—and I fully expect that a plethora of ingenious connections will be attempted—between the divine/imperial subject of each upper panel and the corresponding mythological panel on the lower level need not occupy us here. Rather, the aspects pertinent to our inquiry are: (1) the arrangement is by individual episode; (2) the selection "is in the main current of Greek myth";<sup>22</sup> many of the subjects, in fact, are the same as in the *Metamorphoses*; (3) the panels represent a considerable mix of styles, ranging from the classical to the Hellenistic—*Kreuzung der Gallungen* all over again.

The parallelism between all this and Ovid's compositional technique is obvious. Zanker's characterization, which we quoted in that connection, of this aspect of Augustan art is applicable to Ovid, too, on the formal level. The concept behind it, however, again is different, just as we saw in our discussion of the formal similarity between the combination of period styles in Augustan art and Ovid's mixing of genres. The reason for the prominence of individual scenes in Augustan art was to increase their effectiveness—by limitation to a repetition of a few principal subjects—both of their value as representations and of the values they represented:<sup>23</sup>

Die Mythendeutung wird in wenigen Einzelszenen geleistet, wobei Auswahl und Darstellungsform ganz auf die Aufgabe des Staatsmythos zugeschnitten sind. Aeneas and Romulus werden in diesen Bildern nicht mehr als lebendige mythische Gestalten anschaulich. Das Begriffliche und Exemplarische steht im Vordergrund. Und da das moralische Erneuerungsprogramm sich auf wenige Leitmotive konzentrierte, heben auch die mythischen Bilder nur auf wenige Werte ab, vor allem auf *pietas* and *virtus*. Das exemplarische Handeln der Helden wird adhortativ vorgeführt und womöglich mit einem Hinweis auf das lebende *exemplum* des Princeps verbunden.

<sup>20</sup> Zanker 209. By contrast, there is the affinity between the Great Altar at Pergamum and Vergil's *Aeneid*; see the stimulating discussion of Philip Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford 1986) 136–43. Does this make Vergil more "Hellenistic"? Solodow (note 11, above) 122–25 and 129–31 has some good comments on Ovid's "tendency towards static pictures." Cf. E. J. Bernbeck, *Beobachtungen zur Darstellungsart in Ovids Metamorphosen* (Munich 1967) 29: "Die Hauptsache ist ihm (i. e. Ovid) die bildhafte Anschaulichkeit der Einzelvorstellungen."

<sup>21</sup> Preliminary discussion by R.R.R. Smith, *JRS* 77 (1987) 96–98; K. Erism, *Aphrodisias* (London 1986) 106–23.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>23</sup> Zanker 209.

How different this is in the *Metamorphoses*! There the individual scenes have no such purpose and come alive again with narrative and the play of the imagination.

For that aspect of the *Metamorphoses*, contemporaneous developments that take place, characteristically, in the private art of the evolving Augustan age provide a strong parallel. Whereas the copious floral stems and tendrils, which make up so much, e. g., of the decoration of the Ara Pacis, are arranged in a minutely ordered and symmetrical fashion, this immensely popular motif in Augustan art admitted of more playful and fantastic elaboration when transferred to the realm of private decoration. A splendid example is a late Augustan silver crater from Hildesheim (Fig. 1).<sup>24</sup> The symmetrical composition of the tendrils is still indebted to that found on the public monuments, but along with flowers, the stems sprout pudgy babies who animatedly move along on the thinnest of branches, catch fish and even hunt crayfish. "Erfindungsreichtum," concludes Zanker (pp. 187-88), "und spielerische Leichtigkeit konnten die augusteischen Künstler offenbar erst richtig entfalten, wenn sie nicht zu ernster Bedeutungsträchtigkeit verpflichtet waren."

This characterization is remarkably fitting for the *Metamorphoses* and its spirit. Like the silver artifact, the *Metamorphoses*, too, makes a bow to an official Augustan schema for its ostensible organization. *Prima ab origine mundi . . . ad mea tempora* (1. 3-4) mimics the cosmic visions of the time.<sup>25</sup> But the same transformation takes place which is exemplified by the Erotes on the crater: the chubby little boys are derived from the children in the programmatic art, such as those with Terra Mater on the cuirass of the Prima porta Augustus and with Venus on the Ara Pacis, who connote fruitfulness and bounty. Likewise, Ovid is indebted to the forms, motifs, and schemata of the Augustan cultural ambiance, but he uses and metamorphoses them for his own artistic and, essentially, private purposes.

This brings us back to the emphasis on the individual scene. It comes, as can be seen, from a much larger conceptual context than the declamation schools, even while the latter may have been conducive to the survival and accentuation of this phenomenon in the Silver Latin epics. But that is already a secondary result. The primary cause, as Gordon Williams has argued, for the prevalence of the individual episode even in epics such as Lucan's and Statius', which could have a linear continuity, is concern for the audience's attention span when these epics were recited.<sup>26</sup> *Mutatis mutandis*,

<sup>24</sup> E. Pernice and F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (Berlin 1901); U. Gehrig, *Hildesheimer Silberfund* (Berlin 1967); Zanker 187-88, 271-72; Simon (note 3, above) 148-50.

<sup>25</sup> Hardie (note 20, above) 379-80 and W. Ludwig, *Struktur und Einheit der Metamorphosen Ovids* (Berlin 1965) take Ovid's procedure at face value.

<sup>26</sup> Williams (note 19, above) 252-53. For a sound perspective on the "influence of rhetoric" on Ovid (and, for that matter, the Silver Latin poets), H. Fränkel's comments are still unexcelled (*Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds*, Berkeley 1945, 167-69); cf. my *Ovid's Metamorphoses* 208 n. 60.

the same rationale contributed to the individuality of visual episodes in Augustan art.

The genesis, therefore, of the prominence of the individual episode—its centrifugal character is already evident in Homer and even in Vergil<sup>27</sup>—is anything but one-dimensional. The same is true of its functions in Neronian and Flavian epic. Valerius' *Argonautica* offered him a golden opportunity, especially in its first part, to present little more than a catalogue of the heroes' individual adventures. Yet that is not what happens.<sup>28</sup> They are integrated with one another by references to both preceding and subsequent parts of the epic—the episodes with Herakles are a good example—and by means of overarching themes, such as the function of the gods and the opening of the sea. Many episodes which Valerius adds by comparison with Apollonius serve precisely this purpose. Even though many of these connections do not extend over the entire epic *more Vergiliano*, they tend to unify major sections of it; the motif, for instance, of the parallelism of Jason's fate with that of Phrixus' and Helle's is sounded in Orpheus' song before the departure, in the apparition of Helle, and in the prayer at Phrixus' grave. By contrast, the individual adventures are far more isolated in Apollonius. Valerius, then, pursues a *via media* between Ovid, who also establishes thematic connections between individual episodes, and the *Aeneid* where the integration of individual episodes is total in terms of both the overall structure and the principal themes of the epic.

Similarly, as Erich Burck has demonstrated,<sup>29</sup> three discrete episodes involving Marcellus are used by Silius Italicus to convey a unified and, for that matter, idealizing characterization of the Roman commander. As for an example from the *Thebaid*, which has for so long been singled out for its supposed—and perhaps intentional—disjointedness, the episode with Coroebus and Linus (1. 557–672) was inserted by Statius not merely for its own sake, but in order to establish the theme of *pietas*.<sup>30</sup> By similarities and contrasts this scene becomes an integral part of the texture of the epic as did its pendant in the *Aeneid*, the Hercules/Cacus episode. Or, to return to Valerius, in his addition to the Argonautic epic of the story of Herakles' liberation of Hesione (2. 451–578) we can discern an attempt to integrate the episode into the total meaning of the work.<sup>31</sup> Since it deliberately evokes comparison with Ovid's story of Perseus and Andromeda (*Met.* 4.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. R. D. Williams' comments on the Achaemenides episode in *Aeneid* III in his Oxford commentary (1962), p. 17 (against this view, however, see already F. Mehmel, *Valerius Flaccus*, Hamburg 1934, 105) and H. Juhnke, *Homerisches in römischer Epik flavischer Zeit* (Munich 1972) *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Details in J. Adamietz, *Zur Komposition der Argonautika des Valerius Flaccus* (Munich 1976).

<sup>29</sup> *Historische und epische Tradition bei Silius Italicus* (Munich 1984) 6–73; Silius Italicus 11. 55–121, 12. 161–294, 15. 334–98.

<sup>30</sup> D.W.T.C. Vessey, *AJP* 91 (1970) 315–31; B. Kytzler, *ANRW* II, 32. 5 (1986) 2913–24.

<sup>31</sup> E. Burck, *WS* 89 (1976) 221–38.

663–764), Valerius could have treated it all the more easily as a discrete opportunity for *aemulatio*.

A detailed comparative study, which is a desideratum, of the function of individual episodes in the *Metamorphoses* and post-Ovidian epic would probably indicate that the traditional scholarly insistence on their purple-patch character has been even more excessive than these episodes are in their own right. I am, of course, not denying that this is one of the real differences between Vergil's epic and the post-Vergilians, and I have discussed several factors which explain this development. But, to return to an issue we raised initially, does this form also reflect a different meaning? Hebert Juhnke, for one, posits such a correlation for the *Thebaid*: "Der Wandel der Erzähltechnik spiegelt getreulich den Wandel des Menschenbildes."<sup>32</sup> The *Thebaid* is about a fragmented, disturbed world, which calls for narrative discontinuity. The same view, even while "pessimism" is quite the vogue in the interpretation of Augustan poetry, cannot be applied to Ovid. His series of pictures at an exhibition, which are not devoid of interconnections and overall arrangement, is un-Vergilian, but nonetheless rooted in the Augustan milieu, especially that of art. Statius' utilization of this technique and giving it new meaning illustrates the process of ongoing adaptation and, yes, creativity.

The larger cultural perspective which we have applied to the phenomena of the mixing of genres and the role of the individual episode is useful for a further aspect of the poetry of Ovid and the Silver Latin epics, especially those of Statius and Valerius. That is their preference for Greek mythological themes. According to one view, Ovid led the way by choosing myth as an escape because it enabled him to write non-political poetry. The subsequent poets, including Seneca, supposedly took their cue from him for kindred reasons. By that time, however, they were so overwhelmed by "the dominance of Greek culture" that they "responded increasingly by sheer imitation. This was a powerful factor in the decline of Roman literature."<sup>33</sup>

Nobody would accuse Ovid of imitation of this sort in the *Metamorphoses*. The poem is a brilliant reworking of Greek myth, and it is precisely its vitality and innovation, in addition to being an alternative to Vergil's poetry, that made it so appealing to the next generation. Ovid became a *Wegbereiter* for subsequent poets because he was the first to confront successfully, to use Harold Bloom's term, the anxiety of Vergil's influence.<sup>34</sup> He overcame it because he refused to succumb to it. Greek

<sup>32</sup> Juhnke (note 27, above) 279.

<sup>33</sup> Williams (note 19, above) 102; cf. 100–01.

<sup>34</sup> H. Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford 1973). Goethe, with reference to Homer, put the whole issue very concisely: "Noch auf den heutigen Tag haben die Homerischen Gesänge die Kraft, uns wenigstens für Augenblicke von der furchtbaren Last zu befreien, welche die Überlieferung von mehrem tausend Jahren auf uns gewälzt hat." (*Maximen und Reflexionen* Nr. 662a).

myth, however, was anything but an escape as the Augustan cultural ambiance was saturated with Greek art forms. The impetus again was provided by the deliberate adoption of the Greek idiom to become, in Zanker's words, the artistic language of the new myth of the state and the emperor.<sup>35</sup> Original works from various periods of Greek art—archaic, classical, and fourth-century—were imported and prominently exhibited in Rome. Archaizing and classicizing became a normative tendency in Augustan reliefs and sculpture. The same is true of architecture. At a time proverbial for the restoration of temples, elements from the various Greek period styles, including the Hellenistic, were lacking nowhere. The result was the phenomenon to which we adverted earlier, *mixtum compositum*.

We are not dealing with the "dominance of Greek culture" here as much as its conscious and creative adaptation *ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates* (Vitruvius, Pref. 2). If we look for sheer imitation, we do find it in the arts, and in a most revealing manner. The new style of Augustan Rome became so influential that it was copied almost slavishly in the Greek east; Aphrodisias provides a good example.<sup>36</sup> The attitude which Gordon Williams and others think is peculiar to the Silver Latin poets vis-à-vis their "domineering" Greek models applies far more demonstrably to Greek artists working with Roman models.

One final distinction emerges. While Ovid did not use Greek myth to escape from Augustan culture of which the Greek artistic and mythological idiom was an integral part, he used it without the meaning that idiom expressed in the public realm. In other words, he did treat it non-politically. In Silver Latin poetry, by contrast, Greek myth again becomes the vehicle for a meditation on the politics and society of the time; Seneca's *Thyestes* and Statius' *Thebaid* are good examples.<sup>37</sup> Ovid found Greek myth in the public domain and privatized it, whereas the Silver Latin poets used it for their private reflections on the public domain. Terms such as "mannerism" and "decline" are too relative and imprecise to adequately characterize this complex process of evolution, continuity, and adaptation.

## II

Similarly, the Silver Latin poets' adaptation of Ovid cannot be reduced to a single denominator. Too often, the resulting schema posits a waning of Vergil's influence and an ascendancy of Ovid's. The salient question for our purposes is this: to what extent did Ovid's complete reworking of Vergilian

<sup>35</sup> Zanker 240–63. For an additional perspective, see Leach (note 17, above) 467: "To assess Ovid's importance more fully, we must think again of his place within his immediate cultural climate, amid a society whose fascination with mythology is attested by a proliferation of mythological epics, mythological dramas, and mythological pictures."

<sup>36</sup> Zanker 298–99; cf. Smith (note 21, above) 93–96.

<sup>37</sup> See, e. g. V. Pöschl, *Kunst und Wirklichkeitserfahrung in der Dichtung* (Heidelberg 1979) 311–19; F. M. Ahl *et al.*, *ANRW* II, 32. 4 (1986) 2555–56.

episodes serve as a model for the Neronian and Flavian epic writers which would merit Ovid's characterization as a trendsetter for Silver Latin poetry? The treatment, in their epics and the *Metamorphoses*, of two major epic themes, both of them traditional and blessed with a heavy dose of scholarly illumination, is ideally suited to provide some answers. They are the seastorm and the nekylia.

#### A. The Seastorm

In the *Metamorphoses*, the narrative of the seastorm engulfing Ceyx is a bravura piece of literary wit and allusiveness (II. 474–572). The literary tradition since Homer is well attested; what is important is that "Ovid is not just writing *within* the tradition of the convention, he is writing *about* it."<sup>38</sup> By his exuberant manipulation of allusions to Homer, Ennius, Plautus, Propertius, Vergil (whom he "corrects" on more than one occasion) and, probably, Naevius and others, the description exemplifies Ovid's tendency to call attention to himself, the narrator.

For purposes of comparison with the storms of Lucan, Valerius, Silius, and Statius, I will single out four points of reference among many other possible ones. (a) What does the storm contribute to the characterization of the protagonists? In the *Metamorphoses*, it comprises almost one third of the story of Ceyx and Alcyone but is anything but subservient to reinforcing the theme of their conjugal love. Whenever Ovid gets close to doing so, he deflects any such emphasis with paradox (544–46) or exaggeration (566–67). (b) For the same reason, i. e. attention to narrator and deemphasis of the characters, Ovid does not let Ceyx speak directly nor in *oratio obliqua*. Instead it is Ovid who sums up what Ceyx says, for a total of ten lines. (c) In contrast to Homer and Vergil, no divine agency causes the storm nor does Ceyx bring it upon himself. The storm simply happens. (d) There is, however, a large number of similes. They underscore the primary character of the passage, intellectual literary wit. A prime example, as Arnaud observes, is three similes (510–13, 525–33, 534–36) that are all based on similes involving Hector in Book 15 of the *Iliad*.<sup>39</sup>

Meaning and purpose are quite different in Lucan's famous description of the storm on the Adriatic sea during Caesar's attempted crossing (5. 560–677).<sup>40</sup> Lucan utilizes Ovid but maintains his independence. He follows Ovid in not attributing the storm to divine intervention but then proceeds to have Caesar do exactly that. Caesar claims that the storm arose because he,

<sup>38</sup> D. L. Arnaud, *Aspects of Wit and Humor in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Stanford Diss. 1970) 104. His analysis of the Ovidian episode (pp. 98–142) is the best available. For the topos in general, see Bömer's commentary on *Met.* X–XI, pp. 345–47; E. de St. Denis, *Le rôle de la mer dans la poésie latine* (Paris 1935); W. H. Friedrich in *Festschrift B. Snell* (Munich 1956) 77–87.

<sup>39</sup> Arnaud 129–32.

<sup>40</sup> Basic for many details is M.P.O. Morford, *The Poet Lucan* (Oxford 1967) 20–44.

Caesar, was at sea; the poet thus highlights Caesar's megalomania.<sup>41</sup> In contrast to Ovid, the whole episode serves the purpose of characterizing Caesar. Therefore he speaks again and again, for a total of 33 lines, more than a quarter of the storm episode. Both speeches (578–93, 655–71) reveal his utter arrogance. His *tutela* and *fortuna* are superior to that of the gods. Far from learning anything from adversity, he construes everything to his advantage. Without going back to Vergilian norms, Lucan breathes life into the convention, whereas Ovid only made fun of its conventionality and produced the Compleat Storm, a procedure which normally betokens the end of the convention. And so it is with the similes: Lucan employs only one during the entire storm description (a very appropriate one at that: 620–24), but uses the vocabulary of storm or related phenomena in twenty similes, that is one quarter of all his similes, throughout the *Pharsalia*.<sup>42</sup>

Similarly, Valerius Flaccus uses the seastorm motif creatively and integrates it purposefully into the meaning of his epic (*Arg.* I. 574–692).<sup>43</sup> He eschews virtually all utilization of Ovid; there are, for instance, no similes although the usual *aemulatio* leads him to some fairly grandiose expansions (e. g. 585–93). Even here he refrains from mentioning one of the most notable Ovidian additions (*Met.* II. 530), the tenth wave, which Lucan had still taken over (5. 672–76). In terms of the position of the storm in the epic, the model of course is the *Aeneid*, but Valerius combines this with the *hubris* motif found in Lucan. The deities of sea and storm, led by Boreas, consider the voyage of the *Argo* as an act of *hubris* towards nature, but this voyage is the first step in Jupiter's plan to open up the sea and transfer the center of power from Asia to Greece. Hence even Neptune resignedly helps the Argonauts (545–654) while gloomily forecasting the lot of future seafarers. The seastorm, then, is not so much a challenge to Jupiter's decree as the first opportunity for the Argonauts to display the heroic qualities needed for this epoch-making event, defined by Jupiter in the preceding speech as *durum iter et grave* (566). In contrast to the *Metamorphoses* and the *Pharsalia*, the storm once again is caused by deities, but quite unlike Ovid, Valerius emphasizes its internal rather than external dimension. It serves to characterize the protagonists who have to prove themselves.

The means Valerius employs for this characterization again illustrate that it was quite possible, even at this late stage in the tradition, to treat a seastorm episode with considerable originality. Valerius does not simply fall back on Vergil. He does not, for instance, include the gesture of the hero's stretching out his hands in the middle of the storm and praying to the

<sup>41</sup> I have followed the interpretation of F. M. Ahl, *Lucan. An Introduction* (Ithaca 1976) 205–09.

<sup>42</sup> Details in Morford (note 40, above) 51 ff.

<sup>43</sup> I am much indebted to the discussions of E. Burck, *Unwetter szenen in den flavischen Epikern. Abh. Akademie Mainz* 9 (1978) 9–14 and Adamietz (note 28, above) 24–26.



gods (*Aen.* 1. 93). The reason may have been Ovid's amusement at it. It's a futile gesture (not in the least, perhaps, because one would surely drown if one indeed raised one's hands instead of holding on to a plank) and besides, one can't see *sidera* and *caelum* anyway: *bracchiaque ad caelum, quod non videt, inrita tollens/poscit opem* (*Met.* 11. 541-42; cf. 550: *omne latet caelum*). There is only one short direct speech of the stricken heroes (*Arg.* 1. 627-32), prefaced by *murmure maesto* (626). Valerius, however, does not pull back from pathos as Ovid did; witness, e. g., the aspect of Hercules (1. 634-35):

magnanimus spectat pharetras et inutile robur  
Amphitryoniades.

Not a word is wasted and the tmesis contributes to the overall effect. At greater length, Jason's concluding speech (667-80) and sacrifice establish the themes of *pietas* and *virtus* which will be operative throughout the *Argonautica*.

The whole episode is anything but a mannered retreading of a wornout convention. Ovid's treatment of it—and that is the only case we can make for Ovidian influence—is that it challenges Valerius to a very different *remaniement*.

Silius reworks these themes in the final book of the *Punica* (17. 201-90). Because Hannibal is the anti-Aeneas, the motifs from the *Aeneid* are inverted: as he sails from Italy to Africa, he changes his mind to wreak his revenge yet on Rome (234-35). He thereby is assimilated to Lucan's Caesar (5. 579-80) and, in contrast to the latter, he actually does bring the storm upon himself. Following the inversion of the Vergilian matrix, it is Neptune who, in response to Hannibal's turnabout, stirs up the storm together with Boreas, the other winds, and Tethys (note the difference in this respect from Valerius, too, who has Nereus and Thetis set the *Argo* afloat). Continuing this *variatio*, Silius has Venus save Hannibal from drowning because she wants him to be vanquished by the Aeneades. Hannibal's direct speech (220-35) echoes the principal motive that led him to destroy Saguntum earlier: the wish to annihilate Rome and Jupiter.<sup>44</sup> Silius' seastorm, therefore, is not extraneous but an important element in both Hannibal's characterization and the overall plan of the epic, contrasting with the description Silius planned in book 18 for Scipio's voyage and with Hannibal's attack on Rome (12. 538-792).<sup>45</sup> Hannibal reveals himself further in his lament (250-67); we may note that Silius, too, omits the protagonist's gesture of prayer probably for the combined reason of Hannibal's lack of *pietas* and Ovid's "correction" of this Vergilian scene. And while there is occasional *aemulatio*, especially with Vergil, in terms of

<sup>44</sup> See M. von Albrecht, *Silius Italicus* (Amsterdam 1964) 24-27.

<sup>45</sup> Burck (note 43, above) 15.

greater quantity and detail (e. g. lines 278–80) Silius, quite unlike Ovid, uses no similes.

As has been noted many times, the integration of character and storm environment is closest in Statius' *Thebaid*.<sup>46</sup> It also is completely un-Ovidian. Statius' innovations include transferring the storm from sea to land (l. 346–82) and enhancing its effect by contrast with the preceding description of the calm of Somnus and the evening (336–41). Above all, the storm, used in the same theme-setting position at the beginning of the epic as in Vergil and Valerius, is the external manifestation of Polyneices' inner turmoil and illustrates the rush to his doom. That is also one function of the episode's only simile; the other is to allude to the topos in general as the simile is about a sailor caught in a seastorm (370–77):

ac velut hiberno deprensus navita ponto,  
cui neque Terno piger neque amico sidere monstrat  
Luna vias, media caeli pelagive tumultu  
stat rationis inops, iamiamque aut saxa malignis  
expectat submersa vadis aut vertice acuto  
spumantes scopulos erectae incurere prorae;  
talis opaca legens nemorum Cadmeius heros  
adcelerat . . .

Statius draws on such nautical similes even more purposefully than Lucan throughout his epic. The sea and its perils become a symbol of the vicissitudes of human emotions and warfare, and the seastorm similes are raised to the level of an important element in the thematic structure of the *Thebaid*.<sup>47</sup> Again we are far removed from Ovid. At the same time, Statius deliberately uses Ovidian details to treat them all the more differently. Like Ceyx, Polyneices does not speak, but this is not done in order to draw more attention to the narrator. Instead, the mood created by the powerful narrative relates directly to the psychology of Polyneices. Divine instigation of the storm would only detract from this. Hence the storm simply arises, as it does in Ovid and Lucan, but its effect and treatment are among the most original in the tradition.

### B. Tisiphone and the Underworld

As Bernbeck's insightful analysis has shown, Ovid's depiction of the underworld (*Met.* 4. 416 ff.) is a good paradigm of his artistic intentions in the *Metamorphoses*.<sup>48</sup> The same can be said of almost all the Silver Latin epic poets and, for that matter, Seneca. Each offers his own version. Their

<sup>46</sup> Krumbholz (note 19, above) 232–35; Burck (note 43, above) 26–30; Vessey 92–93; Friedrich (note 38, above) 86.

<sup>47</sup> See B. Kytzler, *WS* 75 (1962) 154–58; a good example is 3. 22–32, illustrating Eteocles' state of mind.

<sup>48</sup> Bernbeck (note 20, above) 1–43, esp. 4–29.

relation to the Vergilian and Homeric models has been studied often enough.<sup>49</sup> Here we want to focus briefly on their indebtedness, if any, to Ovid.

Ovid incorporates his version into the Theban cycle, specifically the story of Athamas and Ino. Juno feels slighted because of Semele; she descends into the underworld, pleads with Tisiphone to strike Athamas and Ino mad, and the Fury complies. As for the description of the underworld proper, its hallmarks are a pervasive *jeu d'esprit*, a delightful sense of the incongruous and, as a result, an almost complete demythologizing, if not trivializing, of Hades and his horrors. The only problem, e. g., which the *novi manes* have is that they don't know their way around the subterranean *urbs* (437–38). Most pursue their old trades, and any moral dimension is relegated to less than one line, without any illustrative specifics: *aliam partem sua poena coerces* (446).

Tisiphone and her sisters are perfectly adapted to this bourgeois, terrorless underworld. They have problems with their snake hairs—*deque suis atros pectebant crinibus angues* (454)—and Tisiphone is trying to shake them out of her face while talking to other people (475). The Furies are well-mannered ladies who rise when Juno comes to visit (457). True enough, they inhabit the *Sedes Scelerata*, but its mythological penitents are reduced to a series of paradoxes, Sisyphus' characterization being the most blatant: *se sequiturque fugitque* (461). Still, as Tisiphone reminds Juno, a goddess like her—and the katabasis of a deity is an Ovidian invention—has no business in the *inamabile regnum* (477; the phrase has a nice Vergilian ring: *Geo.* 4. 479 and *Aen.* 6. 438), and she needs to betake herself *caeli melioris ad auras* (478). Juno does so *laeta* (479). The spirit of this underworld, of course, is totally un-Homeric and un-Vergilian; it is described with a typically light touch.

Ovid's successors confronted the same problem. With the exception of Silius, they wanted to be more than Vergilian imitators, but they chose to eschew almost completely the path that Ovid had taken. The most sensational counterblast to *Aeneid* 6 is the description of Erictho and the resuscitation of the corpse in Book 6 of the *Pharsalia* where Lucan "rejects both katabasis and traditional nekyomanteia in favour of a more hideous form of post-mortem communication."<sup>50</sup> While the episode, however, owes something to Ovid's *Medea* in *Met.* 7, it does not take its inspiration from the katabasis in *Met.* 4. A closer parallel is Tisiphone's rousing of Megaera from the underworld in Book 11 of Statius' *Thebaid* (57 ff.).

It constitutes the serious counterpart to Juno's journey to Tisiphone in Ovid. Instead of being a superfluous bother, Tisiphone's snakes become functional. They define the purpose of Tisiphone's undertaking: she wants to rouse the *consanguineos angues* of Megaera for the impending battle

<sup>49</sup> See especially Juhnke (note 27, above) 268–97 and Vessey 238–58.

<sup>50</sup> Vessey 243; cf. Morford (note 40, above) 70–73 and Ahl (note 40, above) 130–33.

between Eteocles and Polyneices (11. 61–62). She uses the *dux* of her snake hairs to emit a world-terrifying hiss which pierces the netherworld and alerts Megaera (65–69):

crinalem attollit longo stridore cerasten:  
caeruleae dux ille comae, quo protinus omnis  
horruit audito tellus pontusque polusque,  
et pater Aetneos iterum respexit ad ignes.  
accipit illa sonum . . .

Whereas Ovid never let Juno speak and the only direct words were uttered by her addressee, Statius forgoes such ironies and returns to convention. Tisiphone addresses a long speech to Megaera (76–112) which states the objective clearly and forcefully—no *longae ambages* (*Met.* 4. 476) here. And whereas Ovid makes Tisiphone's onslaught on Athamas and Ino look like a circus act (4. 481–511),<sup>51</sup> Statius raises the departure for her task to cosmic dimensions (113–18), thus attracting the attention of Jupiter (119 ff.).

Statius "corrects" Ovid in similar ways in the katabasis of Amphiaras at the beginning of Book 8. Just as Ovid's invention of Juno's descent to the underworld was unprecedented so are both Statius' addition of this episode to the Theban myth and his invention of a warrior's being taken alive to the underworld in full battle gear instead of actually dying. There are baroque touches especially in the description of Dis who, *inter alia*, calls upon Tisiphone to avenge this intrusion of the realm of the dead, but the whole episode has been well characterized as an allegory that "proclaims the rule of moral law which applies below as above."<sup>52</sup> The total effect is a return to epic gravity. In the case of Tisiphone, it is further enhanced by Statius' giving her a role throughout the *Thebaid*. As Vessey has observed, "she has to some degree been demythologized by Statius' in the wake of Lucan's epic"; "she has become a *figura* of violence and madness . . . she is an objectified embodiment of Oedipus' spiritual state."<sup>53</sup> It is Oedipus, a mortal, who summons her initially (1. 88 ff.), and not a deity, such as Vergil's Juno calling forth Allecto. Ovid, of course, also had demythologized Tisiphone, but in a very different manner which Statius pointedly chose not to follow.

<sup>51</sup> Involving the snakes of course (4. 491–96). Once the job is done, *regna redit Diis sumptumque recingitur anguem* (4. 511—"like a police official," as Bembeck (note 20, above) 30 aptly puts it; see his excellent observations on the entire passage on pp. 26–30. B. also stresses the composition of the underworld/Tisiphone episode in terms of individual vignettes rather than overall, connected action and narrative (cf. our earlier discussion of the related issue of the autonomy of individual episodes on pp. 5–9). This in another aspect in which the post-Ovidian treatments of the topos do not uniformly follow Ovid.

<sup>52</sup> Vessey 243.

<sup>53</sup> Vessey 75; cf. Schetter (note 6, above) 5–20.

The katabasis, following a nekyomanteia, of the souls of Aeson and Alcimedea at the end of the first book of Valerius' *Argonautica* is even more classicizing (1. 833–51). It is a deliberately brief riposte to the excesses of Lucan and Seneca<sup>54</sup> and its directness is totally un-Ovidian.

Silius' corresponding scene (13. 381–895) is as long as Valerius' was brief. It is a syncretistic compendium of imitations of almost all the scenes from the nekyiae of Homer and Vergil, along with additions such as Scipio's encountering the souls of Hasdrubal, Alexander the Great, and Homer himself.<sup>55</sup> Even amidst this comprehensiveness there is no room for any *aemulatio* of Ovid. There are just enough indices to let the learned reader know that Silius had looked at Ovid's version. The yew-tree (*taxus*) occurs in Ovid first (*Met.* 4. 432) as the typical underworld tree (in contrast to Vergil's *ulmus*; *Aen.* 5. 283); Silius (11. 596) follows Ovid, as did Lucan (6. 645) and Seneca (*HF* 690). Among the Abstractions dwelling in the entrance hall to Hell is *Luctus* (13. 581), which is found in both Ovid (4. 484) and Vergil (6. 274). *Error* in Silius' catalogue (13. 586) is not part of Vergil's, but is one of the afflictions produced by Ovid's Tisiphone (4. 502). And whereas most underworld topographies know of only two gates, Silius increases their number to ten (531–61), perhaps with a view to Ovid's *mille aditus* (4. 439). At the same time, Ovid's insouciance (*apertasque undique portas/urbs habet*; 439–40) is implicitly corrected by a systematic classification of the ten gates. Silius adverts to Ovid just often enough to make the reader aware of the total difference between the spirit of his nekyia and Ovid's.

To sum up: a survey of two major motifs in the epic tradition, the seastorm and the nekyia, points up the limitations of the customary generalizations about Ovid's influence on the Neronian and Flavian epic poets. At the very least, we need to use some distinctions, such as that between form and spirit. Undeniably, formal and stylistic parallels—such as the use of paradox, exaggeration, visual over-explicitness, and excessive accumulation of detail—are shared by Ovid and the Silver Latin poets. Even from that perspective, the passages I have analyzed are by no means homogeneous. Far more important is the primacy of meaning or spirit over any such formal similarities. The purposes to which Lucan, Valerius, Statius, and Silius put topoi like the seastorm<sup>56</sup> and the nekyia are quite dissimilar to Ovid's. Instead of a simple shift from Vergil to Ovid, the oft-proclaimed harbinger of the Silver Age, the inspiration of these poets is more complex, reaching back to Homer and reacting, in one way or another,

<sup>54</sup> Details in Vessey 245–47.

<sup>55</sup> The most recent treatment, with the earlier bibliography, is C. Reitz, *Die Nekyia in den Punica des Silius Italicus* (Frankfurt 1982).

<sup>56</sup> Since presentations of seastorms became a topos in the rhetorical schools it may, in fact, have been the latter's much maligned influence which contributed to keeping this conventional subject susceptible to ever new variations.

mostly to Vergil. The Ovidian reaction to Vergil is almost irrelevant as a model both in terms of form and, more significantly, of meaning. The distinctive spirit that shapes Ovid's treatment of these episodes and others is much more a reflection of his kind of Augustanism than an indication of any real affinity with the poetry we call, for lack of a better term, Silver Latin.

### III

Finally, a brief comment is appropriate on the extent to which the Silver Latin epic poets followed Ovid in their use of poetic vocabulary. This is another aspect of his coping and theirs with the burden of the Vergilian past.<sup>57</sup> E. J. Kenney has summed up Ovid's achievement in this respect very well: "His contribution to the subsequent development of Latin Poetry may be described as the perfection of a poetic *koine*, a stylistic instrument which was freely manageable by writers of lesser genius."<sup>58</sup>

As part of his argument, Kenney concentrates on certain "poetic" words (based mostly on A. Cordier's analysis of the Vergilian vocabulary) and on compound adjectives shared and not shared by Vergil and Ovid. I will extend this control group to the epics of the post-Ovidians. For the sake of brevity, I will not reproduce the entire catalogue especially of the compound adjectives but simply list the relevant results.

(1) Some Vergilian "archaisms" which, as Kenney puts it (p. 120), are "obviously useful and not obtrusively 'poetic' words avoided by Ovid for no clear reason": *celero* (5 times in the *Aeneid*; found in Statius, Silius, Valerius), *fluentum* (Silius), *loquella* (no occurrence in the Silver Latin poets), *pauperies* (Lucan).

(2) Some more obviously "poetic" words not used by Ovid: *cernuus* (Silius), *flictus* (Silius), *illuvies* (Silius), *intempestus* (Statius), *obnubo* (Silius, Valerius), *pernix* (Silius, Valerius).

(3) Some "poetic" words used once only in the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*: *dius* (no occurrence in the Silver Latin epics), *incanus* (Statius), *properus* (Silius, Valerius), *sentus* (no occurrence), *suboles* (Lucan, Statius, Valerius), *tremebundus* (Silius, Statius); cf. *virago* (once in *Aeneid*, twice in *Met.*, once in Lucan).

<sup>57</sup> On the general literary perspective cf. W. J. Bate, *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet* (Cambridge Mass. 1970).

<sup>58</sup> "The Style of Ovid," in J. W. Binns, ed., *Ovid* (London 1973) 119.

## Compound Adjectives:

(4) Of the 41 compounds used by both poets in the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* only one does not occur in the Silver Latin epics, i. e. *bicolor*.

(5) 52 compounds are listed by Kenney as being used by Vergil in the *Aeneid*, though not by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*. 15, or 29%, are not found in the Silver Latin epics: *Appenninicola*, *bifrons*, *bilix*, *bipatens*, *centumgeminus*, *caprigenus*, *conifer*, *legifer*, *malifer*, *omnigenus*, *omniparens*, *Phoebigena*, *silvicola*, *velivolus*, *vitisator*.

(6) 89 compounds are listed by Kenney as being used by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, but not by Vergil in the *Aeneid*. 57 of these, or 64% are not found in the Silver Latin epics: *amnicola*, *anguigena*, *anguipes*, *Appenninigena*, *aurigena*, *bifurcus*, *bimater*, *bipennifer*, *bisulcus*, *caducifer*, *centimanus*, *Chimaerifer*, *falcifer*, *faticinus*, *flexipes*, *florilegus*, *frugilegus*, *fumificus*, *gemellipara*, *glandifer*, *granifer*, *herbifer*, *lanigena*, *ignigena*, *lunonigena*, *lanificus*, *Latonigena*, *lentiscifer*, *luctisonus*, *mellifer*, *monticola*, *multicausus*, *multiforus*, *opifer*, *papyrifer*, *penatiger*, *portentificus*, *puerperus*, *racemifer*, *securifer*, *semicaper*, *semicremus*, *semideus*, *semilacer*, *semimas*, *septemfluus*, *serpentiger*, *sexangulus*, *spumiger*, *squamiger*, *triceps*, *tricuspis*, *tridentifer*, *tridentiger*, *uaticinus*, *uenefica*, *uenenifer*.

Two principal conclusions can be drawn from this limited evidence. Although we are dealing with a representative sample rather than an exhaustive study of diction, it indicates tendencies that accord with those suggested by the comparison of the poets' use of themes like seastorm and nekyia. First, no schematism can be observed as regards Ovidian "influence." In fact, Silius Italicus, the most Vergilian of the Flavian and Neronian poets, uses 17 of the 89 compounds used by Ovid and not by Vergil, thus confirming the "color Ovidianus" of many of his passages<sup>59</sup> (Lucan and Statius are next with 16). At the same time, Lucan and Silius follow Vergil rather than Ovid in the use of meter, whereas Valerius and Statius are metrically "Ovidian."<sup>60</sup> Secondly, the Silver Latin poets use a significantly higher percentage of compounds used by Vergil and not by Ovid rather than the other way around. That again is consistent with the thematic dialogue they carry on in their adaptations of scenes such as nekyia and seastorm with Vergil rather than Ovid. It should be added that, as Kenney observes (p. 122), Ovid's innovations in the use of compound

<sup>59</sup> See the articles by R. T. Brùère in N. Herescu, ed., *Ovidiana* (Paris 1958) 475-99 and CP 54 (1959) 228-45.

<sup>60</sup> G. E. Duckworth, *TAPA* 98 (1967) 142.

adjectives are anything but radical; instead, "he innovates on his own account with moderate freedom." Even this limited amount of Ovidian innovation did not find much of a following among his successors, and this conservatism on their part should not be overlooked amid all the other emphases which have conventionally been placed on their imitations of Ovid.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. the result of M. von Albrecht's analysis of the syntax of the Io episodes in the *Metamorphoses* (l. 583-751) and Valerius' *Argonautica* (4. 344-422) in *WJA* N. F. 2 (1977) 139-47: Ovid is more "classical" and "Augustan." Similarly, Kenney 148 n. 67: "In this respect (i. e. the formation of compound adjectives) he (i. e. Ovid) does not follow the example set by his admired Lucretius . . . but shows himself as an Augustan of the Augustans."





Fig. 1. Augustan silver crater from Hildesheim. Formerly in Berlin, Staatliche Museen Inv. 3779, 62. Museum photograph.



## Lycaon: Ovid's Deceptive Paradigm in *Metamorphoses* 1

WILLIAM S. ANDERSON

As the first story of human metamorphosis in Ovid's poem, the account of Lycaon naturally tempts us to read it as paradigmatic and programmatic. We may yield to that temptation in two important respects: A. We might read the story as a whole as a coherent structure that anticipates the organization and rationale of subsequent tales. B. We might focus on the actual description of metamorphosis, where we expect Ovid to pursue themes and imply a meaning in change that he would then regularly employ in later parts of the poem. Both aspects of the Lycaon-paradigm have been commonly read in the past.<sup>1</sup> Increasingly, however, scholars have begun to question A and to dispute some details of B.<sup>2</sup> It is my purpose in this paper to review the entire matter: to suggest that Ovid carefully pretended to use Lycaon as a paradigm, that he then told the story so as to sabotage the status of the model, and that the subsequent tales of Book 1 and thereafter, by their patent flouting of the Lycaon-pattern, correct, re-shape, and then

<sup>1</sup> R. Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählung* (*Berichte . . . der Sächsischen Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, Vol. 71 [1919], No. 7), 10 ff. and 69 ff., most forcefully argued that the whole passage, the Council of the Gods and Jupiter's story of Lycaon, was a serious epic opening to a basically epic poem. Many of his contemporaries and students followed him. Then, Brooks Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet* (Cambridge 1970) generally re-stated the position of Heinze, with some modifications that recognized the humor and wit of the poet. Otis introduced the term "theodicy" into the discussion on pp. 86, 88, and 100. Franz Boemer, in his commentary on *Metamorphoses* Books 1-3 (Heidelberg 1969) agrees in the main with Otis (whose book in its first edition had appeared in 1966). For other bibliography up to 1969, see Boemer, pp. 74 ff. For discussion of the thematic language in the scene of Lycaon's metamorphosis, see W. S. Anderson, "Multiple Change in the *Metamorphoses*," *TAPA* 94 (1963) 5.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the controversy has focused, as Boemer notes, on the framing Council of the Gods. In the discussion, the lines have been drawn on whether the Council is a serious epic presentation or a parody with anti-Vergilian and/or anti-Augustan purposes. Thus, D. E. Hill, in his commentary on *Met.* I-IV (Aris & Phillips Ltd., Bolchazy-Carucci Inc., 1985), assumes without argument that Ovid is undercutting our epic expectations (*ad* 163-252, p. 174). J. B. Solodow, *The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (University of North Carolina Press 1988) 175-76, discusses Lycaon's transformation as a paradigm, but only after decisively denying the operation of morality, reward or punishment, in the rationale of metamorphosis.

shift the paradigm to the more disturbing, but productive, form that Ovid impresses on his *Metamorphoses*.

Ovid organizes and situates the story of Lycaon carefully. He inserts it into an account of a Council of the Gods, which discusses the total degeneration of human beings; and it serves Jupiter as absolute proof of the hopeless corruption on earth. Lycaon has conspired against him, Jupiter, and been appropriately punished (*ille quidem poenas . . . solvit* 1. 209); and so he insists on universal punishment at the conclusion of his narrative (*dent ocius omnes / . . . poenas* 241-42), since other men are as bad as, or worse than, Lycaon. The Council of the Gods constitutes a standard device of serious epic, at the beginning of poems (as in the *Odyssey*) or at key points in the narrative. Ovid in fact reuses the phrase *conciliumque vocat* (167) from *Aen.* 10. 2, where Jupiter summons a council that determines, by his command, the course of the war between the Italians and Aeneas' followers. Ostensibly, then, Ovid has created a situation where solemn moral issues are confronted by the gods and an important, intelligent decision emerges under the wise guidance of Jupiter. And the inserted tale of Lycaon serves as an example of Jupiter's justice meted out to one sinner, a foreshadowing of the justice that he will properly bring down on all mankind for its degradation. As Brooks Otis viewed this sequence, then, the framing Council of the Gods, which decided to destroy human beings, falls into the familiar epic type he called a theodicy; and the inserted account of Lycaon's sin and punishment is a "little theodicy."<sup>3</sup> Zeus proclaimed the working of divine justice in *Odyssey* 1, and both Jupiter and Neptune show the benevolent divine pattern in *Aeneid* 1.

When we have read a few books of the *Metamorphoses*, we cease to be so credulous, and indeed we suspect, every time that Ovid borrows an obvious epic motif or flourishes a phrase from Vergil, that he will do something subversive. Here, however, it is early in the poem, and we are entitled to none but the obvious expectations: this seems like serious ethical epic material, so we anticipate a proper theodicy, that is, a principled decision taken under the aegis of an impartial and venerable Jupiter. When Jupiter and his Council amuse and shock us, then and only then do we realize how Ovid has abused theodicy and epic formula, how he is pointing away from the standard epic paradigm to something new. Thus, Ovid sets up a superficial situation of theodicy only to undo it by one detail after another. Let us look at some of his subversive techniques for presenting the Council: they will prepare us for a less than convincing theodicy when we come to the story of Lycaon.

When the supreme deity, Zeus or Jupiter, summons a standard epic Council of gods, he is concerned for the situation among human beings, worried that things are not going right, but hardly doubting that right can

<sup>3</sup> See Otis, p. 100.

prevail. So anger or indignation does not motivate him, least of all anger over some particular crime that has been practiced against himself. The subordinate gods may have strong emotions and biases, but Jupiter weighs the issues calmly and decides on what the poet and the audience agree is a just course.

Ovid's Jupiter seethes with anger from the start; it is because of that wrath that he convenes the Council; it is with indignation (181) that he opens his speech to the gods; after they roar out their obsequious rage to match his mood (199), Jupiter continues in anger with his story of Lycaon (209–39), and he rises to a raging peroration (*frementi* 244) that ordains the total annihilation of human beings. This un-Vergilian wrath and its totally negative, destructive goal should make us wonder a bit about the theodicy of Ovid's Flood. And Ovid forces us to face this problem by insisting a bit too openly that Jupiter has taken on anger that is "worthy" of him (*dignas love concipit iras*, 166).

At the summoning of the Council, Ovid seizes his opportunity to describe the meeting-place and the homes of the gods in a flagrantly un-epic, anachronistic manner that repeatedly invites his audience to imagine Jupiter as Augustus, the other gods as prominent Romans, and the Council as a session of the Roman Senate hurriedly called on the Palatine Hill. This Romanization of the traditional divine Council works in at least two important ways: it encourages us to compare the decision which Jupiter forces on the rest of the gods with a political decision generated by the Roman Senate under the authoritarian direction of the Princeps; and it invites us to see these gods, in their interactions, as the typical political actors of Augustan Rome. Ovid re-inforces those political equations when he introduces his first "epic" simile to characterize the uproar that interrupted Jupiter's harangue (200 ff.). That makes it clear that the gods respond like Roman senators on a specific political occasion which the poet blandly evokes, but a writer like Tacitus would have developed with sardonic mastery. Jupiter has been the unscathed "victim" of a blundered assassination-attempt.<sup>4</sup>

We are familiar today with the way political leaders "orchestrate" their decisions, how they twist facts and simply lie, how they announce crucial actions after the event, and how their supporters and critics (if there are any that dare speak out) fashion their responses to please the leader and public opinion. Plots are not always real; they can be invented by a ruler or leader to get rid of rivals. In such murky and menacing situations, the prudent

<sup>4</sup> It is still disputed what Roman Caesar we are to understand at 201. A. G. Lee, in his commentary on Book 1 (Cambridge 1968), *ad* 200, briefly weighs the evidence. Boemer discusses the problem more fully and finds it more likely that Augustus is meant than Julius Caesar, especially because of the probable symmetry of failed attempts. I follow Boemer's interpretation, as does Solodow p. 56. However, D. E. Hill (above, n. 1) opts for Julius Caesar and somewhat rashly asserts (p. 176): "There is no merit in the suggestion sometimes made that the reference is to one or other of the various attempts made on Augustus' life."

senator will follow the obvious cues of the "drama" and voice the expected indignation over the plot and its perpetrator, calling for the severest punishment.

As Jupiter opens his indignant mouth (181), the poet gives him a dramatic gesture reminiscent of Zeus in Homer:<sup>5</sup>

*terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque  
caesariem, cum qua terram, mare, sidera movit.* (179–80)

However, though reminiscent, it is significantly different. In Homer, Zeus does not wildly shake his hair: on the contrary, he nods his head, and at the nod his great mane of scented hair sweeps grandiosely back. The nod signifies solemn authority; the movement of the hair adds to the sense of majesty; and Olympus, the home of the gods, shakes with fear and reverence. Ovid has set up his description in 179–80 in a way to undermine Jupiter's majesty: he makes us focus on the hair instead of the head; he chooses a verb of wild motion (*concussit*) and a noun that is poetic (*caesariem*) but also reminds us of the link with the political scene in contemporary Rome; and he alliterates like mad. This great god does not, then, really act with the authority of Homer's Zeus or Vergil's Jupiter, for he neither nods firm assent nor confirms an assertion of his own; he is so wildly aroused that he rather resembles, with his convulsed shaking hair, so heavily alliterated, the frenzied Cretan Curetes and their heavily alliterated hair crests, which Lucretius described so memorably:

*terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas* (2. 632).

The poet has emphasized Jupiter's self-righteousness and thus affected to make this a scene of theodicy, where divine justice surely operates. But Ovid's Jupiter cannot match up to the grandeur of his epic prototypes in Homer, Ennius, and Vergil. He quickly announces that he must destroy the race of mortals (187–88). This drastic decision is of considerable interest, but in varying degrees, to two audiences: Jupiter's divine council and Ovid's human readers. And whereas the gods can be manipulated by Jupiter's emotional rhetoric, we are more likely to keep insisting on an answer to our question: why must human beings all be destroyed? Jupiter introduces a medical analogy: if the human body has a diseased growth or limb that will not submit to medicine, but instead threatens to invade and disease other parts of the body, the only medical option is drastic surgery, removal of the diseased part before it is too late. We are all familiar with this rationale behind surgery in the case of cancer, gangrene, and other infections. Surgical "intervention" is the only way to save a life. Jupiter, accordingly,

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Iliad* 1. 528–30, in Lattimore's translation: "He spoke, the son of Kronos, and nodded his head with the dark brows, / and the immortally anointed hair of the great god / swept from his divine head, and all Olympus was shaken."

implies that he assumes the role of a concerned doctor. We are especially interested to hear him explain such radical surgery on men.

The initial elaboration and application of the medical analogy is not very re-assuring. Without clarifying the incurable nature of the human disease, the god explicates the "body" which he is concerned to preserve (192 ff.). I have, he says, a group of semigods (nymphs, fauns, satyrs, etc.) whom we don't allow to inhabit Olympus with us: we do not consider them worthy of that honor. This housing discrimination, which Jupiter blandly admits, seems to be based partly on the fact that these beings are not full gods, but very definitely also on the fact that they are crude rustics, not qualified to live in the urban mansions of this most civilized, most "Roman" of divine dwellings.

*sunt mihi semidei, sunt, numina rustica, Nymphae  
Fauunique Satyrique et monticolae Silvani.* (192-93)

By putting the appositional phrase *numina rustica* at the head of the list, Ovid manages to convey the aristocratic snobbery in Jupiter. And he ends the list with a flamboyant adjective-noun unit that is too "poetic" to stand inspection. The adjective *monticolae* has never been seen before and will never be used again, by Ovid or any Latin writer. It combines with the three long syllables of the noun to produce a double-spondee ending of a most unorthodox type: a polysyllabic Latin formation + a trisyllable, which causes the metrical stress to fall roughly on the final syllable of the adjective. That, in turn, would tend to call attention to the special adjective which Ovid has here invented. It of course tells us where, if not in Olympus, the Silvani live; and it also sets up a clash between these rough mountaineers and Ovid's quite urbane human audience, us who feel rightly superior to these creatures whom Jupiter somewhat casually prefers to us. (As it turns out, Jupiter does not seem to figure out how to save these semigods when he sends the Flood and inundates not only the country haunts of nymphs and satyrs but overwhelms the mountains and their entire habitat of Earth.)

These semigods, then, constitute the important part of the "body" which Jupiter wishes to spare the contagion of human beings. The analogy may sound plausible, because we have heard earlier the poet describe the degeneracy of the Iron Age (127 ff.). However, when we start to ask how that "contagion" will spread, the fallacy of Jupiter's argument becomes manifest. Human beings do not normally in myth attack and pollute the semigods. Occasionally, nymphs become interested in human males and pursue them aggressively; occasionally, a faun like Pan disturbs human activities. But it is much more common for satyrs to chase after nymphs; and in Ovid's poem it is a rule of the early books that the gods, especially Jupiter, have erotic contact with innocent nymphs that leads to unwanted pregnancy and misery. So what in fact Jupiter desires to preserve is a private sphere where he and the other gods can exercise their corrupt lusts, a

"body" where gods can be the undisputed corrupters. There was and is no convincing danger to the semigods from human beings.

The apparent theodicy in Ovid's Council of the Gods at this prominent early position in the poem has been seriously undermined. Now let us turn to the "little theodicy" of Lycaon's crime and punishment. Jupiter is the narrator, it should be remembered, and he has an interest in presenting situations in black and white colors that favor himself and his sense of his justice. Hoping to find the corruption on earth less than was reported, he went down to check on conditions, and he took a human form. But things were even worse than he had heard (215). Eventually he came to the kingdom of Lycaon in Arcadia. When he entered the palace, he indicated in some fashion that he was a god. For all the ordinary people, this was sufficient: they began to pray. But Lycaon ridiculed their piety and declared that he would test the so-called divinity of this guest. The test involved one perpetrated crime and another planned. At dinner that night, Lycaon served Jupiter the cooked flesh of a human hostage he had killed; and after dinner, when his guest was asleep, Lycaon intended to attack and kill him (if he were human). There is no question that Lycaon lived up to his reputation for bestial savagery, but it is clear that Jupiter was never seriously endangered and, in his omniscience, was able at any time to punish the evil king. Which he did as soon as the human meat was set in front of him; Lycaon never had a chance to attack the sleeping god. Thus, the terrible "plot" that Jupiter finally reveals to the council of gods was nothing but a plot: it never got beyond the planning stages before Justice stepped in and crushed it.

Jupiter's story causes some difficulties for itself, but in the main it does sound like a simple account of Good (Jupiter) vs. Evil (Lycaon). We might sympathize with Lycaon's incredulity about this guest in human form. We might wonder what convincing sign Jupiter gave of his divinity; and it would not be inappropriate to remember that, in other versions of the myth, the god chose this occasion to rape Callisto, Lycaon's daughter. That would not exactly be the sign of divinity that the god would want us to be thinking of as he proceeded in his narration. The contrast between naively superstitious common people and the one suspicious realist can usually be rigged against the individual, as here and in the myth of Pentheus in Book 3, but it need not be. Had Lycaon only been suspicious, we might have approved of him. But he made that suspicion criminally impious by what he then did. So he deserved his punishment.

The punishment-phase of this theodicy exhibits some definite signs of divine clumsiness and inelegance. As soon as the human flesh appears for eating at the table, Jupiter acts. He uses his normal weapon, the thunderbolt (*vindice flamma* 230), to strike at Lycaon. However, since Lycaon is inside his palace and Jupiter presumably has risen to the sky—though the narrator does not explain the problem—, the thunderbolt can be imagined as crashing down from outdoors. At any rate, it misses the culprit



entirely, smashing first down on the palace and causing its roof to fall in on everything below. Jupiter reports with some righteous satisfaction that the collapsing roof struck in particular the household gods; he claims that they "deserved their master" (*domino dignos . . . penates* 231). However, that is a significantly trivial viewpoint of gods for the Supreme Deity to express: to suggest that household gods serve the houseowner and are tainted by his moral character. Some of the commentators, like Boemer, ignore this comic theological error of Jupiter and insist that we are to interpret *penates* in an exclusively figurative fashion as part of the palace. But they then imagine what happens to the simple pious ordinary people inside the ruined building: they must have been innocent victims of Jupiter's wrath, while Lycaon escaped to the woods unscathed.<sup>6</sup> In any case, the notorious thunderbolt proves a pretty ineffective instrument, no matter what Jupiter may claim about the Penates.

Continuing his story, Jupiter admits that Lycaon fled in terror into the open countryside. There is no indication that Lycaon had any awareness that Jupiter's justice had caused the collapse of the palace and that then he was consciously fleeing punishment. He acted no differently from the panicky survivors of earthquakes, who abandon their homes and make for the open, away from all dangerous structures. When he reached the country, he began to change, to become the literal beast which most closely fitted the bestiality of his character. Most readers have assumed that Jupiter caused this metamorphosis, which then would clearly support a sense of theodicy; since the punishment has supremely fitted the crime, and the *feritas* for which Lycaon was notorious at his introduction (198) becomes his characteristic *imago* (239), justice has triumphed. That indeed is the simple-minded way in which Hyginus does report the transformation.<sup>7</sup> However, either Jupiter proves singularly incompetent as a narrator of his own great achievements or Ovid slyly raises a doubt about theodicy: nowhere does Jupiter declare that he caused any of the changes.<sup>8</sup>

What clearly emerges in the process of metamorphosis is the impression of logical origin and continuity. The mouth exhibits wildness (*rabiem* 234) that has been taken over directly from Lycaon; and he practices

<sup>6</sup> Boemer refers to the "drastic metonymy" by which *penates* is made by Ovid to refer to a part of the palace; and he mentions with sympathy Bentley's conjecture *ministros*, which would have removed the problem (and, of course, the meaning which, I think, Ovid in fact sought). Boemer, *ad* 230, claims that Ovid's awkward effort to combine his mythological sources led to the inconsistency, "dass der Blitz das unschuldige *vulgus* (I 220) trifft; den Lycaon dagegen erreicht die Strafe erst auf der Flucht." Ovid says nothing about the fate of the ordinary people.

<sup>7</sup> Hyginus 176 ends his account of Lycaon by saying that Jupiter changed him into a wolf. Apollodorus 3. 8. 1. 6 says, on the other hand, that, when the king and his sons served Zeus the flesh of a murdered local child, the god overturned the table and struck them all dead with his thunderbolt. Thus, there was no metamorphosis.

<sup>8</sup> Ovid, whether through Jupiter's narration or by any intrusive comment of his own, does not allow it to be said that Jupiter or any personal force caused Lycaon's metamorphosis. This point has been ably made by Solodow (above, n. 2), 168-69.

his customary murderous ways, but now against cattle, still lusting for blood. After Jupiter briefly describes how the king turns into a shaggy quadruped, the sameness of this beast's basic nature receives full emphasis (238-39). Now, we may conclude from all that detail that this transformation is a condign punishment, which just Jupiter in theodicy has visited on him.<sup>9</sup> But we might consider some alternate explanations: e. g.,

1. It would really have been more just if Lycaon had been eliminated right at the start by the thunderbolt. After all, he was a murderer with no excuse.
2. Metamorphosis is a perpetuation of that bestiality which has already done enough damage to human beings; why is it just to shift its operation against innocent animals? Doesn't Lycaon continue to get pleasure?
3. Although Lycaon has been "reduced" to an animal which lives out his essential blood-thirsty bestiality, he did escape, in a real sense, the angry punishment of Jupiter (precisely that annihilation which Jupiter's strange logic now demands and carries out against the rest of mankind, men, women, and children, guilty and innocent alike). It is possible, then, that metamorphosis may not necessarily be connected with the gods or with justice.

As Boemer remarks, the story of Lycaon's transformation is the one story that Jupiter narrates. Placed as it is by Ovid in the context of this epic Council of the Gods, he seems to demand our serious attention and to promise the theodicy that many readers have assigned it. I believe, however, that Ovid chose this context and this narrator for his first metamorphosis in order to raise, then disappoint and re-direct our expectations. The details that I have singled out undermine the solemnity and moral authority of the Council and of the Supreme Deity, and the way the story of Lycaon develops denies the working of theodicy: Jupiter's thunderbolt misses its primary target and victimizes the innocent household gods and pious ordinary people, and the metamorphosis just happens, letting Lycaon's bestiality escape to bedevil the animal world forever. Nevertheless, even if Ovid's reader, after listening to Jupiter's clumsy and biased narrative, misses the clues planted by the skeptical poet and believes that theodicy functions in this Ovidian poem and specifically in the rationale of metamorphosis, the stories that follow decisively call for a re-adjustment of expectations.

The Flood itself constitutes a botched and distorted theodicy. Jupiter again realizes the inefficacy of his thunderbolt and resorts to torrential rains. Although those rains, with the help of Neptune's overflowing rivers, do their deadly task, they sweep up the innocent animals in their ruin and would appear to have made Earth uninhabitable for the semigods (about whom Jupiter professed such great concern, 192 ff.). The tone of the

<sup>9</sup> Jupiter does say, in answer to the outcry of assembled gods, that Lycaon has paid the penalty (209). Such a statement, however, is capable of several interpretations; we must not rule out the possibility that Ovid lets the god misinterpret events and imply at this point more than the situation actually warrants.

narration, which shocked Seneca, remains light and distant, ignoring all the obvious pain and panic which any human being would attribute to the scene, quite indifferent to the theme of justice or to the suffering of the innocent.<sup>10</sup>

The clearest revision of the false paradigm in Lycaon's crime and punishment starts with the series of erotic stories that occupy the last third of Book 1. Although Apollo's love for Daphne strikes him unwittingly and affects him, at first, much as love subdues the elegiac lover, it turns into rapist pursuit when politeness and courtly ardor prove useless. Transformed into a virtual beast or bird of prey, the god is about to seize the nymph and gratify his lust when her prayer to her parents produces her metamorphosis, which permits at least escape from sexual violation. However, much as the meaning of this transformation has been debated, no reader construes it as theodicy. The nymph has been utterly innocent—let us not argue that virginity should be viewed as some sort of moral fault—, and her freedom has been attacked, her body reduced to wood and branches, and that new form possessed by her would-be rapist. Apollo suffers no punishment for the pain he has caused Daphne and her family: mildly frustrated in his lust, he still ends up as Daphne's possessor. Thus, this first story of divine love demonstrates that nymphs were always more endangered by amoral gods, that gods can commit crimes with impunity, and do, and that metamorphoses have little or nothing to do with morality and justice.

The second story makes these points even more sharply, because it features Jupiter himself, shows him as a successful and amoral rapist, capable of twisting ethical terminology (cf. 617 ff.), and makes the innocent nymph, not the god, the victim of a metamorphosis which, itself manifestly unjust, then initiates a train of suffering for Io the cow while her divine lover continues to deny his responsibility. Jupiter approaches Io in some indefinite but visible form and identifies himself as a god, not a lower plebeian deity but the one who controls the heavens with his sceptre and shoots thunderbolts (595–96). Such detail invites us to think back to the flawed "theodicy" of the earlier Council and to the occasion when he visited Lycaon, gave a sign of his deity (he claimed), and was greeted by scornful laughter by the king. Io does not believe this speaker either. So he rapes her, transforms her into a cow, and, when he gets a confused attack of ethics, delivers the animal over to the savage jealousy of Juno. The metamorphosis is, if anything, the proof of divine injustice. The only continuity between Io and the cow, registered in a curiously inept parenthetical remark, 612, that serves to emphasize this inhuman injustice, consists in the beauty of both nymph and beast. Needless to say, however,

<sup>10</sup> Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 3. 27. 13, praised parts of Ovid's account of the Flood, but harshly attacked 1. 304 as "childish incompetence," continuing with this explanation of his criticism: *non est res satis sobria lascivire devorato orbe terrarum*. For a more penetrating analysis of Ovid's Flood, see Solodow pp. 122 ff.

the beauty is not of the same order, and Io, retaining her human consciousness inside that bovine form, does not find herself beautiful at all (cf. 640–41). Jupiter does have a sneaking realization that he has done wrong, though not so much to Io as to his bitchy wife Juno, but he has no capacity to face and rectify his guilt. After Io has been harried over the landscape, about to give birth, she groans piteously and prays that the god end *her* punishment (735). He then finally negotiates with Juno. Notice the dishonest way in which he speaks:

*"numquam tibi causa doloris  
haec erit" et Stygias iubet hoc audire paludes. (736–37)*

After the enjambement, the pronoun should have been *ego* (or some metrically appropriate reference to Jupiter). By twisting the subject to the innocent Io, the victim of Juno's wrath, the god distracts his wife (but not us) from the obvious fact that he has left himself free to commit repeated adulteries. And the oath by the Styx, another trivialization of the solemn epic vow, as earlier during the Council (cf. 188–89), merely emphasizes the ethical vacuity of this Ovidian Jupiter.

We need not go into the third and briefer erotic story, which Ovid designs as a clever repetition of theme: namely, the account of the chase of Syrinx by the lustful Pan, her avoidance of rape by transformation into a reed (689–712). This simply illustrates the fact that there is no safety or justice among the semigods. The metamorphosis once again victimizes the innocent nymph; the male deity, on the other hand, gets compensated for his frustration by being given the reed as a musical plaything. So much for theodicy as a paradigm in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. So much for an ethical rationale behind metamorphosis.

\* \* \*

At an early point in his first book, where his epic forebears Homer, Ennius, and Vergil introduce the gods in council or in well-deliberated action (the *Aeneid*), defining a moral order that prevails in human affairs and even constrains the gods, Ovid provides his Jupiter with a speciously similar occasion and an opportunity to present a theodicy. Jupiter declares his bitter hostility to all human beings, his determination to wipe them out because they are irredeemably corrupt. Both his wildly angry mood and gestures and his extreme decision disagree with the normally positive, helpful nature of divine action at the start of other epic. Jupiter then goes on to recount the story of Lycaon's criminal behavior, from which he gets most of his indignation. Because the god raves about punishment, readers have tended until recently to regard Lycaon's metamorphosis into a wolf as a penalty inflicted by Jupiter. In fact, as Jupiter narrates it in Ovid's careful version, the god used his thunderbolt ineptly on the palace where Lycaon dined, causing it to collapse on pious servants and innocent household gods, but utterly missing the king, who fled outdoors. At that point, Jupiter's

specific part in what happens to Lycaon ends; Ovid does not let the god claim, even when he is the narrator, that he changed man into wolf. If the god's role in the metamorphosis can be challenged, then it is also legitimate to question the assumption that this first metamorphosis in Ovid's poem is an intelligent punishment, a possible model of theodicy for future transformations. Instead, I have argued that Jupiter's story, like his behavior at the Council of the Gods, contains so many problems for a theory of theodicy that Ovid's audience should have been alerted. Then, as he continued with the stories of divine abuse of nymphs, in which rape is perpetrated with impunity and foiled rape compensated, in which metamorphosis is visited upon victims rather than criminals and involves a drastic violation of ethical standards respected by any Roman audience, it would have become clear that the flaws in the pseudo-paradigm set forth by Jupiter are in fact the rule: the gods of Ovid do not operate within ethical boundaries, and indeed they regularly act in ways that would earn human beings severe punishment; metamorphosis cannot be simply allegorized or viewed as a clear punishment or reward. There are disturbing ethical problems in Ovid's stories, but neither what the gods say nor what people experience provides a clear ethical interpretation. Instead, the audience must keep using its own ethical perceptions to come to grips with the dismayingly incomplete morality of events as Ovid narrates them.

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Silver Threads Among the Gold:  
A Problem in the Text of Ovid's  
*Metamorphoses*

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*In memoriam R. A. B. Mynors*

In the opening scene of Book 5 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the wedding of Perseus and Andromeda is thrown into bloody confusion by the murderous attack of the bride's disappointed suitor Phineus. A vignette of the ensuing carnage describes the end of the upright old Emathion at the hands of Chromis:

huic Chromis amplexo trenulis altaria palmis  
decutit ense caput, quod protinus incidit arae  
atque ibi semianimi uerba execrantia lingua  
edidit et medios animam exspirauit in ignes. 105

So the text runs in the vast majority of manuscripts. Some witnesses, however, including a later hand in the primary manuscript U, read in line 104 *demetit* for *decutit*, and this variant was adopted in the text of the great seventeenth-century editor of Ovid, Nicolaus Heinsius. Judging by his note on the passage, Heinsius opted for *demetit* primarily because *demetere* is frequently used in poetic descriptions of wounding, especially decapitation: Heinsius' collection of parallels, the earliest of which comes from Seneca's *Agamemnon* (987), included seven instances from Flavian epic alone.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, *decutere* in this sense is quite rare: the only close parallel comes in Livy's famous story of Lucius Tarquinius knocking off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden as a message to his son to deal likewise with the chief men of Gabii: *ibi inambulans tacitus summa papauerum capita dicitur baculo decussisse* (1. 54. 6, echoed by Ovid in *F.* 2. 705 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The simple verb *metere* is also so used, starting with single examples in Virgil (*Aen.* 10. 502) and Horace (*C.* 4. 14. 31) and continuing from Germanicus to Claudian; it is a particular favorite of Silius, who has it six times. Ovid, however, employs *metere* only in its agricultural sense and has no certain instance of *demetere*. (Cf. *TLL* 8. 890. 35 ff.) When writing my note on *Agam.* 987 I accepted Heinsius' view of *Met.* 5. 104 and therefore cited the line as a precedent for Seneca's use of *demetere*.

*illic Tarquinius . . . uirga lilia summa metit. / nuntius ut rediit decussaque lilia dixit, / filius 'agnosco iussa parentis' ait and Val. Max. 7. 4. 2 maxima et altissima papauerum capita baculo decussit).*

The situation I have outlined occurs many times in the text of the *Metamorphoses*. The older manuscripts agree on a reading that is in itself unobjectionable, but one or more of the *recentiores*—which in this tradition means manuscripts of the twelfth century or later—offers a variant that is arguably superior on grounds of style: more elegant, more pointed, or more readily paralleled in the works of other Latin poets. Are these variants to be accepted as authentic readings that have dropped out of the earliest surviving stratum of transmission, or should they be treated as the refined interpolations of erudite ancient or medieval readers?<sup>2</sup>

Posed in such broad terms, the question is unanswerable. The *recentiores* of the *Metamorphoses* contain many readings that have been accepted by virtually all editors and commentators over many generations; in a discipline lacking any means of objective verification, this is as close as we can come to being confident that these readings are authentic. As examples I would mention, taking at random the first half of Book 7, 115 *Minyae; subit ille* for *subito Minyae ille*, 234 *et iam nona dies* for *nona dies etiam*, 268 *luna pernocte* for *luna de nocte* (with traces of the genuine text preserved in M in the form *luna pernota*), 343 *subito* for *subito*. (Some of these readings may be due to scribal conjecture, but this explanation cannot account for all good readings preserved in the *recentiores*.) On the other hand, the later MSS also teem with variants that have no chance of being correct and that are in all likelihood readers' interpolations: for example, drawing on just a small part of the same book, 16 *furoris* for *timoris*, 18 *posses . . . esses* for *possem . . . essem*, 22 *taedas* for *thalamos*, 28 *forma* for *ore*, 38 *paterna* for *parentis*, 47 *stulta* for *tuta*, 69 *uitiosaque* for *speciosaque*, 76 *fractus* for *fortis*, 78 *expalluit* for *excanduit*, 79 *resumere* for *resurgere*, 88 *detorquet* for *declinat*.<sup>3</sup>

The claims of any particular minority reading can thus only be properly assessed on an *ad hoc* basis. It is nevertheless useful to note recurring features of even those readings that are almost certainly not genuine, since we may thereby come to understand something of the mental habits that lie behind them; such an awareness can only improve—and on occasion may even determine—a critic's evaluation of specific textual problems. In the passage with which I began, for example, I might argue on general grounds that *decussit* should be preferred to *demetit* precisely because the latter is more widely used in such contexts and might therefore suggest itself to a cultured

<sup>2</sup>The problem is not limited to the *Metamorphoses* or even to Latin poetry: Nigel Wilson has recently addressed a similar issue in the text of Sophocles in a paper from which I have greatly profited, "Variant Readings with Poor Support in the Manuscript Tradition," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 17 (1987) 1–13.

<sup>3</sup>I owe to R. A. B. Mynors the useful and evocative description of such readings as SPIV: i. e., spontaneously produced insignificant variants.



reader, whereas the substitution of the uncommon *decutit* for an original *demetit* is harder to explain.<sup>4</sup> (The argument is a specific form of the editorial maxim *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?*, i. e., which of two transmitted variants is more likely to have generated the other?) But I shall reach this conclusion more confidently if I know that the kind of alteration being postulated can be plausibly documented elsewhere in the same transmission.

In the following pages I shall discuss a number of passages in the *Metamorphoses* where I believe that a minority variant shows the influence of post-Ovidian diction or phraseology; in most cases the wording in question can be closely paralleled in the poets of the Neronian and Flavian periods. My provisional conclusion is that these variants illustrate a kind of learned interpolation practiced by readers who viewed Ovid with sensibilities shaped by their knowledge of subsequent Latin poetry. Interpolations of this sort are by no means limited to places where the transmitted reading is difficult or obscure; indeed they most often appear to be embellishments or "improvements" of the original, a form of *aemulatio* that expresses itself in stylistic renovation.<sup>5</sup>

Distinguishing authentic Ovidian matter from "Silver" interpolation is a delicate enterprise. For one thing, Ovid was unquestionably a major influence in the development of later poetic style: as Franz Bömer well put it, "Ovid spricht zu seiner Zeit schon die Sprache, die später modern wird."<sup>6</sup> For another, any attempt to plot the history of a particular word or combination risks being falsified by the loss of many texts from the relevant period. I hope that by examining several unrelated passages which admit a similar explanation I can at least establish the existence of the phenomenon I have described.

My second purpose is to further our understanding of the work of Ovid's greatest editor. Nicolaus Heinsius was a rarity among textual scholars, at once a devoted student of manuscripts and a conjectural critic of genius. His astute assessment of the manuscript evidence for the *Metamorphoses*—much of it gathered by himself—showed him that in dealing with this text an editor must proceed eclectically, alert to recognize and accept good readings

<sup>4</sup> That these verbs were related in Ovid's mind is suggested by the *Fasti* passage cited above (2. 705 ff.), in which Tarquinius' action is described first with *metere* (*uirga lilia summa metit* 706) and then with *decutere* (*decussa . . . lilia* 707).

<sup>5</sup> Wilson (above, n. 2, esp. pp. 8-9) rightly stresses the influence exerted on Byzantine readers by rhetorical education, in particular by the practice of composing in the manner of a given author or period. I have offered a similar explanation for many of the interpolated verses found in the texts of classical Latin poetry, cf. "Toward a Typology of Interpolation in Latin Poetry," *TAPA* 117 (1987) 281-98; "The Reader as Author: Collaborative Interpolation in Latin Poetry," in J. N. Grant, ed. *Editing Greek and Latin Texts* (New York 1989) 121-61.

<sup>6</sup> Note on *Met.* 8. 254. E. J. Kenney has written in a similar vein that "[Ovid's] contribution to the subsequent development of Latin poetry may be described as the perfection of a poetic *koine*, a stylistic instrument which was freely manageable by writers of lesser genius." ("The Style of the 'Metamorphoses,'" in J. W. Binns, ed. *Ovid* [London 1973] 119).

wherever in the transmission they may appear. Heinsius' work on the text of Ovid is of such quality and fundamental importance that it still demands careful study by editors and critics; in the words of A. S. Hollis, "time and time again it is a preference or conjecture of Heinsius which must be considered."<sup>7</sup> My concern here is with Heinsius' preferences, and specifically with his attraction to just those readings that I would suggest betray the stamp of post-Ovidian poetry; in the majority of cases to be discussed the reading in question was either commended or printed by Heinsius. If I am right in seeing these variants as elegant interpolations, Heinsius' consistent support for them reveals something about his sense of Ovidian style. One might describe it as another facet of his eclectic approach: just as he was prepared to discover true readings even in isolated late witnesses, so too did he turn as readily to Silius or Ausonius as to Ovid himself for evidence to guide his choices. Going a step further one could suggest that Heinsius, like the learned readers responsible for the readings in question, viewed Ovid through stylistic lenses shaped by a deep familiarity with poetry from Statius to Claudian.<sup>8</sup> Heinsius' propensity to refined but superfluous conjecture has often been observed; it is not surprising that a similar fondness for elegance and point influenced his evaluation of manuscript variants.<sup>9</sup> If at times the effect of Heinsius' conjectures is to render Ovid even more perfectly "Ovidian," this study will suggest that his choice of variants occasionally makes him even more of a precursor of Statius than he actually was.<sup>10</sup>

Another of Perseus' unfortunate opponents, the Indian youth Athis, is introduced by a brief glance at his origins:

Erat Indus Athis, quem flumine Gange  
edita Limnaee uitreis peperisse sub undis  
creditur.

(5. 46-48)

For *undis* some of the *recentiores* (including the still unidentified *fragmentum Zulichemianum*) read *antris*, a reading printed by Heinsius. *Vitrea antra* would be thoroughly at home in Flavian and later poetry: the phrase occurs in Silius 8. 191, Stat. *S.* 3. 2. 16, and Claud. *Fesc.* 2. 34 f., in slightly varied form (*uitreis e sedibus antri*) in Sil. 7. 413, and for *uitreus*

<sup>7</sup> Commentary on *Metamorphoses* VIII (Oxford 1970) xxviii.

<sup>8</sup> Such a perspective is now relatively uncommon, since even among classical scholars most Latin poetry after Ovid is usually considered secondary or marginal; this was not the case, however, at many times between the fourth and the eighteenth centuries.

<sup>9</sup> "He had a weakness for those 'elegant' conjectures which seem aimed at correcting the author rather than his copyists." (E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* [Berkeley 1974] 58).

<sup>10</sup> I hope it will be obvious that my intent is in no way to question Heinsius' stature or to carp at his judgments; it is only because his views deservedly remain so central that it is worth analyzing them in such detail.

freely applied to all aspects of marine deities cf. Stat. *Th.* 9. 352 *uitrea de ualle*, S. 1. 5. 15 f. *ite deae uirides liquidosque aduertite uultus / et uitreum teneris crinem redimite corymbis*, Claud. *Rapt.* 2. 53 f. *soror uitrei libamina potat / uberis*. Ovid provides no secure instance of *uitreus* applied in this mannered way—in *Am.* 1. 6. 55 and *Her.* 10. 7 it describes dew and has the meaning “clear, translucent”—but there is Augustan precedent for the freer use in Virg. *G.* 4. 350 f. *uitreisque sedilibus omnes / obstipuere* and probably also in Hor. *C.* 1. 17. 20 *uitreae . . . Circes*.<sup>11</sup>

The criterion of Ovidian usage may favor *undis*, but it can hardly be decisive in the case of a relatively rare word. Some further light is cast on the question by looking at Ovid's treatment of *antra*: these serve a variety of functions—dwellings, places of confinement, *loci amoeni*, and safe retreats—but Ovid is meticulous in specifying the role played by any individual *antrum* in his text. In relation to childbirth, *antra* elsewhere provide a secure place for the infant to be raised after birth: cf. 2. 629 f. *natum flammis uteroque parentis / eripuit geminique tulit Chironis in antrum*, 3. 313 ff. *furtim illum primis Ino matertera cunis / educat; inde datum nymphae Nyseides antris / occuluere suis*, 4. 288 f. *Mercurio puerum diua Cythereide natum / Naides Idaeis enutriuere sub antris*. Before inferring that *uitreis peperisse sub antris* is questionable, however, we must consider a similar and also textually disputed passage, 5. 539 ff., relating the birth of Ascalaphus: *quem quondam dicitur Orphne, / inter Auernales haud ignotissima nymphas, / ex Acheronte suo siluis peperisse sub atris*. For *siluis . . . sub atris* several twelfth-century MSS read *furuis . . . sub antris*, a variant found by correction in U and perhaps originally in E (Palatinus 1669; the leaf is mutilated and only *antris* remains). If *furuis . . . sub antris* is accepted here, it and *uitreis . . . sub antris* in 5. 48 would lend each other mutual support. I think it more likely, however, that *furuis . . . sub antris* is another instance of the sort of refined interpolation we are considering. It may or may not be significant that *furuis* is nowhere securely attested in Ovid;<sup>12</sup> a stronger objection is that *antra* used to denote the Underworld—a sense which the combination with *furuis* makes virtually certain—is not attested before Seneca and Lucan. (Before this the only *antrum* mentioned in descriptions of the Underworld is Cerberus' lair, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 400, 418, 8. 297, Prop. 3. 5. 43; for the looser application cf. Sen. *Pha.* 928 *ad antra Stygia descendens*, Luc. 6. 712 ff. *in Tartareo latitantem . . . antro . . . animam*, Stat. *S.* 5. 1. 255 *egressas . . . sacris ueteres heroidas antris*, Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 2. 110 *numina monstiferis quae Tartarus edidit antris*, Prud. *Symm.* 1. 356 *Eumenidum domina Stygia caput exerit antro*, etc.)

<sup>11</sup> Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.* conclude (though with reservations) that *uitrea* evokes Circe's marine associations.

<sup>12</sup> *Furuus* is, however, a variant worth considering only five lines later at 5. 546, describing Ascalaphus' transformation into a *bubo*: *ille sibi ablatas fuluis [v.l. furuis] amicitur in [ab?] alis*. For *furuis . . . alis* compare Tib. 2. 1. 89 f. *furuis circumdatus alis / Somnus*, where *furuis* has been trivialized to *fuluis* in the earliest witnesses.

I conclude that both *uitreis . . . antris* in 5. 48 and *furuis . . . antris* in 5. 541 are pieces of colorful rewriting that show the influence of post-Ovidian diction.<sup>13</sup>

Niobe bereft of all her children hardens into stone:

ipsa quoque interius cum duro lingua palato  
congelat, et uenae desistunt posse moueri.

(6. 306 f.)

“desistunt] dediscunt Langermanni excerpta” (Burman). Ovid has six certain instances of *dediscere*; all refer to acquired skills where the notion of “unlearning” has literal meaning, viz., speech (*uerba mihi desunt dedidicique loqui*, *Tr.* 3. 14 (15). 46, similarly 5. 5 (6). 6, 12 (13). 57) and love, which in his guise as *praeceptor amoris* Ovid treats as a technique akin to navigation or fishing (*R.A.* 503 *intra amor mentes usu, dediscitur usu*, similarly 211, 297). Burman noted that in *R.A.* 211 and 297 some late manuscripts replaced forms of *dediscere* with their counterparts from *desistere*; he labelled those variants as probable glosses and suggested that the same might be true of *dediscunt* for *desistunt* here. It seems more probable, though, that the readers who introduced the colorful *dediscunt* were attempting to enliven Ovid’s plain phrasing, and that the combination *dediscunt posse moueri*, though apparently too artificial for Ovid, would not have seemed so to someone familiar with the many pointed uses of *dediscere* in writers of the later first century: cf. *Curt.* 3. 2. 18 *tu quidem . . . documentum eris posteris homines, cum se permisere fortunae, etiam naturam dediscere*, *Sen. Tro.* 884 *dedisce captam*, *Luc.* 1. 131 (*Pompeius*) *dedidit iam pace duces*, *Stat. S.* 2. 5. 2, *Ps-Quint. Decl.* 6. 17, *Mart.* 2. 75. 3.

Niobe’s downfall prompts the Thebans to recall other opponents of the gods who had been harshly punished:

utque fit, a facto propiore priora renarrant.

(6. 316)

For *renarrant* several later MSS read *retractant*, which Burman found attractive “nam non tantum sermonibus, sed et animo repetisse significat.” This case is not precisely similar to the others discussed above, since *retractare* in the sense “call to mind, review in one’s mind” has at least one good Ovidian parallel, cf. *Met.* 7. 714 *dum redeo mecumque deae memorata*

<sup>13</sup> Bömer on 5. 541 favors *furuis . . . sub antris* on the basis of *utrum in alterum?*: his argument is that *siluis . . . sub atris* could have arisen from a misreading of *antris* in abbreviated form, whereas an original *siluis . . . sub atris* cannot explain the origin of *furuis . . . sub antris*. As I have argued elsewhere with reference to larger interpolations (cf. n. 5 above), such judgments of relative probability are only persuasive if they reckon with the existence of stylistic “improvement” as a factor in generating variants.

*retracto*. (In *Met.* 4. 569 f. *dum prima retractant / fata domus releguntque suos sermone labores*, it is not clear whether *retractare* denotes a mental act prior to speech or is just a less specific equivalent of *sermone relegere*; *retractare* and *relegere* are similarly combined in *Cic. N.D.* 2. 72, cited below.) The passage merits inclusion, though, as another possible instance of a variant prompted by familiarity with later usage: *renarrare* is surprisingly rare (first in *Virg. Aen.* 3. 717, then *Met.* 5. 635 and the line now under consideration, afterwards to my knowledge only *Stat. Th.* 3. 400, 12. 390, *Claud. Get.* 621, *Prud. Hamart.* 855, *Perist.* 10. 612), while the relevant sense of *retractare* is found both before Ovid (cf. *Cic. N.D.* 2. 72 *qui omnia quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent diligenter retractarent et tamquam relegerent*) and at least sporadically in a wide range of later writers (cf., e.g., *Curt.* 10. 5. 20, *Sen. Breu. Vit.* 10. 3, *Epist.* 99. 19, *Col.* 1 *pr.* 13, *Val. Fl.* 7. 70, *Sil.* 3. 216, *Stat. Th.* 5. 626).<sup>14</sup>

*Met.* 3. 65 ff. appears to be a case in which Heinsius' knowledge of post-Ovidian style led him to invest a variant with more subtlety than it deserves. Cadmus' spear penetrates the dragon's back:

at non duritia iaculum quoque uicit eadem,  
quod medio lentae spinae curuamine fixum  
constitit et totum descendit in ilia ferrum.

The variant *toto . . . ferro*, attributed by Constantius Fanensis to unnamed *bona exemplaria* and cited by Heinsius from U (a later hand) and the *codex Langermannianus*, was probably meant to smooth out the syntax by removing a change of subject (*iaculum . . . constitit, ferrum descendit*). The resulting phrase, however, happens to resemble a mannered idiom in which *descendere* is used of an attacker who "penetrates" an opponent's body and an ablative specifies the weapon: *Flor.* 3. 10 *Romani . . . in iugulos gladiis descendebant*, *Claud. Get.* 601 f. *altius haud unquam toto descendimus ense / in iugulum Scythiae*; it seems clear from Heinsius' note that these passages helped determine his preference for *toto . . . ferro*.

It is also evident from the passages Heinsius adduced to support *toto . . . ferro* that he was not distinguishing among several uses of *descendere* to mean "penetrate," with particular reference to wounds or other physical intrusions. Since Bömer does not get to grips with the question, and the material in *TLL* 5. 648. 15 ff. is incomplete and not fully sorted out, I append a brief further discussion. Behind all these uses may lie expressions

<sup>14</sup> Pedantry might have supplied the immediate reason for "correcting" *renarrant*: Servius' note on *Aen.* 3. 717 (repeated on 4. 116 and 8. 189) shows that the force of *re-* in *renarrant* eluded commentators. Note, however, that *retractare* in another of its senses surfaces as a late variant at *Met.* 1. 746, where the no longer bovine Io cautiously resumes human speech: *timide uerba intermissa retemptat (retractat "quidam codices" [Burman])*; probably the work of a learned reader who recalled *Tr.* 5. 7. 63 *ipse loquor mecum desuetaque uerba retracto*. A fondness for choice, colorful language appears at work in both places.

of the type *uerba descendunt in aures, in pectus* etc., cf. Sall. *Jug.* 11. 7, Hor. *Ars* 387, *OLD* s. v. 6b. The most straightforward use of *descendere* of bodily penetration is also the earliest attested, of a weapon entering a body: Livy 1. 41. 5 *ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse* (similarly in our passage of the *Metamorphoses*, Celsus 5. 26. 31 and 35 [a probe and a splinter respectively], Lucan 1. 30, 6. 216, Silius 16. 543, ps-Quint. *Decl.* 10. 8). A closely related figurative use appears at the same time, in which the subject of the verb is a disease or anxiety that "sinks into" a person's mind or body: cf. Livy 3. 52. 3 *uideant curam in animos patrum descensuram*, Virg. *Aen.* 5. 683 *toto descendit corpore pestis* (human language applied to the burning Trojan ships). As the idiom evolves further, a wound (*uel sim.*) is said to "descend" in the body: first in *Heroides* 16. 277 f. (possibly a post-Ovidian composition) *non mea sunt summa leuiter districta sagitta / pectora; descendit uulnus ad ossa meum*, then Celsus 5. 28. 13 (of an *ulcus*), Sen. *Cons. Helu.* 3. 1, Stat. *Th.* 12. 340. The progression from weapon to wound as subject was perhaps assisted by the use of *uulnus* to denote the instrument that effects it; Statius plays on the double meaning of *uulnus* in *Th.* 11. 53 *obliquo descendit ab aere uulnus*. Finally the subject of *descendere* widens to take in the person who inflicts the wound, in the passages of Florus and Claudian cited above.<sup>15</sup>

Cycnus, bosom friend of Phaethon, is transformed into a bird out of grief for his loss:

cum uox est tenuata uiro canaeque capillos  
dissimulant plumae collumque a pectore longe  
porrigitur digitosque ligat iunctura rubentes,  
penna latus uelat, tenet os sine acumine rostrum.  
(2. 373-376)

In 376 for *uelat* one major manuscript (Paris 8001, P in Anderson's edition) reads *uestit*, a variant supported by Heinsius on the basis of passages in the *Ciris* (which Heinsius thought to be by Virgil) and Dracontius; one could add that the metaphorical use of *uestire* to describe fleece or fur is already found in Cicero (*N.D.* 2. 121 *aliae [sc. feræ] uillis uestitae*) and Virgil (*Ecl.* 4. 45 *sponte sua sandyx pascentis uestiet agros*). On the other hand, Ovid's only certain uses of the metaphor are in its agricultural sense, *F.* 1. 402 *gramine uestitiis accubere toris*, 4. 707 *incendit uestitos messibus agros* (cf. Cic. *Arat.* 423 *Bacchica quam uiridi conuestit tegmine uitis*); at *Met.* 2. 582

<sup>15</sup> Burman had also cited ps-Quint. *Decl.* 8. 19 *accipit carnifex ille telum, non quo dextera statim totum uulnus imprimeret, sed quod leuiter paulatimque descendens animam in confinio mortis ac uitae librato dolore suspenderet*, and in his note *ad loc.* had defended *descendens* as "propria in hac re uox" (with a reference to our passage of the *Metamorphoses*!); for *descendens*, however, the two best manuscripts read *discidens*, which Hakanson has rightly accepted, cf. *Textkritische Studien zu den grösseren pseudoquintilianischen Deklamationen*, Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 70 (Lund 1974) 77.

f. *reicere ex umeris uestem molibar*; at *illa / pluma erat* he may be flirting with while rejecting the combination *pluma uestit* found later in *Ciris* 503 *marmoreum uolucris [or uiridi?] uestiuit tegmine corpus*.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, in the *Metamorphoses*, *uelare* seems virtually a *uox propria* in contexts where a human body is covered with feathers or other bestial equivalents, cf. 3. 197 *uelat maculoso uellere corpus*, 4. 45 *squamis uelantibus artus*, 7. 467 f. *mutata est in auem . . . nigris uelata monedula pennis*, 8. 252 [*illum*] *exceptit Pallas auemque / reddidit et medio uelauit in aere pennis*, 10. 698 f. *modo leuia fuluae / colla iubae uelant*, 14. 97 f. *totaque uelatos flauenti corpora uillo / misit in has sedes*, 15. 356 f. *esse uiros fama est . . . qui soleant leuibus uelari corpora plumis*. If Ovid's emphasis in these passages is on the loss of human form, *uelare* would naturally be far more appropriate than *uestire*; such an emphasis is clearly present here, as is shown by the expressions *uox est tenuata uiro, capillos / dissimulant plumae*, and *collum . . . a pectore longe / porrigitur*. It seems likely, therefore, that *uestit* in 2. 376 is a learned interpolation, perhaps inspired by the Virgilian and pseudo-Virgilian passages cited above.<sup>17</sup>

The next passage to be considered presents an even clearer link between a variant in Ovid and the text of a later writer. After the human race has been purged by the Flood, Neptune summons Triton to calm the swollen seas:

caeruleum Tritona uocat conchaque sonanti  
 inspirare iubet fluctusque et flumina signo  
 iam reuocare dato; caua bucina sumitur illi . . .  
 (1. 333 ff.)

For *sonanti* early editors noted a variant *sonaci*. Heinsius printed *sonaci* and in his commentary pointed to the close parallel in Apuleius, *Met.* 4. 31: *iam passim maria persultantes Tritonum cateruae hic concha sonaci leniter bucinat, ille serico tegmine flagrantiae solis obsistit inimici . . .* The Apuleius passage is almost certainly a conscious evocation of Ovid; we must therefore decide whether (a) the rare *sonaci* originally stood in Ovid's text and was replaced by the more common *sonanti* after Apuleius imitated

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also *Ciris* 484 ff. *sed tamen †aeternam† squamis uestire puellam . . . non statuit*, with Lyne's useful notes *ad loc.*

<sup>17</sup> Ovid's abstemiousness with regard to *uestire* is offset by his fondness for the even more precious *amicire*, cf. *Met.* 5. 546 *fuluis [furus?] amicitur in [ab?] alis*, 10. 100 *amicitae uitibus ulmi* (similarly *Pont.* 3. 8. 13), *F.* 2. 298 *ouis lana corpus amicta sua*. Setting aside the ultimately Homeric *nube amictus* of *Aen.* 1. 516 and *Hor.* C. 1. 2. 31, the only metaphorical uses of *amicire* recorded before Ovid are *Cat.* 63. 70 *niue amicta loca*, 64. 311 *colum molli lana . . . amictum* and *Hor. Epod.* 17. 22 *ossa pelle . . . amicta*, *Epist.* 2. 1. 270 *quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis*. After Ovid the usage disappears—except for one appearance in Florus—until Fronto. (Given the rarity of the metaphor, one wonders if Horace's *chartis amicitur ineptis* does not constitute a twofold nod toward Catullus, restating the clothing image of 95. 8 *laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas* in other, but still Catullan, words.)

the lines, or (b) the variant *sonaci* in Ovid is a learned interpolation either based on knowledge of Apuleius or prompted by a fondness for unusual forms.<sup>18</sup> Of these explanations (b) seems by far the more plausible. For stylistic reasons Apuleius could easily have altered Ovid's *conchae sonanti* to *concha sonaci*, as he has replaced Ovid's unremarkable noun *bucina* with the much rarer verb *bucinat*; both *sonax* and *bucinare* with a personal subject are in fact first attested in this very passage of Apuleius.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, *concha sonax* as a piece of Ovidian diction is highly questionable, for reasons that will emerge from a review of Ovid's use of adjectives in *-ax*.

For a poet capable of almost any extravagance in coining adjectives in *-fer* and *-ger*, Ovid appears to have been remarkably sparing with adjectives in *-ax*. The following are securely attested in the *Metamorphoses*: *audax*, *capax*, *edax*, *fallax*, *ferax*, *fugax*, *loquax*, *minax*, *pugnax*, *rapax*, *sagax*, *tenax*, *vivax*, and *vorax*; all of these appear as well in the elegiacs, along with *emax*, *mordax*, *procax*, and *salax*; *sequax* and *uerax* occur once each in the double letters of the *Heroides*, which are probably late compositions if genuine but whose Ovidian authorship is not beyond doubt.<sup>20</sup> Virgil, though not lavish in using these adjectives, is still the probable inventor of *pellax* and *sternax*.<sup>21</sup> Ovid, on the other hand, has no clear example of a new adjective of this kind; all those just listed had already appeared either in prose or verse, and usually in both.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps formations of this kind struck him as disagreeably archaic, or else he found them stylistically inappropriate: many of the bolder experiments of this type are found in

<sup>18</sup> If this case is seen in isolation it is, of course, also possible to take *sonaci* as a simple misreading of *sonanti*: in minuscule scripts *n* is conventionally represented by a superscript line that copyists occasionally overlook, and *t* and *c* are frequently confused. J. J. Moore-Blunt on *Met.* 2. 779 cites G. Giangrande for this palaeographical explanation of the variant *uigilacibus* for *uigilantibus* (on which see below); a similar observation was made by Burman in his note on *Am.* 2. 6. 23. The other instances of this phenomenon to be discussed, however, make it unlikely that palaeographical factors are entirely responsible for the variants.

<sup>19</sup> Apuleius' fondness for adjectives in *-ax* is noted by S. De Nigris Mores, "Sugli Aggettivi latini in *-ax*," *Acme* 25 (1972) 263-313, at 304. The same study (307) observes that late writers elsewhere coin such adjectives to replace existing forms, e. g., *praesagax* for *praesagus* and *lucifugax* for *lucifugus* or *lucifuga*. In the case of *sonax*, however, De Nigris Mores assumes without discussion that *sonaci* in *Met.* 1. 333 is genuine and that the word is therefore an Ovidian innovation.

<sup>20</sup> In *Her.* 4. 46 *sequacis* is a variant for *fugacis*. This list was compiled by searching the works of Ovid currently available on compact disk for the relevant endings (*-ax*, *-acis*, etc.) and by reading through the remaining works (*Heroides* 16-21, *Ibis*, *Tristia*, *Ex Ponto*). I am grateful to Richard Thomas for encouragement and technological guidance.

<sup>21</sup> Virgil seems also to have introduced *uiuax* to elevated poetry; it occurs before him only in Afranius 251 R<sup>2</sup>. I am grateful to Wendell Clausen for information on Virgilian practice and for alerting me to the work of De Nigris Mores cited in n. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Bömer on *Met.* 8. 839 notes that *uorax* is not found in Virgil, Horace, or the elegists, but does not mention the word's prominent appearances in Republican literature, cf. Catullus 29. 2 and 10 *impudicus et uorax et aleo*, Cic. *Phil.* 2. 67 *quae Charybdis tam uorax?*; both passages appear as quotations in Quintilian, and the latter was recalled by Ovid in *Ib.* 385 *Scylla uorax Scyllaeque aduersa Charybdis*.



passages of comic abuse, such as Plautus' *procax rapax trahax* (*Pers.* 410) and *perenniserue lurco edax furax fugax* (421) or Lucilius' *manus tagax* (1031 M) or the pejorative term *linguax* attributed by Gellius to the *ueteres* along with *locutuleius* and *blatero*, while others appear in "low" (i. e., commercial or banausic) contexts, like Cato's precept *patrem familias uendacem, non emacem esse oportet* (*Agr.* 2. 7) and Gaius' description of an ideal slave as *constantem aut laboriosum aut curracem <aut> uigilacem* (*Dig.* 21. 1. 18 *pr.*).<sup>23</sup>

Ovid's usage makes it possible to reject with some confidence not only the variant *sonaci* at *Met.* 1. 333 but also most of the other rare or unexampled adjectives in *-ax* that turn up as minority variants in his work: *simulacior ales* in *Am.* 2. 6. 23, *fumaci . . . sulphure* in *F.* 4. 740, and *liquaces* (for *labentes*) . . . *riuos* in *R.A.* 177. Two instances call for comment since (unlike those just mentioned) they have found some favor in modern texts and discussions. (1) In *Met.* 2. 779 *uigilacibus . . . curis* was printed by Merkel and Edwards (in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*) and registered as genuine by two careful students of Ovid's vocabulary, A. Draeger and E. Linse.<sup>24</sup> Bömer does not discuss the point; Moore-Blunt dismisses *uigilacibus*, but on the erroneous ground that *uigilax* is not attested earlier than the fifth c. A.D.: cf. *Prop.* 4. 7. 15 *uigilacis furta Suburae*, *Columella* 7. 9. 10, 8. 2. 11, *Gaius ap. Dig.* 21. 1. 18 *pr.* (quoted in previous paragraph). It is rather the undignified associations of *uigilax* that rule it out here, whereas *uigilantibus curis* is a suitably high metaphorical variant of *oculis uigilantibus* in *Virg. Aen.* 5. 438 (cf. also *uigilantia lumina* in *Her.* 18. 31 and 19. 35). Furthermore, *uigilantibus excita curis* is echoed by Claudian *Eutr.* 1. 362 *uigilantibus undique curis* (not mentioned by Moore-Blunt or Bömer). (2) Even more widely accepted is *expugnacior herba* in *Met.* 14. 21.<sup>25</sup> There may be some reason to view this case differently from the others: the older manuscripts give the ending as *-atior*, with the form *-antior* not attested before the late twelfth century; also the fact that Ovid uses *pugnax* (and does so in an apparently novel way at 1. 432 *ignis aquae pugnax*) makes the compound somewhat easier to accept; finally, *expugnantior* would be as unparalleled as *expugnacior*. The strongest argument, though, is that Glaucus is here drawing on the technical language of pharmacy (cf. *operosus* in the sense "efficacious" in the next

<sup>23</sup> Ovid's only use of *emax* (*Ars* 1. 419 f.) clearly exploits the word's commercial flavor: *institor ad dominam ueniet discinctus emacem / expedit merces teque sedente suas.*

<sup>24</sup> A. Draeger, *Ovid als Sprachbildner* (Progr. Aurich 1888) 17, E. Linse, *De P. Ouidio Nasone Vocabulorum Inuentore* (Diss. Leipzig 1891) 39. See also De Nigris Mores (above, n. 19) 303.

<sup>25</sup> Not listed by Draeger (previous note) and denounced by Usener as "ein Unding" (*Kleine Schriften* II 339 [cited by Bömer *ad loc.*]), but found in all twentieth-century editions.

line, *utere temptatis operosae uiribus herbae*), and that a departure from Ovid's usual stylistic norms would therefore be appropriate.<sup>26</sup>

All the forms in *-ax* discussed above, even the most outlandish, were eagerly adopted for Ovid's text by Heinsius, with whom adjectives of this type were something of a King Charles's Head.<sup>27</sup> Here too it seems likely that Heinsius was looking at Ovid through the stylistic filter of later usage, since rare and new adjectives of this type begin to be revived or produced in large numbers from about the end of the first century A.D. onward: Virgil's *sternax* was echoed by Silius (1. 261, in the same combination *sternax equus*), perhaps prompting him to introduce *spernax* (8. 463); *pellax*, another Virgilian innovation, lay unused until Ausonius and Jerome; *furax*, featured by Cicero in passages of Plautine invective (*Pis. fr.* 4, 74, *Off.* 3. 91), was taken up by Martial and Gellius and later used by writers of parahistory (the *HA* and *Origo gentis Romanae*) and churchmen from Tertullian to Avitus; *currax*, which first surfaces in a bold phrase of Grattius (*Cyn.* 89 *curraces laquei*), reappears in Gaius (see above) and Cassiodorus (*Hist.* 1. 20); and the last age of antique prose offered, among many other novelties, *retinax* (Symm. *Epist.* 1. 47. 1), *olax* (Mart. *Cap.* 1. 82, 2. 215), and *incursax* (Sid. *Apoll. Epist.* 8. 12) to a conspicuously unreceptive world.

As a pendant to this disquisition on adjectives in *-ax* I raise another case involving a member of the group, although here the issue turns on the word's construction rather than the word itself. At *Met.* 2. 405 ff. Jupiter tours Arcadia righting the damage done by Phaethon's brief but spectacular career in the Sun's chariot. In the phrase *fontes et nondum audentia labi / flumina restituit* (406 f.), one of the *Vossiani* reads *audacia* for *audentia*. Heinsius' text follows the majority reading, but his note cites several instances of *audax* followed by an infinitive; one of these is Augustan, Horace's *audax omnia perpeti* (*C.* 1. 3. 25), while the others all postdate the *Metamorphoses*, beginning with a possible echo of Horace in Albinovanus Pedo's account (*ap. Sen. Suas.* 1. 15) of Germanicus at sea, *per non concessas audaces ire tenebras*. (Subsequent uses in Seneca *H.F.* 457, *Stat. Th.* 2. 44, *Sil.* 1. 409, 3. 321.) The variant can hardly be right: as used elsewhere *audax* + infinitive almost always describes a person bold enough to undertake some arduous or daunting enterprise; apart from Statius *Th.* 2. 44, it is never used as the context here requires, of one who does *not* dare (out of fear or some other constraint) to behave in a normal fashion. (For

<sup>26</sup> Bömer recognizes that Glaucus' diction is atypical, but his term "gekünstelt" points toward the precious rather than the technical.

<sup>27</sup> See in particular his note on *Am.* 2. 6. 23. Burman, whose admiration for Heinsius knew scarcely any limit, was here compelled to remark on this curious tic of his hero: "cupide admodum amplectitur Heinsius uel minimam occasionem nomina illa in *ax* intrudendi, quorum plurima nouae formae esse credo." I must add, though, that my remarks on the question are largely based on this note of Heinsius, a rich (if unsorted) trove of forgotten lore.

the latter sense Ovidian idiom clearly favors forms of *audere*, cf. *Met.* 2. 265 f. *nec se super aequora curui / tollere consuetas audent delphines in auras*, 4. 681 f. *primo silet illa nec audet / appellare uirum uirgo*, 5. 223 f. *italia dicenti neque eum . . . / respicere audenti* etc.) The scribes who wrote *audacia* for *audentia* may not have been thinking of the Neronian and Flavian "parallels" cited by Heinsius—simple substitution of a synonymous form is also possible—but it was surely the later vogue of *audax* with the infinitive that led Heinsius to find the variant worthy of critical notice.

To conclude, a passage where a predominantly post-Ovidian use of language appears as the paradosis rather than as a minority variant. Niobe's sons head out for their daily exercise session:

pars ibi de septem genitis Amphione fortes  
 conscendunt in equos Tyrioque rubentia suco  
 terga premunt auroque graues moderantur habenas.  
 (6. 221 ff.)

In line 223 the reading *auroque graues . . . habenas*, accepted in several modern editions, has not so far been found in any manuscript earlier than the thirteenth century.<sup>28</sup> All but one of the early MSS read *auro grauidis moderantur habenis* (*grauidas . . . habenas* in Paris 8001, Anderson's P).

Anderson (1972), whose discussion is the fullest to date, gives two reasons for rejecting *auro grauidis* (or *grauidas*) in favor of *auroque graues*: (1) *auro grauidis* produces an awkward asyndeton; (2) *grauidis* is less suitable in sense: "it would be overstating the case to claim that the reins and traces were 'pregnant' or 'filled full' with gold." The first point seems valid and perhaps even sufficient in itself to decide the case: the connection between the three units of 221–23 is very close, and setting the last apart from the first two gives unwanted emphasis to the final member.<sup>29</sup> Anderson's second point needs qualification, since the transferred sense of *grauidus* is more varied than he allows; Bömer has cited some of the relevant texts, but the question merits a closer look.<sup>30</sup>

The simplest transference is to situations closely resembling pregnancy in which the ideas of enclosure, generation, and eventual emergence are all present: so, for example, the Trojan Horse with its brood of armed soldiers (*Ars* 1. 364) or the earth with its crops (*Met.* 7. 128); the latter image is varied in many ways to refer, e. g., to vines (*F.* 3. 766), olives (*Met.* 7. 281), or ears of wheat (*Met.* 1. 110), and it also lies behind such

<sup>28</sup> The earliest source of *auroque graues* known to me is Vat. lat. 5859 (Anderson's W, though Anderson attributes the reading only to "Naugerii codd."); I have found it so far in two other MSS, Paris lat. 8461 (s. xiv) and Escorial T. II. 23 (1402).

<sup>29</sup> Heinsius tried to meet this objection by reading *grauidasque auro moderantur habenas*.

<sup>30</sup> I draw on the material presented in *TLL* 6<sup>2</sup>. 2271. 70 ff. and in *OLD* while attempting a fuller analysis; our Ovid passage is not treated by *TLL* or *OLD* since the text of *Metamorphoses* used by both was Ehwald's 1915 Teubner, which reads *auroque graues*.

expressions as *gratia . . . grauida est bonis* (Pl. *Capt.* 358), *grauidam bellis urbem* (Virg. *Aen.* 10. 87) and *grauidam imperiis . . . Italiam* (*Aen.* 4. 229 f.).<sup>31</sup> Almost as close is the use of *grauidus* to describe clouds heavy with rain (*Tr.* 1. 2. 107, Sen. *Tro.* 394) or eyes heavy with tears (*Cons. Liu.* 116). In freer uses the generative notion partially or completely fades and *grauidus* describes things (more rarely persons) "laden" or "weighed down" by that which they contain or enclose: cf. Pl. *Truc.* 97 f. *neu qui manus attulerit steriles intro ad nos, / grauidas foras exportet*, ps-Virg. *Cat.* 9. 30, Hor. *C.* 1. 22. 3-4 *grauida sagittis . . . pharetra*, Virg. *Aen.* 7. 506 f. *hic torre armatus obusto, / stipitis hic grauidi nodis*,<sup>32</sup> Petr. 119. 3 *grauidis freta pulsa carinis, Ciris* 26 *prono grauidum . . . pondere currum*.<sup>33</sup> A similar sense with a non-physical enclosed object appears in Luc. 5. 735 *grauidum . . . curis / pectus*; with no suggestion of enclosure in *Copa* 31 f. *fessus requiesce sub umbra / et grauidum roseo nocte caput strophio*, Val. Fl. 5. 22 *praecipiti grauidum iam sorte parentem*, Sil. 13. 542.<sup>34</sup> In its loosest application *grauidus* can denote a person or object weighed down by something external to itself, cf. Val. Fl. 6. 708 ff. *sanguine uultus / et grauidae maduere comae, quas flore Sabaeo / nutrierat liquidoque parens signauerat auro*; it can also be used as merely a loftier equivalent of *grauis*, cf. Val. Fl. 8. 98 *grauida nunc mole iaces*, Prud. *Psych.* 866.

In this spectrum of usage *grauidis . . . habenis* in *Met.* 6. 223 would stand near the outer limit of freedom, since *grauidus* would describe reins made heavy by an external coating of gold (presuming, that is, that the reins are in fact covered with gold rather than consisting of a golden core surrounded by leather). I know of only one place before the Flavian period where *grauidus* departs so far from its original sense: Pl. *Pseud.* 198 f. *nisi carnaria tria grauida tegoribus onere uberi hodie / mihi erunt, cras . . .* Even one Plautine example of the "loose" application is, of course, sufficient to show that this usage cannot simply be regarded as a late development, although the element of comic hyperbole here is so strong as to suggest deliberate distortion of normal idiom. It remains true, however, that the

<sup>31</sup> A different use of the notion of pregnancy seems at work in *Ciris* 446 *grauidos penso . . . fusos*; as Lyne *ad loc.* notes, the image is the same as in *Juv.* 2. 55 *praegnantem stamine fusum*, the spindle "swelling" with the growing bulk of the thread.

<sup>32</sup> The ancient Virgilian commentators gloss *grauidus* here as equivalent to *grauis* (Servius "propter nodos scilicet") or *praegrauatus* (Tib. Cl. Donatus "stipitem . . . nodorum ponderibus praegrauatum"). I have classed this as an instance of *grauidus* referring to the weight of an internal or enclosed object, but the complex hypallage in *stipitis . . . grauidi nodis* gives the phrase a typically Virgilian uniqueness.

<sup>33</sup> Lyne *ad loc.* brands the use of *grauidus* in this passage "inert and unimaginative"; it might be more just to say that it marks a stage in the growing freedom with which the word is applied.

<sup>34</sup> It may be significant that the *Copa* features a usage otherwise known only from Neronian and later poetry; in the same passage *roseus* in the sense "made of roses" has no parallel earlier than Seneca's *Medea*. The poem is most often dated shortly after the appearance of Propertius' last book of elegies, which it echoes in several places (cf. Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* [Berlin 1924] II 314), but a post-Augustan date may not be out of the question.

freer uses of *gravidus* are predominantly post-Ovidian. Furthermore, Ovid's own handling of the word elsewhere is markedly conservative: of some thirty uses none ventures farther from the literal meaning than *Tr.* 1. 2. 107 *incipiunt grauidae uanescere nubes*.

I would therefore conclude, taking the evidence of usage together with the argument from sentence-shape, that *auroque graues . . . habenas* is the genuine reading and that *gravidis . . . habenis* is an interpolation reflecting the freer use of *gravidus* found in later poetry and seen most clearly in Valerius Flaccus.<sup>35</sup>

In the foregoing pages I have argued that some variants in the later MSS of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* exhibit a sophisticated form of stylistic renovation in which Ovidian usage has been adjusted to agree with the practice of later Latin poetry; I have also suggested that the sensibilities that prompted these elegant interpolations found a sympathetic response in the editorial work of the great Nicolaus Heinsius. These conclusions do not greatly affect the construction of Ovid's text, since almost none of the variants considered has enjoyed the favor of modern critics. The gain comes rather in greater understanding of one of the more subtle transformations undergone by Ovid's poem during its passage from Antiquity to the later Middle Ages, and in a better sense of the refinement possessed by at least some of Ovid's ancient and medieval readers. I would also hope that the detailed studies of selected words and idioms may help to distinguish Ovid's usage more clearly from that of his successors and so illustrate in miniature the formation of what we compendiously call "Silver Latin."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> For another instance of *gravidus* in an embellishing interpolation cf. *Ep. Sapph.* 174, where only the thirteenth-century Frankfurt MS preserves *nec lacrimas oculi continuere mei* and all other MSS, "simplices munditias codicis antiquissimi interpolantes" (Palmer), read *nec grauidae lacrimas continuere genae*, perhaps inspired by *Cons. Liu.* 115 f. *erumpunt* (sc. *lacrimae*) *iterumque grauant gremiumque sinusque / effusae grauidis uberibusque genis*.

<sup>36</sup> Another possible consequence deserves more tentative mention. In several of the cases I have considered, a usage first appears in single passages of Virgil or Horace (usually the *Odes*) and is later taken up more widely by poets after Ovid. This pattern may suggest a form of later Roman Alexandrianism which noted and imitated rarities in the "classic" Augustan texts somewhat in the way Homeric *hapax legomena* had been sought out by Hellenistic scholar-poets.



## Knaves and Fools in Senecan Drama

ANNA LYDIA MOTTO  
JOHN R. CLARK

—Knaves and Fools divide the world—  
(Proverb, 1659)

## 1

In a most interesting study, S. G. Farron proposes that Roman authors were the first to create literary characters who were purely and totally evil. Such characters, Farron argues, are unnatural, demonic; they display a monomaniacal drive to dominate and to destroy. Of necessity, such characters are simultaneously bestial or subhuman, awful and grandiose—being drawn, as they are, larger than life. Farron lists the primary examples of such evil characters:

- Sallust's Catiline
- Horace's Cleopatra (*Od.* 1. 37)
- Vergil's Mezentius
- Capaneus in Statius' *Thebaid*
- and the Atreus in Seneca's *Thyestes*.<sup>1</sup>

He introduces Seneca by noting that

Seneca's *Thyestes* presents what is probably the greatest possible manifestation both of a character's evilness and an author's fascination with it.<sup>2</sup>

And Farron adds, after considering the drama, that Atreus is the one character who displays "no other qualities but evil. . . . The *Thyestes* is purely a depiction of Evil overcoming Good."<sup>3</sup>

It could be argued, for instance, that perhaps Cleopatra or Mezentius, or even others in Farron's list, are not quite so monomaniacal, or "purely" evil.

<sup>1</sup> S. G. Farron, "The Roman Invention of Evil," *Studies in Antiquity* 1 (1979–1980) 13–46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

But certainly a good case can be made for Seneca's Atreus, one of the most frightening and malevolent tyrants to be found in world literature.

Although Atreus is assuredly the worst amongst a host of Senecan portraits of vengeful and evil *personae*, we must acknowledge that he is by no means alone. A number of other characters aspire to attain—however briefly—to his level of fury, vindictiveness, and malice. Pyrrhus, for example, the son of Achilles in the *Troades*, yearns for the power to generate and spread ruthless punishment and murderous reprisals among the defeated Trojans; in debate with Agamemnon, he is clearly merciless and insolent.<sup>4</sup> Clytaemestra in the *Agamemnon* is coarse and single-minded in her determination to murder her husband in cold blood; and elsewhere many a character “works himself up” to a level of fiendish savagery in the later phases of his drama: Theseus is goaded until he invokes potent curses, first upon Hippolytus; subsequently he prays to the spirits of Avernus for his own damnation (*Hippolytus* 903–58; 1201–43). Phaedra is driven to denounce deceitfully the one man she did love, so that he is returned a mangled and bloody corpse. Then, despairingly, but still rapt in a frenzy of unrequited love, she falls upon her sword (*Hippolytus*, esp. 1159–1200). Similarly, Oedipus at the close of his drama unleashes his passions and in a savage fury rushes to plunge out his eyes. Jocasta runs amok at the last moment and drives a sword into her own womb (*Oedipus* 1038–39). The *Nuntius* tells how Oedipus serves as his own judge, condemns himself and then howls and snorts and rages like a monster to inflict a ravenous blinding punishment upon himself:

qualis per arva Libycus insanit leo,  
fulvam minaci fronte concutiens iubam;  
vultus furore torvus atque oculi truces,  
gemitus et altum murmur, et gelidus fluit  
sudor per artus, spumat et volvit minas  
ac mersus alte magnus exundat dolor.  
secum ipse saevus grande nescio quid parat  
suisque fatis simile.

(*Oedipus* 919–26)

(As a Libyan lion rages through the fields, shaking his tawny mane with threatening brow, [so Oedipus], his face savage with madness and his eyes fierce, groans and roars deeply, and a cold sweat flows down his limbs; he froths at the mouth and pours out threats; his deeply submerged and enormous grief overflows; he himself, raging within, prepares for some enormous exploit equal to his fate).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Troades* 203–370. Throughout this study, in citations we refer to the edition of Ioannes Carolus Giardina, *L. Annaei Senecae, Tragoediae*, 2 vols. (Bologna 1966). Hereafter, the play and line numbers will be included, within parentheses, in the body of the text.

<sup>5</sup> All translations from the Latin are our own.



Subsequently, he rushes to exact a "payment" or vengeance upon himself for his supposed "debt":

. . . dixit atque ira furit:  
ardent minaces igne truculento genae  
oculique vix se sedibus retinent suis;  
violentus audax vultus, iratus ferox,  
. . . gemuit et dirum fremens  
manus in ora torsit.

(*Oedipus* 957-62)

(He spoke and rages with anger: his threatening cheeks are ablaze with ferocious fire, and his eyes scarcely hold themselves in their sockets; his face is bold, violent, wrathful, feral . . . He groaned and, roaring dreadfully, raked his hands across his face.)

And, similarly, Medea works herself up for the slaughtering of her sons; she passes into an almost delirious state:

. . . rursus increscit dolor  
et fervet odium, repetit invitam manum  
antiqua Erinys—ira, qua ducis, sequor.  
utinam superbae turba Tantalidos meo  
exisset utero bisque septenos parens  
natos tulissem!

(*Medea* 951-56)

(. . . my grief increases again and my hatred is seething; the old Fury seeks again my unwilling hand—wherever you lead me, wrath, I follow. Would that the throng of proud Niobe had issued from my womb, and that I, as mother, had borne twice seven sons!)

In all of these cases, the dominant *persona* finally rises to the bait of direst rashness, of passion, of frenzy, before precipitating the onset of an unique spate of devastation.<sup>6</sup> The only difference among them is that Atreus has been at mad fever-pitch throughout most of his play; he hardly needs to work himself into savagery; he has been there all along.

That is why he is virtually a paradoxical avatar of horrible grandeur. For Atreus is the apex of malevolent creativity—an irrational, raging villain, seething with anger, violence, and fury. Clearly he is the aggressive Malcontent type<sup>7</sup> in fullest bloom. And he is vividly made to portray the madness of the absolute tyrant, the lunatic guile and deceit of an Iago, the zeal and odium of a Barabas, the grizzly macabre lusts of a Bosola, the unnatural potency of a Tamburlaine;<sup>8</sup> he is a violator of his "oath" to his

<sup>6</sup> The seminal study surveying Seneca's plots, with their mad explosion of passion, remains C. J. Herington, "Senecan Tragedy," *Arion* 5 (1966) 422-71.

<sup>7</sup> We borrow the term from the title of John Marston's drama, "The Malcontent" (1604).

<sup>8</sup> Respectively, these characters appear in major Elizabethan and Jacobean dramas: William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1604); Christopher Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (c. 1590); John Webster's

brother; a breaker of the laws of hospitality; a defiler of religion and a challenger of the gods. Ultimately he is a horrible instigator of cannibalism. He is a bold monster who never hesitates for a moment to boast of his dread successes—as if he were an omnipotent deity:

Aequalis astris gradior et cunctos super  
altum superbo vertice attingens polum, . . .  
(*Thyestes* 885–86)

(I walk equal to the stars and, rising above all, I touch high heaven with proud head.)

he gleefully intones, adding:

o me caelitem excelsissimum,  
regumque regem!  
(*Thyestes* 911–12)

(Oh, most lofty of the gods am I, and king of kings!)

Seneca's depiction of madness and vice is here supreme. The voracious Atreus himself toward the end appears content: "bene est, abunde est" (*Thyestes* 279), he at one point proclaims. And "quod sat est, videat pater" (*Thyestes* 895)—"It is enough, if the father [Thyestes] see" that he has been dining upon his own dismembered children. At last, when his revenge is fully accomplished, Atreus vaunts and swaggers as if he has won some grandiose Olympic victory:

Nunc meas laudo manus,  
nunc parva vera est palma.  
(*Thyestes* 1096–97)

(Now do I praise my hands, now is the true palm won.)

And Atreus's successes are truly Olympic and alarming, for he has committed every manner of crime and sin and sacrilege against both gods and men. Even the universe, as if appalled, has reacted by causing the sun unnaturally to cease its eternal course across the heavens; instead, it plunges backwards at midday, sinking in the East and immersing the planet in unholy and unaccustomed night. Nonetheless, even though the Chorus (and perhaps the audience as well) anticipate some final and tremendous heavenly retribution (*Thyestes* 776–884) against Atreus the King, no such punishment ever transpires. The fiend appears to have gotten away, scot-free.

Is he finally appeased?

*The Duchess of Malfi* (1614); and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587). Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1586) was one of the first Elizabethan tragedies to focus upon savagery and revenge; in it there are a number of insane, murderous, and suicidal figures.

bene est, abunde est, iam sat est etiam mihi,  
(*Thyestes* 889)

(It is well, it is more than enough; now it is enough even for me.)

he declaims after he has accomplished all of his cruel deeds. Yet suddenly, he pauses and even partially reneges:

sed cur satis sit? pergam . . . .  
(*Thyestes* 890)

(But why should it be enough? I shall move onwards . . . .)

It is apparent that Atreus, the would-be demon-deity, seeks to sustain his wrath and to administer his punishments forever.<sup>9</sup> He feels an intrinsic urge to keep on the move—ever striving for a permanent yet continuous vengeance, some ultimate dark pleasure of blood-letting, an enduring ecstasy for his uninhibited vice.

Furthermore, what additionally exalts Atreus toward a horrible transcendence is his insistence upon electing rash and criminal proceedings that surmount cause and effect, that are free of reason. Primarily, he is concerned with his own dictatorial control—people are to be forced to tolerate, accept, and even praise whatever this lord and master chooses to accomplish.<sup>10</sup> What is more, Atreus is fixated upon performing some heinous crime that is a *ne plus ultra*: to have his deed be enormous, unusual—surpassing the deeds of all others.<sup>11</sup>

And yet, after all, what is the cause for his most bestial revenge? Atreus is none too clear about it. At one time in the past, Thyestes had maltreated him. But that was long ago. The present Thyestes is so changed and becalmed and penitent as almost to be an entirely different person. But Atreus remains unappeased: he suspects that Thyestes has had an illicit affair with his wife (*Thyestes* 220–23). There is scant evidence for such suspicion. Like Iago, Atreus will accept any supposed motive and utilize it as an occasion to wreak havoc; he will sacrifice his nephews at an unholy altar, dissect and roast them, thereafter serving them at a dreadful banquet to their father. One supposes—and the Elizabethans were apt to concur—that there could hardly be a more heavy dosage of evil than that!<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> There is an essential irony concerning many of these rabid murderers: they remain restless and unappeased, haunted by mad delusive dreams of grandeur. Phaedra is never satisfied, nor Medea, nor Clytaemestra, nor Oedipus, nor Atreus. And they remain naive as well, believing that they can “restore” some past balance by their viciousness; patently, they never can.

<sup>10</sup> Vid. Atreus' lines, 205–07. In his prose writings, Seneca is fascinated by a line from Accius' *Atreus*: “Oderint, dum metuant.” He cites it in *De Ira* 1. 20. 4 and *De Clem.* 2. 2. 2; he discusses it further in *De Clem.* 1. 12. 4–5.

<sup>11</sup> *Thyestes* 267, 255, 195–97.

<sup>12</sup> For our earlier study of this play, consult Anna Lydia Motto and John R. Clark, “Seneca's *Thyestes* as Melodrama,” *RSC* 26 (1978) 363–78. A modified version of this essay appears in Chapter IV of Motto and Clark's *Senecan Tragedy* (Amsterdam 1988).

To be sure, there are in Senecan theater characters of unabashed cruelty and evil. Most of the Senecan protagonists whom we have considered are by no means entirely evil throughout the course of their dramas, but they do tend, toward the close, to transform—through passion, rage, loss of sanity—into some species of unadulterated barbarian, oppressor, and tyrant. Atreus patently stands out amongst them all for the greater consistency of his savagery; after all, he is largely ravenous and infuriated all through the play. Farron is only partly right in asserting that Atreus commits crime gratuitously, without any motive. Rather, Atreus is driven by his own private conception of revenge. In addition, the "curse" of his family—wrought by the sins of Tantalus—further careen him toward greater and greater criminality and insatiability. He certainly is, overall, one of the great unregenerate villains in literature—a cruel Knave or Vice figure<sup>13</sup> who inaugurates powerful and shocking drama by his depravity and turpitude.

## II

Senecan theater is replete, not only with the knave and vicious character, but also with the fool. This latter is the figure of the weak or insecure *persona*, one fearful, outwitted, trembling, and given to vacillation and incertitude. He in fact plays precisely as important a role in the Senecan dramas as his counterpart, the aggressive malcontent and furious vice figure.

Needless to say, the fool, too, is hardly original with Seneca. In fact, only as the great mythic heroes (who never doubted or hesitated) begin to fall into abeyance and society passes from a shame to a guilt culture, do we begin to detect the rise of non-heroic men, the lonely, unsteady *persona*. E. R. Dodds has postulated that the dawning guilt-culture in the Archaic period in Greece (as in so many other cultures) introduced the "'internalising' of conscience"<sup>14</sup> and witnessed the "emergence of a true view of the individual as a person."<sup>15</sup> Attempts were made to attribute justice to the gods and to continue support for the traditional patriarchal family. But the self was at odds with many of the customary codes and concepts still accepted by society at large. Hence, there was growing anxiety, the individual's sense of guilt; all of this leads to "the deepened awareness of human insecurity and human helplessness,"<sup>16</sup> "a new accent of despair, a new and bitter emphasis on the futility of human purposes"<sup>17</sup> that is in evidence even in the great tragic playwrights, Aeschylus and Sophocles.

<sup>13</sup> "Vice" characters are figures of evil in early English Morality Plays; they appear as "The Vices" or "The Seven Deadly Sins;" consult Lysander W. Cushman, *The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature Before Shakespeare* (Halle 1900), and Bernard Spivack, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil* (New York 1958).

<sup>14</sup> E. R. Dodds, "From Shame-Culture to Guilt-Culture," *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 37; see all of this second chapter, 28-63.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

And indeed, wherever the cohesive, communal shame culture is displaced, and a guilt culture takes its place, the pressure upon the individual dramatically increases. He attempts to be self-assertive, self-reliant, replacing the mythic hero with himself, but, unlike the hero, he is far more insecure—because he must stand on his own, and because he is so dissimilar to the cult heroes of epic. Moreover, he is fraught with guilt feelings, wistful lamentation for a valiant and irrecoverable past, and cast down by a sense of isolation, ineptitude, and helplessness.

Bernard Knox particularly points to Euripides' *Medea*, a character constantly wavering in purpose and devoted to an incessant changing of her mind.

[Her] dramatic wavering back and forth between alternatives—four complete changes of purpose in less than twenty lines—marks the beginning of an entirely new style of dramatic presentation.<sup>18</sup>

Here is a clear foreshadowing of modern, restless, uneasy, indecisive figures—far removed from heroic positivism.

Moreover, one can think of similar types, the Creon of the Sophoclean *Antigone*, who is induced, under pressure, to change his orders and his mind, or recollect the Chorus of doddering and bureaucratic old men who falter and cannot determine what action to take when they hear the cries of Agamemnon from within, calling for help. Like many a modern legislature, this group cannot reach a consensus, and, in the meantime, the dead Agamemnon is beyond the need of any services they couldn't determine to render.<sup>19</sup> The debunking of the conventional hero is well served too by the Greek Satyr plays, by Aristophanic Old Comedy, and by some of the timid comic figures featured in Menandrian or New Comedy. Furthermore, one should consider the Jason depicted in Apollonius' *Argonautica*. Here is a figure on an epic journey and adventure who appears more like an ordinary man, one who is charming but despondent, tactless, sentimental, and frequently paralyzed and helpless.

Another classic exemplar is Virgil's King Latinus. Henpecked by his strong-willed wife, Amata, and normally over-ruled by the vehemence and violence of Turnus, Latinus repeatedly abrogates his own governance and authority. At a crucial moment, when the citizenry raucously and heatedly favor war with Aeneas and the Trojans, Latinus simply gives up, and takes shelter:

. . . nec plura locutus

<sup>18</sup> Bernard Knox, "Second Thoughts in Greek Tragedy," *Word and Action: Essays on the Ancient Theater* (Baltimore and London 1979) 240. Knox adds (p. 242), "In all of [Euripides'] plays which follow the *Hippolytus*, the instability of the world is paralleled by the instability of the human beings who live in it."

<sup>19</sup> Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1343–71.

saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas.<sup>20</sup>

(. . . Having said no more, he locked himself in his house and abandoned the reins of government.)

Later, when a truce is broken, *fugit ipse Latinus*.<sup>21</sup> Even when his wife commits suicide, he continues befuddled:

. . . it scissa veste Latinus,  
coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina,  
canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans.<sup>22</sup>

(Latinus goes, his garment rent assunder, astonished by his wife's destiny and his city's ruin, defiling his gray hairs with dust and dirt.)

He is a doddering, faulty monarch, who cannot sustain his purposes or uphold the standards of government. Dido too in the *Aeneid*, resembling the Euripidean Medea,<sup>23</sup> is strikingly weak and irresponsible. Once stricken by the flames of passion for Aeneas, she becomes indecisive,<sup>24</sup> and significantly allows the construction of Carthage and its fortifications to come to a halt:

non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus  
exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello  
tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta minaeque  
murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.<sup>25</sup>

(The towers that were begun do not rise, the youth does not practice its military exercises nor does it prepare safe harbors or bulwarks for war; the works and the huge battlements on the walls and the engine that stretches toward heaven hang interrupted.)

And Ovid is well known for his portrayals of unstable females: lonely, insecure women, capable of anger and aggression (*vid.* the Phaedra, Medea, and Dido of the *Heroides*), the vengeful Procne,<sup>26</sup> and the confused and guilt-ridden women who are of two minds, like his incestuous Byblis<sup>27</sup> and Myrrha.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Aeneid* 7. 599–600.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 12. 285. On his vacillation, see esp. 12. 37: *quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 12. 609–11.

<sup>23</sup> Elaine Fantham reminds us of Seneca's debt to Virgil's Dido in his portrayal of Phaedra ("Virgil's Dido and Seneca's Tragic Heroines," *G&R* 22 [1975] 1–10). That Dido's literary ancestry can be traced to Euripides' Medea is well known.

<sup>24</sup> *Aeneid* 4. 74–79.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. 86–89.

<sup>26</sup> *Metam.* 6. 412–674.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 9. 454–665.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 10. 278–518. In a lighter vein, we should consider the comical businessman Alphaeus in Horace's *Ode* 1. 2; he lectures on the pristine virtues of the simple country life—and his rhetoric even converts himself! Hence, he decides to terminate all his business affairs; but in a trice he changes his mind: clearly he is a better banker than a philosopher.

Seneca crowds his stage with a host of such weak and debilitated characters, his dramas being heavily populated by fearful and trembling choruses, and characters agitated, uncertain, timorous, and tottering.

Unlike Euripides' cunning, crafty, rhetorical Jason, the Jason in Seneca's *Medea* is emotionless, mechanical, lacking in feeling, fearful.<sup>29</sup> He is a diffident opportunist who unfeelingly abandons wife and children for personal gain. He is the antithesis of the heroic Jason of the epic voyage of the Argonauts:

Alta extimesco sceptrā.  
(*Medea* 529)

(I tremble at lofty scepters.)

In short, he is weak, cowardly, and passive—a beaten man:

cedo defessus malis.  
(*Medea* 518)

(I surrender, worn out by misfortunes.)

In the Senecan *Agamemnon*, virtually all the major characters—Aegisthus, Clytaemestra, Thyestes, Agamemnon—are anti-heroic figures, prisoners of vice; they are hesitant, cowardly, ignorant, self-centered, insecure souls captured in their own tangled webs of deception.<sup>30</sup> They have succumbed to vice and folly. Aegisthus' very first appearance on the stage reveals a man beset by doubts and hesitations.

Quod tempus animo semper ac mente horruī  
adest profecto, rebus extremum meis.  
quid terga vertis, anime? quid primo impetu  
deponis arma?  
(*Agamemnon* 226–29)

(That time is at hand which I, to be sure, ever shuddered at in my soul and in my thought, the extremity of my affairs. Why do you turn your back, my soul? Why at the first attack do you lay aside your arms?)

Even at the climax of his revenge, when he and Clytaemestra are about to assassinate Agamemnon, he wavers:

haurit trementi semivir dextra latus,  
. . . : vulnere in medio stupet.  
(*Agamemnon* 890–91)

(With trembling right hand the half-man harries him on the side . . . : he is stupified in the midst of [delivering] the blow.)

<sup>29</sup> Vid. references to *timor* in *Medea* 433–38, 493–94, 516–19, 529.

<sup>30</sup> See especially Chapter VI of Motto and Clark's *Senecan Tragedy* on debilitation and *incertus* in the *Agamemnon*, pp. 163–214.

Clytaemestra, too, like her accomplice, is uncertain and insecure. Her opening soliloquy (lines 108–24) resembles Aegisthus' initial remarks in its display of her fluctuating state of mind:

Quid, segnīs anime, tuta consilia expetis?  
quid fluctuaris? . . .  
tecum ipsa nunc evolve femineos dolos . . . .

(*Agamemnon* 108–09, 116)

(Why, sluggish soul, do you seek safe plans? Why do you fluctuate? . . .  
now meditate a woman's deceptions . . . .)

Her debate with the Nurse (lines 125–225) likewise indicates that her decisions are not wholly fixed, that she is subject to changes of opinion. Moreover, when Aegisthus appears, she proposes that they abandon the conspiracy against Agamemnon and terminate their own adulterous relationship (lines 234–309). But when Aegisthus, at the end of this *agon*, offers himself as a sacrifice, she again changes her mind and decides to perpetrate the crime against Agamemnon after all.

Even Agamemnon, the King and General, is a debilitated, nervous, anti-heroic character. He is perplexed by Cassandra's prophecies, and is unable to comprehend them. His talk to slaves and to prisoners (the captive women) is small, pathetic, insensitive; his boasting and his allusions to the *spolia* he has obtained at Troy are indeed crass, since the slaves whom he is addressing are the main portion of such booty. He brags almost pitifully of his victories, but he has lost most of his troops and his fleet at sea, and now he is surrounded by a sullen, hostile, and captive audience. He never even has a direct confrontation or meeting with his wife—which robs him in this drama of the opportunity to deal with equals, and he appears naively unaware of his losses in the past or of the dangers he now faces at home. He speaks of his arrival as inaugurating a "festal" day (line 791), but that is surely a classic instance of irony. He will shortly be dead—netted and sacrificed like some devoted bull or boar. He is fully demeaned—pitiful, passive, uninformed, and helpless. A proud leader's case could hardly be more ignorant or demeaned.

In the *Phaedra*, Phaedra is at the outset insecure, hesitant, dubious. She has been committed to the fires of incestuous love, but is fearful of this passion. The *Nutrix* debates with her and counsels decency, caution. Suddenly, after long debate, Phaedra changes her mind (*Phaedra* 250 ff.). She will avoid shame and terminate her love by committing suicide. Only then does the Nurse yield, offering to save Phaedra, aiding her by speaking to Hippolytus in her favor. But Phaedra, stricken by incestuous love and lust, remains throughout most of the drama timid, tremulous, fainting, unsure. She is described, in the toils of love, as restless in the extreme:

. . . nil idem dubiae placet,  
artusque varie iactat incertus dolor.



(Phaedra 365–66)

(Nothing the same pleases her in her state of flux, and uncertain grief tosses her limbs in various directions.)

. . . semper impatiens sui  
mutatur habitus.

(Phaedra 372–73)

(She, impatient with herself, keeps changing her clothes.)

. . . vadit incerto pede . . .

(Phaedra 374)

(She walks unsteadily . . .)

Of a similar nature is the Senecan Oedipus, who, unlike his Sophoclean counterpart, is not at all benign, authoritative, or self-assured. Rather, from the very beginning, this Oedipus is depicted as unstable, weak, insecure. His opening monologue (lines 1–81) represents him bemoaning the arrival of a new day, questioning the duties necessary for him as a leader, and even meditating flight from the plague-stricken land of Thebes. He stresses to Jocasta his anxieties. And, throughout the drama, his soliloquies<sup>31</sup> dramatize his doubts and his vulnerability. Such insecurity is also revealed in his continual apprehensiveness and timidity. In sum, King Oedipus is everywhere in this play oscillating in opinions, almost doddering and indeterminate. He is filled with self-doubt,<sup>32</sup> and, although periodically he will renew and reclaim his leadership status and assert that he has attained new confidence, he regularly loses it again. When compared with the awesome Sophoclean *Rex*, Seneca's would-be leader is astonishingly diminutive, feeble, guilt-ridden, and helplessly adrift.

This overall insecurity and debilitation are evident not only in human beings in Seneca's dramatic world, but also in ghosts from the Underworld. In the *Agamemnon*, the ghost of Thyestes appears at the opening of the play to foreshadow subsequent events. He is not, however, forceful, but rather a creature frightened by himself. He confesses his uncertainty (*incertus*, line 3) regarding which world he belongs in, the upper or the lower, and he immediately admits to defeat, conceding that Atreus has surpassed him in crime. He is unsteady and wishes to return to the realm below (*libet reverti*, line 12). He is supposed to motivate Aegisthus actively to seek revenge, but he is hardly inspirational. All in all, he is a haunted ghost, somewhat pathetic, and clearly unable to manage the tasks he has undertaken. He is inept, trifling, incapacitated.

Much the same may be said for the ghost of Tantalus in the Senecan *Thyestes*. In the Prologue, a Fury has retrieved Tantalus from the

<sup>31</sup> Especially *Oedipus*, lines 25–28, 77–81, 103–09, 765–72, 860.

<sup>32</sup> As in lines 764–66.

Underworld, expressly to induce him to incite his offspring to greater deeds of sacrilege and malice: the killing and feasting upon one another. Small wonder that the proud Tantalus attempts to escape from the Fury and to return hastily to the Underworld. The Fury prevents his escape, and, although Tantalus now swears that he will oppose any attempt to get him to infect his offspring with such a spirit of atrocity and frenzy, as soon as he is threatened he changes course again, following his jailer obediently.

Juxtaposed with the Knavish figure, such as Atreus, all of these characters may be said most often to resemble Fools. They cannot act with valor or certitude, and they are normally crippled by what one author has termed "decidophobia":<sup>33</sup> the Hamletesque disease that prevents one from fully making up one's mind. They are fools because they lack common sense and reasonable aims and goals. What is more, they are imposed upon by other men, and made victims and butts of fate. Most significantly, they are the exact counter to former heroic man, for they represent an altogether different side of the coin: they are anti-heroic, fearful, disquieted little men—unsure of their purposes, and unsteady in their progress. When compared with the grand heroes of the mythic past—Hercules, Achilles, Perseus, Prometheus—they strikingly remind us of shallowness and *descensus*. In the words of Shakespeare's Ghost:

O Hamlet, what a falling-off was there!<sup>34</sup>

### III

Seneca's preoccupation with evil and with folly undoubtedly stems from his own first-hand observations of tyranny in Imperial Rome.<sup>35</sup> He was certainly familiar with the quirks of *imperatores*—Tiberius' sullen retreat to private villas, Caligula's envy of *litterati*, Claudius' addiction to gambling and courthouse hearings,<sup>36</sup> and Nero's midnight excursions and theatrical follies. And he knew all too well the foolishness of Empire's sycophants, flatterers, and yes-men, the treachery of *delatores*, the absurdity of a rubber-stamp Senate. He knew equally well the darker side of governance. He knew of court intrigues and assassinations. He had witnessed the slaughter of hundreds of Roman citizens, and he himself barely escaped execution on two different occasions. During Caligula's reign, he incurred the enmity of the mad emperor who, jealous of his fame, would have put him to death,

<sup>33</sup> Consult Walter Kaufmann, *Without Guilt and Justice: From Decidophobia to Autonomy* (New York 1973), esp. 2–34, 87–89.

<sup>34</sup> *Hamlet* I. v. 47.

<sup>35</sup> Eckard Lefèvre, "Die Bedeutung des Paradoxen in der römischen Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit," *Poetica* 3 (1970) 59–82, conjectures that the tense, chaotic world of cruelty and torment is reflected in the work of major authors of the era of Caligula and Nero by their use of paradoxes, nervous tensions, and clamorous hyperbole. The major study of scenes of terror, pain, and suffering in Senecan drama remains Otto Regenbogen's *Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas* (1927; repr. Darmstadt 1963).

<sup>36</sup> In fact, Claudius' ludicrous foibles are satirized sharply in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*.

had not one of his mistresses pointed out that it was useless to execute him, since he was about to die of tuberculosis.<sup>37</sup> Later, during the reign of Claudius, Seneca was unjustly accused by Messalina, Claudius' wife, of having conducted an illicit affair with the Princess Julia;<sup>38</sup> he was condemned to death by the Senate and would have been executed, had not Claudius, at the last moment, commuted his punishment to exile.<sup>39</sup>

Indeed, Seneca's own prose is sprinkled with references to and portraits of the foolish as well as the vicious. On the lighter side, he treats in his prose writings of vacillating contemporaries, those who suffer from *taedium* and from repeated instability and change of purpose.<sup>40</sup> He describes wealthy recluses, such as Servilius Vatia,<sup>41</sup> and foppish courtiers who turn night into day,<sup>42</sup> and cringing toadies and adulators who suffer almost fawningly the whims, the ruthlessness, and the riotings of emperors and superiors.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, Seneca's prose is also rich in portraits of extremely merciless rulers, several of whom he repeatedly cites, using them as exemplars of Savage Sovereignty. Again and again he refers to Phalaris, the notorious tyrant of Sicily, who in the Sixth Century B.C. had commissioned the Brazen Bull as instrument of merciless torture, and who had destroyed, among others, Perillos of Athens, the inventor of the machine.<sup>44</sup> He often mentions the tyrant Apollodorus, Sulla, and Volesus,<sup>45</sup> as well as a number of cruel Persian satraps and sultans,<sup>46</sup> and he refers to mythic figures of the same ilk—Busiris and Procrustes.<sup>47</sup> Last of all, one of his favorite examples of incredible madness and barbarism is the Emperor Gaius Caesar, called Caligula.<sup>48</sup> Repeatedly Seneca refers to that ruler's folly and vice. Such evil creatures apparently caught Seneca's attention,

<sup>37</sup> Dio Cassius 59. 19. 7.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 60. 8. 5–6.

<sup>39</sup> *Ad Polyb.* 13. 2.

<sup>40</sup> *Taedium* and restlessness are treated at length in the *De Tranq. An.*; see also *Epp.* 23. 7–8; 24. 23–26; 28; 69; 71. 27, 35; 72. 7–11; 98. 5–6.

<sup>41</sup> In *Ep.* 55; see Anna Lydia Motto and John R. Clark, "Hic Sicut Est: Seneca on the Deadliness of Idleness," *CW* 72 (1978–1979) 207–15.

<sup>42</sup> Consult *Ep.* 122.

<sup>43</sup> He frequently cites the flattery victims pay to kings and tyrants; see *De Benef.* 2. 12. 1–2; *De Ira* 2. 33. 2; 3. 15. 1–3; and especially Praexaspes' praise of Cambyses, *De Ira* 3. 14. 1–4. Julius Canus, a representative of courage, gives on the other hand an ironic "thanks" to Caligula in *De Tranq. An.* 14. 4–5.

<sup>44</sup> See, e. g., *De Benef.* 7. 19. 5, 7; *De Ira* 2. 5. 1–3; *De Clem.* 2. 4. 3; *Ep.* 66. 18. *De Tranq. An.* 14. 4 caustically refers to Caligula as "Phalaris."

<sup>45</sup> Apollodorus in *De Ira* 2. 5. 1; *De Benef.* 7. 19. 5; Sulla in *De Prov.* 3. 8; *De Ira* 1. 20. 4; 2. 2. 3; 2. 34. 3; 3. 18. 1–2; *De Clem.* 1. 12. 1; *De Benef.* 5. 16. 3; Volesus in *De Ira* 2. 5. 5.

<sup>46</sup> Such as Cambyses, Cyrus, Xerxes.

<sup>47</sup> Both referred to as archetypes of cruelty in *De Clem.* 2. 4. 1–2.

<sup>48</sup> See *De Cons. Sap.* 18. 1–5; *De Ira* 1. 20. 8; 2. 33. 3–6; 3. 18. 3–19. 5; 3. 21. 5; *De Tranq. An.* 14. 4–10; *De Brev. Vit.* 18. 5–6; *Ad Helv.* 10. 4; *De Benef.* 2. 12. 1–2; 2. 21. 5–6; 4. 31. 2–3.

captivating him with their horror. Clearly it is no accident that his prose and his drama are full of such scoundrels and brutes.<sup>49</sup>

Knaves and Fools, then, can be distinguished as two major categories in the Senecan arsenal of dramatic portraits. And certainly the two come together and play opposite one another most tellingly in the Senecan *Thyestes*. Throughout, Atreus is the deceitful manipulator, the aggressor who toys with his fool, Thyestes. He is everywhere powerful, full of noisome bravado, whereas Thyestes is precisely his opposite—a man grown timid, fearful, uncertain. The one is stentorian, the other diminuendo; the one vicious and bold, the other soft-spoken, willing even to be led by his sons. In all, Thyestes is the perfect tool for Atreus' vengeful machinations. Some critics have suggested that Thyestes, in his belated wisdom and eagerness to avoid the throne, is the Senecan archetype of the Stoical man, one fast approaching or already having attained the *summum bonum*.<sup>50</sup> But this is surely incorrect; for Thyestes is too passive, too much lacking in self-regulation, in regimen, in sense of direction to be any philosophical ideal whatsoever. Rather, he is pitifully a lonely penny in the other's mighty treasure chest. He accepts the sharing of the throne, he submits to Atreus' directions, and he becomes his willing diner, imbibor, and puppet. The potency of this drama, recently assessed as being among Seneca's last theatrical creations,<sup>51</sup> is owing very much to the rigor with which the two powerful figures so fully play out their roles.

Jonathan Swift considered both Knaves and Fools essential to the corrupt world man lives in. In fact, Swift officially celebrated every April First, All Fools' Day, as if it were sacrosanct—but he also scrupulously observed April Second as its obverse, All Knaves' Day.<sup>52</sup> Swift's implication is quite clear: both types were vitally necessary to the business of our fallen world.

Francis Bacon went further still, for he conceived of fools and knaves as very closely akin, both of them necessary to perpetrate the "foulest vice or disease of learning":

This vice therefore brancheth itself into two sorts; delight in deceiving, and aptness to be deceived; imposture and credulity; which, although they appear to be of a diverse nature, the one seeming to proceed of cunning, and the other of simplicity, yet certainly they do for the most part concur: for

<sup>49</sup> For an interesting survey of Seneca's realistic view that evil is prevalent in our world, see Evelyn Spring, "The Problem of Evil in Seneca," *CW* 16 (1922) 51-53.

<sup>50</sup> E. g., O. Gigon, "Bemerkungen zu Senecas Thyestes," *Philologus* 93 (1938) 176-83; Joe Park Poe, "An Analysis of Seneca's *Thyestes*," *TAPhA* 100 (1969) 360; and S. G. Farron (above, note 1) 36-37.

<sup>51</sup> John G. Fitch, "Sense-Pauses and Relative Dating in Seneca, Sophocles and Shakespeare," *AJP* 102 (1981) 289-307, concludes that the late plays are the *Phoenissae* fragment and the *Thyestes*.

<sup>52</sup> Vid. George P. Mayhew, "Swift's Bickerstaff Hoax as an April Fools' Joke," *Modern Philology* 61 (1964) 271.

... an inquisitive man is a prattler, so upon the like reason a credulous man is a deceiver.<sup>53</sup>

In some sense, they are essential one to the other; since no knave can cheat or delude without the presence of his butt or decoy. But Bacon goes further; the fool wants misdirection, and the knave aspires to misdirect. Moreover, the fool is a self-deceiver, and the treacherous man is engaged in empty activity, ultimately only fooling himself. Hence, they become two sides of a single counterfeited coin.

Seneca recognizes this interchangeability clearly enough. And, ironically, in his dramas many fools turn into knaves before a play is finished. The hesitant Clytaemestra becomes a cruel tyrant and efficient murderess; the timid, staggering Oedipus transforms into the savage wild man who will exact the "payment" and revenge due to himself; the reluctant Medea, goaded on by the Furies, becomes the ruthless, gloating filicide.<sup>54</sup> Seneca's point should be quite evident: both fools and knaves are lacking in constancy<sup>55</sup> and consistency. Of course, they are the victims of instability and inconstancy.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, when speaking in his prose writings of wholly and absolutely cruel tyrants like Phalaris, he makes several major points: there is excessive cruelty, but there is also a viciousness which exceeds reason, cause, and effect.

Possumus dicere non esse hanc crudelitatem, sed feritatem, cui voluptati saevitia est; possumus insaniam vocare . . .<sup>57</sup>

(We can say that this is not cruelty but savagery which takes pleasure in ferocity—in fact, we can call it madness . . .)

Such a one is Phalaris, a virtual cannibal who delights in human bloodshed, and is only gratified by cruelty; such a man is ultimately beyond the pale of humanity:

<sup>53</sup> "The Advancement of Learning," in *The Works of Francis Bacon* . . ., ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath (Boston 1861–1864) VI. 125.

<sup>54</sup> Charles Garton notes that Senecan characters are, to the advantage of theater, ranting, self-divided, and ambivalent ("stiff, imposing, lurid, . . . pathetic"), dramatizing a mixtus of good and bad traits, but ultimately become subject to disintegration: "Senecan tragic character, at its most vivid, is seen to grow and to become more iron in a world of final disorder" ("The Background to Character Portrayal in Seneca," *CPh* 54 [1959] 1–9). Quotations are from pp. 4 and 5.

<sup>55</sup> The constant man never abandons plans or shifts in course, *Ep.* 67. 10, and, of course, false men are never found to be constant, *Epp.* 102. 13; 120. 19.

<sup>56</sup> Consistency is the mark of a man of good character, *Ep.* 47. 21; such men's words and deeds harmonize, *Epp.* 20. 1–6; 24. 19; 34. 4; 35. 4; 75.4–5; 108. 35–39. The inconsistent man is schizoid, wavering, *Ep.* 20. 4; on such restlessness and insecurity, consult esp. *De Tranq. An.* 1. 1–17; 2. 6–10.

<sup>57</sup> *De Clem.* 2. 4. 2.

. . . intercisa iuris humani societas abscidit.<sup>58</sup>

(. . . when he divorced himself from the human race, he divorced himself from me.)

Men of this calibre, contrary to what they think, will never achieve greatness.

Terribilia enim esse et tumultuosa et exitiosa possunt; magnitudinem quidem . . . non habebunt.<sup>59</sup>

(Men of evil nature [*mala ingenia*] can be terrible, tumultuous, and destructive . . . but greatness they cannot have.)

Such men have lost their humanity. They transform themselves, ultimately, from fool or knave into some subhuman creature—a bestial monster divorced from the human race.<sup>60</sup> Most of Seneca's plays trace and exhibit just such a transformation downward on the part of its major actors. The action in these dramas may even be considered a species of Ovidian Metamorphoses, where characters turn into animals before our very eyes. One critic has suggested that such intrinsic development of man into beast in Seneca's dramas foreshadows a predominant motif in modern literature—the twentieth-century grotesque.<sup>61</sup> True enough, for Seneca's plays do persistently trace—with savagery and acumen—the transformation downwards of base and little men into brutes and beasts.

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<sup>58</sup> *De Benef.* 7. 19. 8. Such fierce men secede from humanity, and become what Elisabeth Henry terms "monstrosities in nature" ("Seneca the Younger," in *Ancient Writers: Greece and Rome*, ed. T. James Luce [New York 1982] II. 829).

<sup>59</sup> *De Ira* 1. 20. 7.

<sup>60</sup> Ruthless human killers are animalistic, Seneca avers; such subhuman behavior would prevail if animals were to rule: *De Clem.* 1. 26. 3. See also *De Clem.* 1. 25. 2 on brutality as being outside human bounds.

<sup>61</sup> Rainer Sell, "The Comedy of Hyperbolic Horror: Seneca, Lucan and 20th Century Grotesque," *Neohelicon* 11 (1984) 277–300. See also Anna Lydia Motto and John R. Clark, "'There's Something Wrong With the Sun': Seneca's *Oedipus* and the Modern Grotesque," *CB* 15 (1978) 41–44. One critic believes that artists deploy paradox and grotesquerie as their response to a world that has lost unity and coherence, that has tumbled into chaos and muddle; consult Edward Diller, "Aesthetics and the Grotesque: Friedrich Durrenmatt," *Contemporary Literature* 7 (1966) 328–35.

The Anapaests of the *Octavia*

GEORG LUCK

The *Octavia* is the only drama in the corpus preserved under Seneca's name which uses exclusively anapaests in choral odes and solo parts. All the other plays, except the *Phoenissae* which has no songs at all, display, besides anapaests, a variety of metres. In the *Thyestes*, for example, the anapaests appear relatively late; they are preceded by other metres, for instance by Asclepiadeans of the type *Maecenas atavis edite regibus* (122–75). Thus, anapaests seem to be a characteristic feature of Roman drama during the early Empire, but their exclusive use in the *Octavia* may be yet another argument against Senecan authorship.

The nature of the anapaestic passages in the *Octavia* has not been understood so far, it seems to me. The manuscripts (the "Etruscus" does not have the play) are inconsistent, and there seems to be little agreement among editors. Lucian Müller's decision to divide all anapaestic passages in the tragedies into *monometra* was at least consistent, but it was based on a wrong interpretation of an ancient grammarian (Diomedes, *Ars gramm.* III 511, 23; 29 GLK), as I hope to show below. Müller's proposal to atomize the choral odes of *Oedipus* and *Agamemnon*<sup>1</sup> has not made much of an impression. In the more recent editions of the *Octavia*, series of *dimetra* are occasionally interrupted by a *monometron*, but without any apparent principle. The editors seem to shift these short lines around, more or less at random, to avoid metrical difficulties in any given case.

Two simple rules—this is the point of my paper—will help establish, I hope, the way in which anapaestic passages should be arranged:

- (1) a *monometron* always ends a period;
- (2) within a period, the basic metrical pattern of the *dimetron* is varied as much as possible. In his desire for variety, the author of the *Octavia* carefully distinguishes between "naturally long" and "closed" syllables.

The first rule has been recognized in the past, I believe. F. Vollmer, in his chapter on Latin metre in Gercke–Norden<sup>2</sup> seems to refer to it, and

<sup>1</sup> *De Re Metrica*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig 1894) 104 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig 1927) 16.

Halporn–Ostwald–Rosenmeyer<sup>3</sup> say: “Seneca is fond of concluding a series of anapaestic dimeters with an anapaestic monometer as a clausula.” But even if this principle was recognized, the editors have applied it in a haphazard way.

The second rule has not been formulated so far, I think.

Let me first say something about the problem of the *monometra*. To establish only *monometra*, as Lucian Müller postulated, is awkward. How was it possible to speak or sing these extremely short units? For Diomedes (*loc. cit.*) *Med.* 301

audax nimium qui freta primus

is an *anapaestus choricus*, i. e. a metrical unit. It is possible that at one point of the textual tradition all anapaestic passages were divided into *monometra*, and it is this phase that Müller has reconstructed, but this is hardly what the archetype had. In the absence of the “Etruscus” none of the other MSS. has more authority than the rest.

What does the first rule mean? Let us look at the beginning of the *Octavia* (vv. 1–4):

Iam vaga caelo sidera fulgens  
Aurora fugat.  
surgit Titan radiante coma  
mundoque diem reddit clarum.

The modern editions place a comma after *fugat*; but it seems to me that a new period begins with *surgit*. This allows us to take *Aurora fugat* as a *monometron*. The punctuation of all editions has to be revised; this is no small matter.<sup>4</sup>

To illustrate how the second rule works I would like to quote vv. 973–78:

lenes aurae zephyrique leves,  
tectam quondam nube aethera  
qui vexistis raptam saevae  
virginis aris Iphigeniam,

<sup>3</sup> *The Metres of Greek and Latin Poetry* (London 1963) 83.

<sup>4</sup> In his *Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft*, edited by F. Haase (Leipzig 1839) 838–39, Karl Reisig said something which deserves to be recalled: “Die Interpunction der Alten scheint gar keine gewesen zu sein, nach den Inschriften zu schliessen; auch liegt sie gar nicht in ihrem Geiste, da die mündliche Rede bei ihnen die Hauptsache war und ihre Schriften mehr laut vorgelesen wurden, als im Stillen studirt. . . Das Grundprincip aller Interpunction kann nur darin bestehen, die beim mündlichen Vortrage zu machenden Sinnabschnitte wahrnehmbar zu machen. . . Wir haben gewisse Interpunctionszeichen in die alten Sprachen eingeführt, die auch zu entbehren sind, das Semikolon, das Ausrufungszeichen, das Fragezeichen; das letztere ist vielleicht das zweckmässigste, weil es das Verständnis hebt. Aber wenigstens das Ausrufungszeichen, auf dessen Einführung sich Wolf . . . Etwas zu Gute that, was er nicht nöthig hatte, ist gänzlich zu entbehren. . . Für das Semikolon reicht das Kolon hin. Das Fragezeichen scheint wirklich das nöthigste zu sein, das bucklige Ding.”



hanc quoque tristi procul a poena  
portate, precor, templa ad Triviae.

In this period which extends over six *dimetra* the basic pattern is varied six times. None of the lines is built in exactly the same way as the others. It does happen that within one line, the sequence of long and short syllables seems to repeat itself, but even then the distribution of syllables that are "long by nature" and "long by position" is different.<sup>5</sup> The vv. 335–38 may serve as an example:

hac sum, fateor, digna carina  
quae te genui, quae tibi lucem  
atque imperium nomenque dedi  
Caesaris amens.

Apparently, for the ears of the audience the lines

-- UU -- UU --

and

-- UU -- UU -- U

sounded slightly different. But the three "naturally long" syllables in v. 336 also seem to be significant.

I have already mentioned the first aria of the play (vv. 1–33). It begins with a *dimetron*, followed by a *monometron*. The parallelism of vv. 7 f.,

atque aequoreas vince Alcyonas,  
vince et volucres Pandionias

seems to be reflected in the parallelism of the metrical structure.

If one analyses the metre of vv. 14 f.,

mea rupisset stamina Clotho  
tua quam maerens vulnera vidi,

one notices a certain parallelism in the sequence of long and short syllables, but two syllables which are "long by position" in v. 14 are replaced by two syllables which are "long by nature" in the following verse.

In the following period, the text is uncertain, hence we cannot be sure about the metrical structure. In v. 20, the MSS. vary between *lux* and *nox*; if one reads *lux*, one should probably change *est* to *es* (Bothe):

o lux semper funesta mihi,

<sup>5</sup> Other observations can be made. It appears, for instance, that a dactyl in the first half of an anapaestic *dimetron* is very often followed by a dactyl in the second half. This may be considered a sort of inversion of the "law," discovered by Peter Elmsley, concerning the anapaests of Greek tragedy. There are a few exceptions to this in the *Octavia*, more apparent than real, I think.

tempore ab illo lux es tenebris  
invisa magis.

An attractive solution was suggested by a former student of mine, Jerome Leary: *noctis tenebris for lux e. t.* (cf. Lucan 1. 228).

The long period, vv. 23–30, has been the object of several critical discussions. Some editors accept Bücheler's transposition

cuique Britanni  
ultra Oceanum terga dedere

for

ultra Oceanum  
cuique Britanni terga dedere,

but in this case it would be wrong to consider *ultra Oceanum* as a *monometron*. But it seems to me that the monologue of the Nutrix (vv. 34 ff.) gives us a clue that in the aria of Octavia the traditional order is correct.<sup>6</sup> Therefore I would propose a new solution: half a line may have dropped out after *Oceanum*. The whole period would then look as follows:

illa illa meis tristis Erinys  
thalamis Stygios praetulit ignes  
teque extinxit, miserande pater,  
modo cui totus paruit orbis  
ultra Oceanum < . . . . . >  
cuique Britanni terga dedere,  
ducibus nostris ante ignoti  
iurisque sui.

Now it can be seen that every line varies the basic pattern in a slightly different way.

Following the monologue of the Nutrix, Octavia sings another aria (vv. 57–71) which is followed by alternate singing (vv. 72–99). The first period ends with a *monometron*:

o mea nullis aequanda malis  
fortuna, licet repetam luctus,  
Electra, tuos.

The editors are rather inconsistent. The older MSS. set off as *monosticha* the following half-lines: 58 *fortuna licet*; 61 *flere parentem*; 64 *textique fides*; *excipe nostras*; 76b *fida doloris*. As far as the first three cases are concerned, the editors follow the older MSS., but not in the last two. The basis for their decision is not clear. The rule formulated above gives us a criterion; all that is needed is a slight transposition (vv. 61 f. *vindice fratre scelus ulcisci* for *scelus ulcisci vindice fratre*):

<sup>6</sup> There is a similar correspondence between a passage in a song and one in a dialogue in vv. 273 ff. and 593 ff.

ubi maerenti caesum licuit  
 flere parentem, vindice fratre  
 scelus ulcisci, tua quem pietas  
 hosti rapuit textitque fides.

Octavia and the Nutrix sing alternately in vv. 73–85. There is a great wealth of metrical forms in this passage, but the text and the division of the lines present a few problems. At the beginning (vv. 72 ff.) read:

vox, heu, nostras perculit aures  
 tristis alumnae.  
 cesset thalamis inferre gradus  
 tarda senectus.

*Heu* in v. 72 is Schröder's conjecture; the MSS. have *en*. Other *monometra* in this passage are: 78 *miseranda dies* (correct in the editions); 82 *sed fata regunt* (this is also correct); 84 *tempora mittis*; 85b *placata virum*.

The beginning of Octavia's song (vv. 86 ff.) should be edited as follows:

vincam saevas ante leones  
 tigresque truces fera quam saevi  
 corda tyranni.

There is a problem in v. 93. The editors end a period after *infanda parens*, but they cannot make a *monometron* out of these two words, because of *matris / hoc* in vv. 94 f. The period continues, in fact:

quam dedit illi per scelus ingens  
 infanda parens, licet ingratum  
 dirae pudeat munere matris  
 hoc imperium cepisse, licet  
 tantum munus morte rependat,  
 feret hunc titulum post fata tamen  
 femina longo semper in aevo.

The older MSS. then have 101 iambic *senarii*, while the "recentiores" mark a lacuna of 25 or 30 lines after v. 173. This section is followed by a song of the Nutrix (vv. 201–21) which can be divided into 19 *dimetra* and 2 *monometra*, but not in the way that Peiper–Richter and others have attempted it. The *monometron* they postulate in v. 202 is against the rule we have recognized. Read:

passa est similes ipsa dolores  
 regina deum, cum se in formas  
 vertit in omnes dominus caeli  
 divumque pater.

There should be no objection against beginning a period with *et modo* (cf. Prop. 2. 24B. 11):

et modo pennas sumpsit oloris,  
modo Sidonii cornua tauri.

In vv. 209–16 the second half of the line is barely varied; the characteristic double short is always found at the same place; the variations mainly appear in the first half.

The first choral ode of the drama offers several problems. The older MSS. establish *dimetra* throughout. The modern editors seem to adhere to no particular system. In my opinion the whole passage (vv. 273–376) represents 93 *dimetra* and 12 *monometra*.

Let us look first at vv. 297–301. Richter and Leo wanted to delete them, while Bachrens suggested a transposition: 301, 297–300, 304. No matter what decision one makes,

298 . . . grave et  
improba

is impossible; there seems to be no other example of *et* at the end of line in the anapaests of the Senecan corpus. Furthermore, the elision at this place is very unusual; *Oct. 9 namque his* would only be a parallel if one were to arrange all anapaestic verse in *monometra*, as Lucian Müller suggested. Keeping in mind our two rules, we ought to arrange the period as follows:

294 illi reges hac expulerunt  
urbe superbos ultique tuos  
bene sunt manes, virgo, dextra  
caesa parentis, ne servitium  
paterere grave fet̄ improba ferret  
praemia victrix dira libido.

The next period (vv. 301–03) would have to be arranged in the following manner:

te quoque bellum triste secutum est,  
mactata tua miseranda manu,  
nata Lucreti, stuprum saevi  
passa tyranni.

Then we have a series of *dimetra* until v. 330 *fletibus ora*. The next period ends with v. 345b *aequoris undis*, and vv. 346–48 are one period, ending with the clausula *pressa resurgit* (v. 348b). A new period begins with v. 355; it should be divided into verse as follows:

355           bracchia quamvis lenta trahentem  
356b, 357a   voce hortantur manibusque levant.  
357b           quid tibi saevi fugisse maris  
              profuit undas?

Following Leo, the editors print v. 362 *vivere matrem* as a *monometron*, because the following word, *impius*, begins with a vowel.

According to our rule, we cannot admit a *monometron* within a period. A simple transposition solves the problem:

361 furit ereptam pelagoque dolet  
vivere matrem geminatque nefas  
impious ingens.

The next period ends with v. 370b *condat ut ensem*, as Leo recognized; Peiper–Richter are wrong to print v. 369 *rogat infelix* as a *monometron*.

The end of this choral ode is almost certainly corrupt. The way in which it is divided in the editions seems unsatisfactory. Vv. 373 and 375 should not be printed as *monometra*. Leo's ingenious suggestion to transpose the two halves of v. 374 has not been accepted by other editors, as far as I can see. It is possible, I think, to emend this passage by using the parallel passage vv. 593 ff. where Agrippina's ghost gives an account of her death. There she speaks of the *foeda vulnera* which caused her death, and this adjective I would like to substitute for *fera* in v. 374. When *foeda* had become *fera* through scribal error, a transposition became necessary *metri causa*. Read:

374 post hanc vocem cum supremo  
mixtam gemitu per foeda animam  
tandem tristem vulnera reddit.

The following passage in anapaests (vv. 646–89) consists of an aria of Octavia (vv. 646–68) and a choral ode (vv. 669–89). The first period of the aria ends with v. 650a *causa malorum*, the third with v. 653b *vel morte dies*; v. 655 cannot be a *monometron*, if our rule is valid. In the choral ode a period ends with v. 672a *pulsa Neronis* (the older MSS. seem to indicate this) and with 682b *carcere clausit*; also with 685 *iuncta Neroni* (correct in the more recent editions).

In the short choral ode which praises the astonishing beauty of Poppaea (vv. 762–79) we have only *dimetra*. They display many variations of the basic pattern.

The next choral ode (vv. 806–19) is even shorter: it consists of 12 *dimetra* and 4 *monometra*: v. 812 *sanguine vestro* (correct in the MSS.); 813b *facilisque regi* (correct in Leo's edition); v. 815 *pulsare lyram* (correct in Richter–Peiper); 817b *diruit urbes*.

The longest passage in anapaests comes at the end of the drama (vv. 877–983). It is divided into three choral odes (vv. 877–98; 924–57; 973–83) and two arias of Octavia framed by them (vv. 899–923; 958–72).

Let us have a look at the first choral ode. If I am right, there are only two *monometra* in it: v. 891 *exempla dolor*;<sup>7</sup> v. 896b *contenta latet*. The

<sup>7</sup> If we read *plura referre prohibet praesens / exempla dolor*, we acknowledge that "muta cum liquida" lengthens the last syllable of *referre*. This is possible in the *Octavia*, but not a rule; cf. v. 8 *vince et volucres Pandionias*; v. 10 *semper genetrix deflenda mihi*, etc.

first two periods fill 5 *dimetra* each; a period of 3 *dimetra* follows, then a *dimetron* and a *monometron*. We have a transition here: after the examples of the dangerous effects of the *favor populi* in the history of Rome, the chorus deals with the fate of Octavia, without mention of her name. This part ends with a *sententia*:

896 bene paupertas humili tecto  
contenta latet.  
quatiunt altas saepe procellas  
aut evertit Fortuna domos.

The same *sententia* occurs in Lucan, *Phars.* 5. 526–31.

The first of the two final arias of Octavia can be divided into 23 *dimetra* and 3 *monometra* (v. 912 *nec sunt superi*; 916a *reddere aedon*; 917b *mihi fata darent*). It ends with an "Entrückungswunsch"<sup>8</sup> (vv. 916b–23) which is taken up by the chorus later on (vv. 973 ff.), but in a slightly different form. Octavia wishes she could, as a nightingale in a distant grove, lament her fate:<sup>9</sup>

fugerem luctus ablata meos  
penna volucris procul et coetus  
hominum tristes caedemque feram.  
sola in vacuo nemore et tenui  
ramo pendens querulo possem  
guttore maestum fundere murmur.

The belcanto of these melodious lines is quite beautiful.

The first lines of the second choral ode present a problem. Some editors assume a lacuna after v. 926a *firmum et stabile*, others follow the "recentiores" and read

regitur fatis mortale genus  
nec sibi quicquam (quisquam A) spondere potest  
firmum et stabile.

But in that case one should probably continue with *perquam* (*per quae* A) in v. 927.

One also wonders how editors have understood vv. 932–41. Could this really be one very long period? It seems to me that we have here two periods, each consisting of 4 *dimetra* and 1 *monometron*:

tu mihi primum tot natorum  
memoranda parens (*sc. es*), nata Agrippae,  
nurus Augusti, Caesaris uxor,  
cuius nomen clarum toto

<sup>8</sup> This is a typical Euripidean feature; cf. *Hipp.* 732 ff.; *Andr.* 861 ff.; *Hel.* 1478 ff., etc. See Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Munich 1933) 160, n. 3; vol. 3 (Munich 1940) 710, n. 3; 869.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Homer, *Od.* 19. 518 ff.

fulsit in orbe.  
 utero totiens enixa gravi  
 pignora pacis, mox exilium,  
 verbera, saevas passa catenas,  
 funera (*Gronovius: vulnera codd.*) luctus, tandem letum  
 cruciata diu.

The fate of the elder Agrippina, the mother of nine children, is dealt with antithetically and symmetrically. First, in 2 *dimetra* and 1 *monometron*, we hear about her glory, then, again in 4 *dimetra* and 1 *monometron*, we hear about her tragic fall.

The following period (vv. 941–43) should be arranged in this way:

felix thalamis Livia Drusi  
 natisque ferum ruit in facinus  
 poenamque suam.

In the last period of this choral ode the editors are forced to assume a *monometron* where none should be allowed, v. 955 *remigis ante*. The transposition of two half-lines restores once more, I believe, the original text:

non funesta remigis ante	954a, 955
violata manu mox et ferro	954b, 956a
lacerata diu saevi iacuit	956a, 957a
victima nati?	957b (correct in A)

Octavia's last aria corresponds, as far as its theme and mood are concerned, to the preceding choral ode. The first two words (v. 958 *me quoque*) show that she considers herself the last victim in the series of women of the Julio–Claudian dynasty who all had a tragic end: Agrippina Maior, Livilla, Julia, Messalina.

The third period ends with the *monometron*

962 Fortuna dedit.

The next period should be arranged as follows:

testor superos – quid agis, demens?  
 parce precari quis invisa es  
 numina deum: Tartara testor  
 Erebiq̄ue deas scelerum ultrices  
 et te, genitor, dignum tali  
 morte et poena: non invisa est  
 mors ista mihi.

The last choral ode (vv. 973–83) repeats in a different form the “Entrückungswunsch” of Octavia (vv. 916–23, see above). It consists of four periods: (a) 6 *dimetra*; (b) 2 *dimetra*; (c) 1 *dimetron* and 1 *monometron*; (d) 1 *dimetron*. The concluding lines of the drama are dominated by spondees.

I hope to have shown that it is possible to arrange the anapaestic passages of the *Octavia* according to two simple principles and to achieve the consistency which is lacking in the editions. In doing this we have respected the "law" formulated by Lucian Müller (p. 104): "post binos oportere orationem finire pedes nec licere posteriorem solvi arsin." A few transpositions of half-lines became necessary, some of them suggested by earlier critics. Half-lines could easily be transposed by mechanical error in a manuscript in which all anapaestic passages were arranged in *monometra*. Needless to say that this was not the arrangement of the archetype.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> It would be useful to investigate whether the same principles are applied in the other tragedies of the Senecan corpus. Miroslav Marcovich kindly refers me to John G. Fitch, *Seneca's Anapaests*, American Classical Studies 17 (Atlanta 1987) 92-96 who states (p. 94) that, in sharp contrast to the *Hercules Oetaeus* the relative frequency of monometers in the *Octavia* is very similar to that in the genuine plays. This may well be true, even if there is disagreement, as I have shown above, concerning the exact location of the *monometra*. Miroslav Marcovich also refers me to Otto Zwierlein, *Abh. Mainz* 1983, 3 (Wiesbaden 1984) 182-202. The edition I have been using is that of Gustav Richter (Teubner 1902), though I disagree with his colometry here and there, as I have pointed out.



The Confessions of Persius<sup>1</sup>

JOEL C. RELIHAN

Though it must be considered a false dichotomy, Persius the poet, not Persius the satirist, motivates the work of his most recent apologists.<sup>2</sup> The pale and withdrawn student of the handbooks recedes into the background, along with his Stoicism and moralizing, his youth and his relation to Neronian politics; now difficult language conveys a brash sensibility and a hard-won honesty, an uncontrollable anger and longing to write.<sup>3</sup> His is the love of words, of concrete images, of scenes vividly realized;<sup>4</sup> Sullivan applies to his poetry Pound's term *Logopoeia*.<sup>5</sup> Were we to study Persius the way we study Pindar, it may be suggested, we would appreciate and not castigate his eccentricities.

But what does this do for the appreciation of Persius in the tradition of verse satire? Persius depicts himself as one who has gone to great lengths to create a poetic language and idiom not previously exemplified; what seem to be protestations of Horatian simplicity in *Satire 5* are quite misleading.<sup>6</sup> Satire is personal expression; we should ask then how the language of Persius accomplishes the goal of self-revelation within the limits of his genre, and then what is the place of Persius in the history of his genre. I wish to argue for the following points: that the language of Persius' *Satires*

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this paper was delivered as a public lecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana in May 1988.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Sullivan, "In Defence of Persius," *Ramus* 1 (1972) 58: ". . . Persius' art is a matter of language, not a matter of abstruse philosophical text." He argues against Cynthia Dessen, *Junctura Callidus Acri: A Study of Persius' Satires* (Urbana 1968), for separating satire and poetry; but the thrust of Sullivan's own essay is essentially poetic.

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Reckford, "Studies in Persius," *Hermes* 90 (1962) 500: ". . . the truth emerges with a bang. Satire, then, not only operates on a sick society but provides a necessary release for the pent-up feelings of the satirist . . ." I have been especially indebted to Reckford's essay in the preparation of this article.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Connor, "The Satires of Persius: A Stretch of the Imagination," *Ramus* 16 (1987) 75-77 argues cleverly against the handbook view that Persius speaks without reference to human experience.

<sup>5</sup> "In Defence of Persius" (above, note 2) 59-60; an opinion taken up by Mark Morford, *Persius* (Boston 1984) 94-95.

<sup>6</sup> W. S. Anderson, "Persius and the Rejection of Society," in *Essays on Roman Satire* (Princeton 1982) 170 ff.

is a private language, a language of self-communion; that his satires are in the main constructed as dialogues within the author's self; that the *Satires* are not primarily directed toward an external audience; that there is a coherent progression within the book of satires that culminates in the rejection of the profession of satirist; that the topic of the *Satires* as a book is how Persius fails to be a satirist. That Persius speaks to himself has been both vigorously maintained and denied in various individual satires (particularly *Satire 3*); that Persius speaks of his own faults has been vehemently rejected;<sup>7</sup> it is even denied that the author's personality makes any real appearance in the *Satires*.<sup>8</sup> And while we are right to reject the notion that the *Satires* are versified Stoic dogma,<sup>9</sup> we should not go so far in labelling his thoughts as commonplaces that we overlook the fact the Stoicism provides the intellectual framework of the *Satires*.

As Anderson's famous article has it, Persius has rejected society. But there is more here than the Stoic wise man turning his back on incurable fools, and the *Satires* are not just written for the aesthetic appreciation of the select few. The Stoic should take his place in society, but Persius does not; the recurrent metaphor of doctor and patient in the *Satires* describes an ideal state of affairs, but Persius seems to have no interest in the patient's cure.<sup>10</sup> The satirist is primarily concerned with himself, and writes for himself.<sup>11</sup> The *Satires* show us with what anxiety he pinpoints his own successes and failings, for I think that his understanding of human error is derived from self-reflection.<sup>12</sup> As he puts it at 4. 52, *tecum habita: noris quam sit tibi curta supellex*, "Live in your own house, and you will learn how meager the furnishings are." This moral advice is general, and includes Persius himself, the Stoic poet who is Stoic enough and consistent enough to know that all sins are equal, and that all sinners, even if they have different expectations and hopes of progress to perfection, are equally far from the truth.<sup>13</sup> Persius

<sup>7</sup> See Edwin S. Ramage, "Method and Structure in the Satires of Persius," *ICS* 4 (1979) 138 n. 5: "It is important to notice that Persius never admits directly to having faults . . . He does, however, include himself in the first person plural where he effectively dilutes his own shortcomings by making them part of humanity's." Ramage takes pains to refute the view that *Satire 3*, with its description of the lazy person in bed at mid-morning, is a description of the poet himself.

<sup>8</sup> Anderson (above, note 6) 178-79.

<sup>9</sup> Reckford (above, note 3) 490-98 ("Persius and Stoicism").

<sup>10</sup> Anderson (above, note 6) 178-79.

<sup>11</sup> Here I extend the observation made by Reckford (above, note 3) 500: "The reverse side of this *indignatio* is a very modest isolation. We see it in Persius' obscure inwardness of metaphor and thought, and again, in his sense of writing for himself (Sat. I. 2-8)."

<sup>12</sup> Anderson states well the opinion that I oppose (above, note 6) 179: Persius does not reveal himself, and "his satirist is monochromatic, monotonous (if you will). He is the steady incarnation of *sapientia*."

<sup>13</sup> D. L. Sigsbee, "The *paradoxa Stoicorum* in Varro's *Menippeans*," *CP* 71 (1976) 244-48, is a good introduction to the possibilities of Stoicism in satire. For the question of guilt and sin in Stoic thought, see J. M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge 1969) 81-96 (Ch. 5, "All Sins Are Equal").

does not present himself as a sage, and therefore the frequent references to vice as proof of madness reflect on Persius as well.<sup>14</sup> We must take Persius' Stoicism seriously: Persius has lived in his own house, and offers advice based on his own self-examination. And Stoicism itself advocates private meditation as a path to self-discovery: Seneca recommends as a cure for anxiety a dialogue within oneself, in which one imagines all of one's fears and thus overcomes them (*Ep.* 24. 2).<sup>15</sup> It is inner dialogue and confession that I find most compelling as an informing principle in Persius; I hope to explain how such a concept of the value and function of satire, as self-examination rather than social correction, is in fact at the heart and not at the periphery of verse satire.

### Verse Satire: Some General Considerations

If we take the programmatic satires of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal at face value, we should draw the conclusion that there are two types of Roman verse satire (leaving that of Ennius to one side, whom the extant satirists, beyond the oblique reference at Horace *Serm.* 1. 10. 66, do not mention). That of Lucilius is the ideal, and that of the extant satirists is a falling away from an ideal; they operate in the shadow of Lucilius, conscious of the fact that they are not Lucilius. The extant practitioners of the genre know that their satires cannot do what satire is supposed to do, which is to present a vivid portrait of a critic arraigning vice (cf. Horace's famous words on the presence of the life of Lucilius in his *Satires*, *Serm.* 2. 1. 32-34: *quo fit ut omnis / uotiuu pateat ueluti descripta tabella / uita senis*). They claim that the traditions of Old Comedy lie behind those of verse satire, and in effect they lament their inability to criticize as the comedians did, violently, truthfully, and by name.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, they present their works as being

<sup>14</sup> Persius, the "doctrinaire poet," is admired for the sternness and simplicity of his moral views, but the implications of such views for his own nature are, it seems to me, overlooked. M. Coffey, *Roman Satire* (London and New York 1976) 111 is typical: "As a Stoic he frequently associates wrongdoing with madness; the paradox that none but the Stoic sage is sane, which is mocked by Horace, is accepted without irony by Persius."

<sup>15</sup> *Sed ego alia te ad securitatem uia ducam: si uis omnem sollicitudinem exuere, quidquid uereris ne eueniat euenturum utique proponere, et quodcumque est illud malum, tecum ipse metire ac timorem tuum taxa: intelleges profecto aut non magnum aut non longum esse quod metuis.* See Robert J. Newman, "Rediscovering the *De Remediis Fortuitorum*," *AJP* 109 (1988) 92-107. In this work, *meditatio* is a sort of interior dialogue; Newman defends its attribution to Seneca.

<sup>16</sup> J. C. Bramble, *Persius and the Programmatic Satire, A study in Form and Imagery* (Cambridge 1974) 190-204 (Appendix 4: "The Disclaimer of Malice") looks to Aristotelian theories of liberal humor as a motivating force for a lack of personal invective in satire and other genres (iambic poetry, epigram) rather than to the possible influence of legal restrictions which may prevent a satirist from naming names and being specific. But the satirists themselves accept the Varronian invention of Old Comedy as a satiric source, and lament the lack of its freedoms; satire presents liberal humor as a distant second-best. It does not matter here that the satirists also perpetuate the already ancient misunderstanding of Athenian comedy as necessarily relating historically true information about the characters that it attacks; cf. Stephen Halliwell,

themselves emblematic of decay and an indictment of the divorce between literature and public life.<sup>17</sup> I would say then that in Horace we see the beginning of an inward turning of verse satire, in which the true topic of a satire (or, better, of a book of satires) is the poet's inability to correct or improve his society in any meaningful way. He cannot improve society, but he can speak of himself. The persona created in a book of satires is not that of a censor and critic, but of an ineffective censor and critic, who reveals why he is incapable of changing the world around him.

Two further points need to be made about the nature of hexameter satire. First, the genre is essentially a comic one. By this, I do not mean that it tries to tell the truth with a laugh; rather, by virtue of its epic meter and the fact that the content of the poems is entirely inappropriate for such a meter, there is an essential incongruity of form and topic which mocks the first person opinions expressed. How are we to react to someone who arraigns everyday vice in an epic voice? Juvenal certainly is aware of the incongruity: as he says, the great difficulty in writing satire is finding a natural talent that is equal to the distasteful material (1. 150-1: *unde / ingenium par materiae?*); his Muses need not sing, but may sit down (4. 34-5: *incipere, Calliope. licet et considerare. non est / cantandum, res uera agitur*). It is a good exercise to view satire as the opposite side of the coin of pastoral, which exploits a similar incongruity of form and topic for a frequently light-hearted view of the idyllic, rather than the debased, world. Second, introspection in a comic genre leads to self-parody. Now here I do not mean that the satirist cannot possibly mean what he says, that his anger, or his fulmination against vices perceived by society as normal, labels him a joker. Remember what is to be found in Horace, the comfortable insider: a critic of society is himself a social undesirable. We are too easily misled by Horace's *ridentem dicere uerum / quid uetat?* (*Serm.* 1. 1. 24-25).<sup>18</sup> No one does oppose a mixture of comedy and truth; it is a thoroughly unobjectionable combination. This is no manifesto for a

"Ancient interpretations of ὄνομαστί κωμωδεῖν in Aristophanes," *CQ* 78 (1984) 83-88. C. A. Van Rooy, *Studies in Classical Satire and Related Literary Theory* (Leiden 1965) 145-50 describes how Old Comedy is invoked less and less through time to explain the nature and origin of satire, to the point that Juvenal does not mention it or its freedom of speech, but rather bemoans the specific loss of Lucilian *libertas*.

<sup>17</sup> Van Rooy (previous note) 150, rightly balances loss of political freedoms and the satirists' self-confidence in their new Roman genre as explanations for the lack of direct political and social criticism in verse satire.

<sup>18</sup> Niall Rudd, *Themes in Roman Satire* (London 1986) 1 gives an intelligent description of this view of satire as comic criticism: "Roman satirists may be thought of as functioning within a triangle of which the apices are (a) attack, (b) entertainment, and (c) preaching. If a poem rests too long on apex (a) it passes into lampoon or invective; if it lingers on (b) it changes into some sort of comedy; and if it remains on (c) it becomes a sermon. In this triple function preaching appears to have a less important status than the other two."

crusading critic, but a program for politesse. Lucilius may have been funny, but his followers are unanimous in saying that he tore the city to shreds (*secuit urbem*, as Persius has it at 1. 114; Juvenal 1. 165–68: *ense uelut stricto quotiens Lucilios ardens / infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est / criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa. / inde irae et lacrimae*).<sup>19</sup> But Horace apologizes when he removes his humor to give serious advice. It is impolite to criticize; the advocacy of common sense in Horace is a rejection of Lucilian censoriousness; and the self-parodic interests of Horace are not hard to find.

The Lucilian ideal of self-depiction through social criticism has not been lost to the post-Lucilian satirists, who however show themselves inadequate for the task of satire. The inadequate satirist is not just a victim of libel laws and lack of freedom under the Empire; rather, the influence of the genre of Menippean satire turns what would be a defect into a virtue. Varro's *Menippeans* (81–67 B. C.), which fall chronologically between Lucilius (132–102) and Horace (the 30's B. C.), may be viewed as what fills the void created in the Lucilian ideal by the passing away of direct attack. I think that the *Menippeans* constitute a large stone dropped into the stream of verse satire, and we can observe diminishing waves of influence from Varro: from more to less self-parody from Horace to Persius to Juvenal; from a greater to a lesser realization of the incongruity inherent in discussing social matters in epic verse, and thus from a greater to a lesser use of fantasy; from less to more moral earnestness.<sup>20</sup> It is not just that the genre of verse satire allows for a very free mixture of possible elements, but that there is a coherent change through time that can be explained by the intersection of the traditions of verse and Menippean satire. Menippean satire turns upon a critic's self-parody, as he realizes that his intellect is not sufficient either to understand or to influence the madness of the world around him, whose *ad hoc* theories and explanations fail in the face of experience, and whom the world ignores and leaves behind.<sup>21</sup> Hexameter satire after Varro will focus on the author's moral rather than his intellectual failings, on how the corrupt world allows him to understand himself, and on how the author chooses ultimately to ignore and separate himself from this world. The *Satires* of Persius afford documentation of this view of the nature of verse satire.

<sup>19</sup> Bramble (above, note 16) 195–96, notes that even Lucilius disclaims malice in a number of fragments, but concludes: "Even if we discount the violence attributed by later portraits, it is probably fair to say that Lucilian practice was divorced from theory—but not to the degree of malignancy attributed by received opinion."

<sup>20</sup> For this last point see Reckford (above, note 3) 499, who has it that Persius sees a need to add invective to Horatian irony, thus leading the way to Juvenal.

<sup>21</sup> I present this view of Menippean satire in "Martianus Capella, the Good Teacher," *Pacific Coast Philology* 22 (1987) 59–70.

## The Prologue and the Unity of the Six Satires

A number of traditional topics of study concerning Persius I leave to one side: to what extent Persius is to be related to the literary groups and movements of his day;<sup>22</sup> to what extent he copies, adapts, and reworks Horatian themes and language;<sup>23</sup> analysis, criticism, or defense of his highly idiosyncratic language;<sup>24</sup> the chronology of the individual satires. I wish to concentrate on a different aspect, the extent to which the *Satires* form a coherent book.

I think that Roman satire never lost the original notion that satire was composed in books; this is true in Ennius and in Lucilius, and there is no break in the tradition. The prologue of Persius' *Satires* is an important piece of evidence for this: it introduces the following satires as a collection, it announces the main theme, and does so in scazons, so that we can say that Persius' *satura*, like Ennius', consists of poems in varied meters.<sup>25</sup> An analogy may help: Persius' *Satires* are like a song in six stanzas, with an introduction that sets the theme—passion and money motivate everyone, even (especially?) the rustic poet himself.

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino  
 nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso  
 memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.  
 Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen  
 illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt  
 hederæ sequaces; ipse semipaganus  
 ad sacra uatum carmen adfero nostrum.  
 quis expediuit psittaco suum 'chaere'  
 picamque docuit nostra uerba conari?  
 magister artis ingenique largitor  
 uenter, negatas artifex sequi uoces.  
 quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,  
 coruos poetas et poetridas picas  
 cantare credas Pegaseium nectar.

<sup>22</sup> Very nicely discussed by C. Witke, "Persius and the Neronian institution of literature," *Latomus* 43 (1984) 802–12.

<sup>23</sup> R. A. Harvey, *A Commentary on Persius*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 64 (Leiden 1981), provides a tabulation in the note on *Sat.* 1. 12; see also D. M. Hooley, "Mutatis Mutandis. Imitations of Horace in Persius' First Satire," *Arethusa* 17 (1984) 81–94, who sees in *Satire* 1 a response to Horace's *Ars Poetica*.

<sup>24</sup> E. Paratore, "Surrealismo e iperrealismo in Persio," in *Homages à Henry Bardon*, Collection *Latomus* 187 (1985) 277–90, summarizing and extending Bardon's work on Persius' language.

<sup>25</sup> Even in the Renaissance it is possible to write a book of poems in various meters and call it a satire; cf. the *Saturae* of Giovanni Pascoli (A. Traina, ed. [Firenze 1968]). The volume consists of two collections of poems in various meters, entitled *Catullocalvos* and *Fanum Vacunae*.

The passage is much discussed and debated.<sup>26</sup> A few points, I think, may still be made. I begin from a paraphrase. "I did not drink of Pegasus' spring to become a poet. I leave the Muses and their spring to dead poets. I am an uninitiated outsider, bringing my own poem myself to the precincts of holy poetry. The belly bestows a modest talent to parrots and magpies, a simple use of words their own nature denies them. But if money is before your eyes, you would believe that crow-poets and magpie-poetesses *do* sing the true nectar of Pegasus." Two points: first, that the references to the stream of Pegasus unite the halves of the poem quite closely;<sup>27</sup> second, the one for whom there is the hope of cash (there is an ambiguous lack of a dative of reference in the phrase *quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi*) is better taken as referring to the subject of *credas*.<sup>28</sup> The poem would assert: I am not a poet, and my motivation is my stomach; yet an audience of sycophants would readily believe I am a poet. It is a point made throughout *Satire* 1, that the audience of a poet is utterly indifferent to the truth, and that a poet's interest in the approval of his audience is wholly misplaced.<sup>29</sup> It is the corrupt audience, not the poet's own greed, that creates undeserved and distorted praise of the glories of a poet's verse. The poem is not merely about the poet's rejection of divine inspiration, but also about the possibility of his audience's false perception of a divine inspiration.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Cf. D. Korzeniewski, "Der Satirenprolog des Persius," *RhM* 121 (1978) 329–49 (not noticed in Harvey's *Commentary*) provides detailed analysis, explaining its function as a prologue and defending its unity.

<sup>27</sup> Korzeniewski (previous note) 334 shows how the fourteen lines are written in groups of 3, 4, 4, and 3 verses, in which 1–3 mirror 12–14, 4–6a mirror 10–11, 6b–7 mirror 8–9; and describes in detail how the first seven lines are metrically peculiar, the last seven overly correct, in accordance with the types of poetry discussed. "Der Gegensatz zwischen Maske (*fons caballinus* und *somnium*) und Demaskierung (*uenter* und *spes nummi*) ist zugleich Klammer und Trennung der beiden Heptaden" (334). However, U. W. Scholz, "Persius," in J. Adamietz, ed., *Die Römische Satire* (Darmstadt 1986) 191, takes the poem as falling into at best vaguely related halves: "Unverbunden mit diesem spöttisch-apologetischen, selbstrühmenden Gedicht verfolgt das zweite Stück (prol. 8–14) einen Anderen Ansatz vor dem gleichen thematischen Hintergrund."

<sup>28</sup> The suggestion of Harvey (above, note 23) 9 that the last sentence must be taken as a question ("would money inspire magpie-poets to produce fine poetry?") is necessary, if one presumes that it is the poets who have the hope of deceitful cash; but the sentence does cohere with what goes before as a direct statement if it is the audience that is dazzled. Reckford (above, note 3) 503 points the way: "The end of the choliambic may be satirizing the deluded critic whose belly forces him, like the stuffed clients in *Satire* I, to praise his patron's bad efforts."

<sup>29</sup> Korzeniewski (above, note 26) 331 views the bird-poets of the prologue as symbolic anticipations of the poets of *Satire* 1: "Die Dichter, die im Prolog in der Maskerade der Vögel begegnen, kehren in der ersten Satire als wirkliche Menschen wieder."

<sup>30</sup> J. F. Miller, "Disclaiming Divine Inspiration. A Programmatic Pattern," *WS N.F.* 20 (1986) 151–64, discusses this poem and similar disclaimers in Propertius and Ovid, but makes a different point: that the discussion of inspiration here denies inspiration as a motivation for poetry because it neglects the question of *ars*; that the belly is a perverter of one's natural talents; and that ultimately Persius disassociates himself from the poets of the belly (162–63).

The poet speaks of himself; this is not a case of indignation making the verses that talent denies, but hunger. He has disclaimed the name of poet and the desire for a poet's praise. He is comparing himself to the parrot and magpie, in that he composes poetry, a thing which is not in his nature, out of a hunger not for justice or truth but food. The working out of this theme, that there is no noble or intellectually valid or morally compelling reason for writing satire, may be documented in a number of lines of argument that are present in the unity which is the six poems: the poet's dialogue with himself, the Stoic doctrine of the equality of sins and sinners, the belief that money and passion always reveal the fool, and the preaching from experience. It is to these devices that I now turn.

### Diatribes and Inner Dialogue

The history of the diatribe receives its due attention in literary studies, and its techniques, motifs, and argumentative habits are well known. What is not so well appreciated I think is the fact that the diatribe is not just an elastic medium, but is in fact a form of discourse susceptible to a number of literary and poetic transformations. The diatribe is not to be viewed as a genre, but as a style of oratorical argument,<sup>31</sup> and argument can be used, of course, in a number of different ways. Therefore, the diatribe is not one fixed form, but its internal characteristics and logic can be altered, played with, parodied and abused, to create a number of interesting literary phenomena. For example, Menippus takes Cynic anti-dogmatism so far as to represent even Cynic truth as a lie when it is presented as a logical conclusion persuasively argued;<sup>32</sup> it is the *parody* of the diatribe that gives rise to Menippean satire, a parody that is obvious in the *Menippeans* of Varro, in which the preacher appeals to the fantastic to make a point, or tries to subsume scholarly nit-picking into his popular form. Perhaps most important, the assumption of a Cynic guise for the preaching of the glories of Republican agricultural conservative Rome is a comic contradiction in terms and a running joke.

Similar comic use of the diatribe may be found in verse satire. Everyone admits to its influence in the genre, and sees in it an avenue to the persuasive and popular presentation of the horrors of vice and the need for virtue. But the case is not so simple as this. Horace provides a number of examples, especially in Book 2 of his *Satires*, of the boring and pretentious diatribe or harangue which he puts in the mouth of someone else, so that we see the author laughing at the preacher while trying to avoid the moral implications of the comic preacher's criticisms. Horace is willing to show

<sup>31</sup> J. F. Kindstrand, *Bion of Borysthenes* (Uppsala 1976) 97-99.

<sup>32</sup> Lucian at *Nekyomantia* 21-22 depicts Menippus learning the Cynic truth about life from Teiresias and then returning to the upper world to preach that truth through the oracular hole of the false prophet Trophonius.



both himself and the diatribist as fools (2. 3. 326): *o maior tandem parcas, insane, minori*, "And yet, o greater fool, spare, I pray, the lesser," as he concludes Damasippus' more than 300-line Stoic sermon at *Sermones* 2. 3. Persius presents a similar distance from the preacher's truths in *Satire* 3.<sup>33</sup> The programmatic satires of all three hexameter satirists speak of the fact that no one wants to hear a satire: we should not just read this as a condemnation of a deaf, hard-hearted, and vice-ridden community, but also as an open confession of the uselessness of satire and diatribe when it comes to effective social criticism and advocacy of moral change. No one wants to, and no one will, heed a critic.

The conclusion of Persius' first *Satire* speaks of him *burying* his secret about Rome in his book as Midas' barber buried his secret in a patch of weeds: "Who does not have the ears of an ass?" (1. 119–23):

me muttire nefas? nec clam? nec cum scrobe? nusquam?  
 hic tamen infodiam. uidi, uidi ipse, libelle:  
 auriculas asini quis non habet? hoc ego opertum,  
 hoc ridere meum, tam nil, nulla tibi uendo  
 Iliade.

It is claimed that this burial is mere pretense, as the book itself immediately reveals the secret, just as the ditch revealed the secret about Midas' ears which his barber had entrusted to it.<sup>34</sup> We should indeed take the mythological parallel seriously: the author, like the barber, needs to speak but finds no audience; he speaks to no one, in order to unburden himself of his secret; he learns that the confidence he placed in something seemingly safe has betrayed him; and the revelation has done no good, and least of all to himself. The book may well have a life beyond the author's intentions, and betrays him. I think that a good deal of the first *Satire* revolves around this very point: satire is Persius' private joke, pointless as far as society is concerned ("This hidden thing, this laughter of mine, so valueless, I sell to you for no *Iliad*"); insofar as it is known, it shows him in a bad light. There is no reason why an author cannot claim that his book does not do him justice.

In this light, the opening of the poem acquires interesting overtones when literally read (1–3):

O curas hominum! quantum est in rebus inane!  
 "quis leget haec?" min tu istud ais? nemo hercule. "nemo?"  
 uel duo uel nemo. "turpe et miserabile." quare?

<sup>33</sup> Reckford (above, note 3) 496, comments on *Satire* 3 as follows: "The resemblance to the author of the person corrected rather than the corrector is an Horatian indirection, a placation of the reader through ironic self-criticism, and a refusal to accept full responsibility for any sermon as such. Undoubtedly, Persius considered the avoidance of dogmatism a prerequisite of sincerity. This is not to say that Persius found the content of the sermon embarrassing, only the form."

<sup>34</sup> Bramble (above, note 16) 136–37.

The author tells his interlocutor that no one, or two at most, will read his poems, and he doesn't care. It isn't important to the author if his poems are read. This poetry is a private affair.<sup>35</sup> Further, we can specify who this interlocutor is, and thus define who the "two people or none" are. The imaginary interlocutor, or *aduersarius fictiuus*, is traditionally in the diatribe a straw man who raises objections for the speaker to triumph over. He tries to cite contradictory authorities, may make fun of the speaker's intentions, and may oppose the speaker's conclusions. It is the *aduersarius fictiuus*, I believe, that leads to that most interesting of Menippean developments, the literary presentation of the split personality, as the *aduersarius* becomes the author's own second thoughts or other half. Bakhtin makes Menippean satire the origin of this phenomenon, which he finds not only in such works as Varro's *Bimarcus* ("The Author Split in Two") but even in Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* and Augustine's *Confessions*.<sup>36</sup> But it is also prominent in Persius, and one of the keys to understanding his book. The opening section of the poem concluded, the poet then proceeds to say (1.44-47):

quisquis es, o modo quem ex aduerso dicere feci,  
non ego cum scribo, si forte quid aptius exit,  
quando haec rara auis est, si quid tamen aptius exit,  
laudari metuam; neque enim mihi cornea fibra est.

"Whoever you are, o you whom I have caused to speak in opposition, I do not, when I write, if something rather snappy comes out, when there is this rare bird, if something rather snappy comes out, live in fear of praise, nor are my guts made of horn."

"Whoever you are, o you whom I have caused to speak in opposition:" it is certainly not a habit of the diatribe to speculate about the nature of the imaginary interlocutor. It should be obvious that the creation of a dialogue by a poet is inherently a dialogue with himself; but in Persius the potential is made actual. Persius is talking to himself. And if Persius does not know who the interlocutor is, but has called him into being, then I think we have a fair indication that the poem presents Persius himself and that not entirely known quantity which is something like an inner voice.

<sup>35</sup>Satire 5, the dialogue between Persius and Cornutus, is explicit: *secrete loquimur* (5. 21). Ettore Paratore, *Biografia e Poetica di Persio* (Firenze 1968) 187 n. 65 suggests that here we have a poetic plural, Persius speaking to himself (note that Paratore reads *secreti*, and does not think it inevitable that Cornutus speaks vv. 5-21): "... forse *Secreti loquimur* è un *pluralis pro singulari* in cui il poeta si vanta del proprio meditativo isolamento per aprirsi la strada a parlare della consegna dei propri *praecordia* a Comuto." Korzeniewski objects to this interpretation in a review of Paratore's *La poetica di Persio* (Roma 1964) 123 in which the words are translated "io parlo con me stesso in disparte;" but Korzeniewski's parallels for taking *secrete* as *μυστικῶς* in a true dialogue with Cornutus do not seem convincing (*Gnomon* 37 [1965] 777).

<sup>36</sup>Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. C. Emerson (Minneapolis 1984) 106-22.

The first *Satire* ends with a device typical of satire and other genres, the selection of the specific audience for the poems. The models in satire for such a passage are Lucilius, Book 26, F589–96 K, and Horace *Serm.* 1. 10. 78–92. But is it accidental that Persius' models speak of a number of potential readers, and of specific individuals, and that Persius speaks only in the singular, and in the second person, of a reader unnamed?

audaci quicumque adflate Cratino  
 iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,  
 aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis.  
 inde uaporata lector mihi ferueat aure . . . (1. 123-6)

Commentators assume that this is an appeal for a plural readership (a reasonable assumption) and that the appeal to those who have read Aristophanes (*praegrandi sene*) is a laudatory one. But this is a hasty assumption, reflecting the modern appreciation of Aristophanes the brilliant poet; the situation is more complex. Persius here imitates Horace *Serm.* 1. 4. 1–5, in which Horace only praises Old Comedy for pointing out publicly and by name those worthy of censure.<sup>37</sup> But Persius asks specifically for a *reader* of Aristophanes; this is a call for an antiquary and a pedant, for only these read Old Comedy at this time.<sup>38</sup> Aristophanes and the poets of Old Comedy are a mine of Attic forms and vocabulary worked by scholars<sup>39</sup>. Persius asks such a person whether his language is not better than that of Aristophanes. *Decoctius* may mean more boiled down, more concentrated than the diffuse (or perhaps diluted, to continue the metaphor) writings of Old Comedy,<sup>40</sup> but the specific reference is to language itself and to its

<sup>37</sup> Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae  
 atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca uirorum est,  
 siquis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,  
 quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui  
 famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.

<sup>38</sup> Franz Quadlbauer, "Die Dichter der griechischen Komödie im literarischen Urteil der Antike," *WS* 73 (1960) 52 ff., points out that Roman authors typically viewed Menander as the superior author, and that Phrynichus' praise of Aristophanes in the second century A.D. is to be viewed as a reaction against this attitude. Quadlbauer takes Persius' description of the Old Comedians as an attack against those who value them too highly; Persius' *aliquid decoctius* is superior to Aristophanes, the best of them (p. 61).

<sup>39</sup> Athenaeus and Phrynichus are perfect examples; cf also Lucian, *Ind.* 27, who speaks of Aristophanes and Eupolis as authors who ought to be known by someone who prides himself on a knowledge of arcane lore.

<sup>40</sup> *Decoctius* is problematic. Bramble (above, note 16) 139 and n. 1 takes *decoctius* as a laudatory culinary metaphor for style, in contrast to the disparaging ones which have appeared throughout the beginning of the satire in reference to other works of literature: "*decoquere* describes the refined density of Persius' manner, the opposite of the undigested style—the *crudum* or *turgidum*—of his opponents." But Korzeniewski, "Die erste Satire des Persius," in D. Korzeniewski, ed., *Die Römische Satire, Wege der Forschung* 238 (Darmstadt 1970) 426–27 takes *decoctius* as referring to a *decoctum* or *decoctio*, a warm plaster, continuing the medical imagery of the satire; and it is from this warm poultice of Persius' own writing that the reader is to have the ears steamed clean. Apart from the problem of taking the comparative adjective in

difficulty, not to the presentation of things that would improve the public morals.<sup>41</sup> The pallor of exhausted study contained in the verb *palles* supports this interpretation of the pedantic nature of the reader of Old Comedy.<sup>42</sup> Persius, *iunctura callidus acri*, prides himself on expression, not on social utility; though he distances himself from Horace in not speaking of Aristophanes as a corrector of public morals, he is very much in Horace's camp in thinking that style is the essence of satire. Persius is not calling for the morally upright to read him, though he will go on to reject the morally base (1. 127-34). He looks for those removed from society, who will look from Aristophanes to Persius only for examples of more striking writing. In this light, the select few chosen as the audience for the *Satires* emphasize the private nature of the poet's enterprise more than the entrusting of difficult ethical truths and criticisms to those who can actually profit by them; certainly there is here no program for the improvement of society.

But can reading Old Comedy have a positive moral effect? Is the tradition of accurate public indictment of vice in Old Comedy sufficient to overcome, in a Stoic moralist's eyes, its clearly less desirable features?<sup>43</sup> Aristophanes becomes proverbial as the author who makes fun of serious things.<sup>44</sup> Plutarch's comparison of Aristophanes and Menander assails the former for indiscriminate use of extreme expressions, for obscurity and vulgarity, for failure to address people of different stations in appropriate ways, for coarseness and depravity; Aristophanes is not tolerable for the

this sense of "more like a plaster" (the appeal to 1. 45, *si forte quid aptius exit*, does not seem a valid parallel), there is the logical difficulty of having the author pick as his audience those who read his works and are improved by them—this is tautological. Rather, he should be defining those characteristics already possessed by those whom he would have as an audience.

<sup>41</sup> Reckford (above, note 3) 476-83, points out that of the many passages in Persius in which metaphors concerning the ear and the infusion of learning through the ear occur, only in this passage do we find *auris*, signifying the healthy ear; all others have the contemptuous diminutive *auricula*. *Aliquid decoctius* suggests to Reckford "an infusion of alcoholic syrup" (482). But Anderson (above, note 6) 174-75, notes the problem: the ideal reader of Persius already has a well-cleaned ear, and can appreciate Persius' style as well as his content. But what can we say of the moral stance of a satirist who speaks only to those who are healthy, yet who speaks of his message as the medicine that will clean the ears of the sick?

<sup>42</sup> Harvey's note *ad loc.* takes *palles* as meaning, more naturally, "grow pale through fear;" the meaning "grow pale through study" would be a "novel extension" of the word's meaning. But surely the few who read Old Comedy are not themselves fearful of that poet's invective.

<sup>43</sup> For the reality of Athenian comic personal abuse, cf. Halliwell (above, note 16).

<sup>44</sup> Lucian, *Pisc.* 25; *Bis Acc.* 33. Lucian knows some phrases and plot summaries of Aristophanes and uses them liberally; cf. Graham Anderson, *Lucian, Theme and Variation in the Second Sophistic*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 41 (Lugduni Batavorum 1976) 183-84. Lucian also depicts himself in the above passages as one who has debased both Philosophy and Dialogue by mixing, among other things, Old Comedy into his comic dialogues.

wise man.<sup>45</sup> It is comic to speak of those whose ears have been cleansed by the reading of Aristophanes (1. 126: *inde uaporata lector mihi ferueat aure*),<sup>46</sup> who have overlooked the obscenity to see only the style. The audience that Persius imagines is a little ridiculous.

After Persius addresses the voice that he has created as his *aduersarius*, he continues (1. 48–50):

sed recti finemque extremumque esse recuso  
 "euge" tuum et "belle." nam "belle" hoc excute totum:  
 quid non intus habet?

"But I do not allow that the end and goal of the right is your 'Bravo' and 'Well done!' Make this 'Well done!' stand a thorough frisk: what does it not have concealed on its person?"

The debate within the author on the relative merit of literary value and social effectiveness is exactly that of Varro's *Bimarcus*. It also shows our author working out what his beliefs and attitudes are in the presence of a censorious other nature that he does not fully understand. For *Satire* 1 is not just an apology for the profession of satire, but a consideration of the question of why bother to write at all.<sup>47</sup> This inner dialogue will show the satirist arriving with difficulty at the attitudes that he holds, showing his own anxieties as well as the conclusions that finally triumph over them; he will write a type of satire different from Horace's, more animated by anger and invective. This inner dialogue will reappear: in *Satire* 3, someone wakes the poet up, as the latter is snoring off last night's wine; in *Satire* 4, a dialogue between Socrates and Alcibiades in Roman dress on the topic of dealing in public affairs, a scene whose logical inconsistencies dissolve when we see it as a screen for a dialogue between the author and his own teacher; and in *Satire* 5, a dialogue between the student satirist and the teacher Cornutus, in which Cornutus is directly mentioned. For the author is acutely aware of himself as a student, as a young man in need of instruction, a young man in touch with his conscience. And it is this conscience, often represented as the other voice in his *Satires*, the other voice that was once the *aduersarius* of the diatribe, that separates Persius

<sup>45</sup> 854A compares Aristophanes to a courtesan past her prime who pretends to be respectable, thus offending both the vulgar, who cannot tolerate her effrontery, and the wise, who despise her wickedness. The essay concludes (854D): οὐδενὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἶκε μετρίῳ τὴν ποιήσιν γεγραφέναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις, τὰ βλάσφημα δὲ καὶ πικρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις καὶ κακοῖσι.

<sup>46</sup> A possible comic parallel to this is Lucian's *Zeuxis*, in which the author tells of how the painter Zeuxis was upset by people who admired the novelty and subject matter of his painting of the centaur mother suckling children from both her human and equine breasts; they should rather have admired his brushstroke and painterly technique. By analogy, Lucian asks his audience to overlook the obvious part of his comic dialogue (the humor) and concentrate rather on its substance, which is rather like inviting people to admire the emperor's new clothes.

<sup>47</sup> Reckford (above, note 3) 504.

from the other satirists. For Persius more than other satirists reveals his doubts and his errors, dwells on the ways in which he himself does wrong, points to himself as a sinner who is trying to do right, who points to his own failure as proof of the sinfulness of others and the need for others to reform. He is a critic of himself first, trying to discover his own moral motivations; and trying simultaneously to decide to what extent this self-definition creates a satirist, and to what extent an autonomous human being.

### Sex, Money, and the Fool

Before I consider the dialogue poems, I need to discuss two main themes of the *Satires*: that one's attitude toward money and one's attitude toward sex prove one's madness. If money or physical desire create any stirrings or longings, they reveal corruption and one's distance from the truth. It is in this context that we can see the six satires as a coherent whole: not because the same themes are found throughout as some sort of leitmotiv, but because the attitude taken toward these vices changes at the end. *Satire 6* shows the author on his estate, employing his wealth, deciding not to worry about the desires of his heir but to spend as he sees fit. The author accepts wealth and family and personal desire, and in a vision of wealthy and uncommitted leisure worthy of Horace's Sabine farm he is seen to have retired from the profession of criticism. Now he directs his words to an outside audience, to Caesius Bassus.

There is one important aspect of Stoicism that goes hand-in-hand with the satires' presentation of the satirist and his satire as socially undesirable phenomena: the doctrine that all sins are equal, that none but the sage is good, that all errors entail equal guilt and are equal proof of the lack of perfection. For Persius, knowing his Stoicism as he does, knows that he is not perfect, and is therefore as morally guilty and as culpable as anyone whose extreme vices he chooses to castigate. It is possible to take the Stoic paradoxes too far; the Stoics do not say that all sins deserve equal punishment, or that all sinners are at the same remove from perfection. The Stoic on the road to perfection is closer to the goal of the sage, a level that he will achieve without his knowing it, than is the hardened criminal; the aspiring Stoic has more reason to hope that he will achieve perfection, but until he does achieve it he is a sinner.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, from the point of view of Stoic doctrine, the Stoic satirist is as surprising and paradoxical a creation as is the Cynic satirist: the Stoic is as guilty as those whose sins he describes. The satires of Persius are not then designed to criticize from a

<sup>48</sup> Rist (above, note 13) 90: "All ordinary men, therefore, are guilty. They are not, however, equally far from wisdom. Just as the man immediately below the surface, though in danger of drowning, is in fact nearer to safety than the wretch lying on the bottom, so the *προκόπτων* is nearer to virtue, in the sense that, if he continues along his present path, he will eventually become virtuous, even though he is still utterly vicious."

height, but to examine the satirist from within, in relation to society: it is Persius' recognition of his own faults, failures, and shortcomings that provides the basis for his criticism of others: Persius is in reality the most agreeable of satirists, because of his confession of his own faults.

The moral conclusions of the various satires tend to be all of a piece: you may think that you are healthy but you are not, if you have passion and greed within you. *Satire 3* ends with the author protesting that he is not sick because he has neither fever nor chill, though he speaks of his body and not of his soul. The interlocutor rebuts (3. 107-18):<sup>49</sup>

Should you chance to see some money, or should some fair-skinned girl next door smile a come-hither smile, does your heart beat as it should? [Now I paraphrase] Can you swallow unprocessed food? Do fear and anger excite you? You are sick, and you "say and do what insane Orestes would swear are the marks of an insane man."

This is not significantly different from the end of *Satire 4*, Socrates to Alcibiades (4. 47-50):<sup>50</sup>

Wicked man! If you grow pale at the sight of money, if you do whatever your penis has in mind, if you are usurious [a desperate approximation for a very obscure phrase], in vain do you lend your thirsty ears to the people.

So too the end of *Satire 5*, where the matter is more drawn out. The question is one of freedom, and how only a few have true freedom, which is mastery of emotion and the absence of greed and desire. The speaker seems to be Cornutus addressing his pupil Persius (5. 115-20):

sin tu, cum fueris nostrae paulo ante farinae,  
pelliculam ueterem retines et fronte politus  
astutam uapido serues in pectore uolpem,  
quae dederam supra relego funemque reduco.  
nil tibi concessit ratio; digitum exere, peccas,  
et quid tam paruum est?

Even though a little while before you were of our sack of flour, if you were to keep your old skin, wear a mask and keep within your empty heart a clever wolf, the possessions that I granted you above I take back and draw in my rope. Reason has granted you nothing: move a finger and you sin, and what is so small as this?

Any fault entails all faults. And it should be clear that Persius is not the Stoic paragon, but only the one who acknowledges and tries to live by the truth that gives freedom and life. Too many passages of moral reproof include the satirist himself, and these should not be taken merely as polite

<sup>49</sup> For the apportioning of the parts of this dialogue I follow R. Jenkinson, "Interpretations of Persius' Satires III and IV," *Latomus* 32 (1973) 534-49; cf. *infra*, n. 54.

<sup>50</sup> For the parts of this dialogue, see Jenkinson (previous note) 522-34; *infra*, n. 56.

ironies that soften his harsh message;<sup>51</sup> he is different from other sinners primarily in that he does not tell himself lies. From *Satire 2* (62–63, 68):

quid iuuat hoc, templi nostros inmittere mores  
et bona dis ex hac scelerata ducere pulpa?

. . .

peccat et haec, peccat.

What good does it do, to infect the temples with our vices and bring material offerings to the gods from this our sinful flesh? . . . It sins, yes, the flesh sins.

When someone wakes up the snoring Persius in *Satire 3* and sees him in all his faults, this someone says (30): *ego te intus et in cute noui*, "I know you inside, even under your skin." Even in the satirist there is a difference between inner reality and outward appearance, and in the satirist there is discrepancy between theory and practice. He chooses to dramatize scenes of his earlier careless life to reveal to all the need for change; in *Satire 4* the Alcibiades character rebukes Socrates, but also himself (23–24):

ut nemo in sese temptat descendere, nemo,  
sed praecedenti spectatur mantica tergo!

See how no one tries to burrow into himself, no one, but the pack is only seen on the back of the one before you!

Alcibiades and Socrates exchange insults (42–45):

caedimus inque uicem praebemus crura sagittis.  
uiuitur hoc pacto, sic novimus. ilia subter  
caecum uulnus habes, sed lato balteus auro  
praetegit.

"We slay, and in turn offer our legs to the arrows. This is the way it goes, this is the way we know." "Beneath your guts you have a hidden wound, but the belt with the big gold buckle keeps it safe."

There is something suggestive of Hawthorne in this description of hidden, ulcerous sin. The invitation to look inside is an invitation to look at emptiness. In *Satire 3* there is a powerful passage that suggests that the worst punishment a god could inflict on a mortal is introspection (3. 35–43):

magne pater diuum, saeuos punire tyrannos  
haut alia ratione uelis, cum dira libido  
mouerit ingenium feruenti tincta ueneno:  
uirtutem uideant intabescantque relictas.  
anne magis Siculi gemuerunt aera iuueni  
et magis auratis pendens laquearibus ensis

<sup>51</sup> As does Reckford (above, note 33) speaking of *Satire 3*.



purpureas subter ceruices terruit, "imus,  
imus praecipites" quam si sibi dicat et intus  
palleat infelix quod proxima nesciat uxor?

Great Father of the gods, may it be your desire to punish ravening tyrants by no other means than this, when dread desire imbued with simmering poison moves their minds: let them look on virtue and waste away as it abandons them. Surely the bronze bull of Sicily moaned less, and the sword that hung from gilded chandeliers terrified the royal purple necks below less, than when he says to himself "we are lost, we are utterly lost," and is luckless enough to turn all pale inside at what the wife next to him knows nothing about.

I think that the satirist presents himself as one who knows the horror of having looked inside.

Persius has little to do with society. For criticism or even observation of the world, the satirist substitutes an inner life and reality; the point that I wish to make is that such a view should be drawn to its logical conclusion. All that we really see in Persius is a satirist talking about himself, and drawing conclusions of a general application from his won experience. Stoicism is proof of everyone's error; errors show the fool, especially the passionate errors concerning money and sex. The satirist knows that there is no sage in real life (though he is willing to describe Cornutus as one). Nor would we expect that a student praising his master would ever say, "Thank you for making me perfect." All we read is, "Thank you for showing me the error of my ways." Persius elects then to show the error of his own ways to a small, perhaps non-existent audience. I find it hard to escape the conclusion that Persius is writing these satires for himself.

#### Inner Dialogue in *Satires* 3, 4, and 5

If we are willing to accept that the prologue speaks of the poet as one who is motivated by base desires and who imagines that his audience will only misunderstand him, and that the burden of *Satire* 1 is that the poet debates within himself whether he should write satire and for whom, then the stage is set for further inner dialogues, in which the doubts now raised can be more fully aired. *Satires* 2 and 6 are not of this type; the former is the simple and moving proclamation that the author knows how to make a proper prayer; the latter shows the satirist at his ease, addressing an epistle to a friend from the comfort of his country seclusion. There is a logical shape to the book; the flight of the satirist to the country is prepared for by internal debates concerning the utility of satire.

*Satire* 3 has the poet awakened, at a late hour, from a snoring hangover. The time is announced (by one identified as one of the poet's *comites*) and the poem continues (3. 7-9):

unus ait comitum. uerumne? itan? ocius adsit  
 huc aliquis. nemon? turgescit atrea bilis:  
 findor, ut Arcadiae pecuaria rudere credas.

. . . says one of my friends. Is it true? Is it so? Would that someone did come double quick. Is there no one? My black bile swells and I split in two; you'd think all the asses of Arcadia were braying. I reach for a book and a pen . . .

In reality, no one has spoken to him. He imagines the *comes* is present, but there is none. The poet is waking himself up; his hangover deludes him. This is not a critical fancy; you may parallel it in the first poem of Ausonius' *Daily Round*, for example.<sup>52</sup> The *comes* upbraids him (15–16): *o miser inque dies ultra miser, hucine rerum / uenimus*, "O hopeless man, more hopeless with the passing days, have we finally come to this?"<sup>53</sup> The youth attempts an evasive manoeuvre, but the *comes* continues his speech (19–24):

—an tali studeam calamo?—cui uerba? quid istas  
 succinis ambages? tibi luditur. effluis amens,  
 contemnere. sonat uitium percussa, maligne  
 respondet uiridi non cocta fidelia limo.  
 udum et molle lutum es, nunc nunc properandus et acri  
 fingendus sine fine rota.

"Am I to devote my time to a pen like this?" "For whom are all these words? Why do you sing me these riddles? The joke is at your expense. You are mad, unstable; you'll be despised. When the pot is tapped the flaw is heard, unfired green muck answers with a thud. You are dripping, sloppy clay; now, now is the time to hurry, to be spun endlessly on the whirring wheel."

This is the satire that continues with the prayer that the father of the gods punish tyrants by giving them a glimpse of the emptiness of their hearts; it ends with the *aduersarius fictiuus* objecting to the satirist's protestations of

<sup>52</sup> This poem, in Sapphic strophes, owes much in its conception to the introduction to Persius 3. The poet address one Parmeno, who sleeps too much because of his excesses in food and drink; but when we read at the end that the poet's verses may be responsible for his stupor, and that the iambus is now needed, we see that the poet is addressing himself (21–24):

Fors et haec somnum tibi cantilena  
 Sapphico suadet modulata uersu?  
 Lesbiae depelle modum quietis,  
 Acer iambe.

The parallel, but not the interpretation, is noticed in Robert E. Colton, "Echoes of Persius in Ausonius," *Latomus* 47 (1988) 875–82 (875–76).

<sup>53</sup> Harvey (above, note 23) 78–79, points out the difficulties in taking *uenimus* as a poetic plural, and follows Jenkinson in attributing 15–18 to the interlocutor, who speaks as one philosopher to another: "Is this what our study is for?" But, as Harvey points out, this is not inevitable.

health by saying that it is not the fever of his body but of his soul that is the issue; the satirist is mad. Persius depicts himself as being angry at the voice that has enumerated his faults.<sup>54</sup> Introspection has led to generalization; it is the poet's own sinfulness that generates the satire.

*Satire 4* also begins with a bit of self-examination, again featuring prominently the act of writing (4. 1–9):

Are you going to handle the affairs of the people? (Imagine that the bearded teacher is speaking, the one whom the hemlock killed.) Relying on what? Tell me that, favorite of Pericles the Great. No doubt intelligence and practical wisdom have come swift before your beard, and you know all about what to say and what not. So when the little people boil in upset and rage, your mind intends to make a silence in this astute crowd by the authority of your hand alone. What will you say then? "Citizens of Rome, consider that this is not just, this is badly done, this better."

How shall Socrates and Alcibiades speak to the citizens of Rome? Only if they are Roman. Here too we have the young student satirist receiving instruction from a grand old man of philosophy (it is not too much to see Cornutus lurking behind Socrates' beard). But this Socrates denies all of Alcibiades' qualifications: all he has is money and a good mother,<sup>55</sup> and Socrates says that much more important is the fact of Alcibiades' loose morals. When the conversation turns to a more general audience (no one looks inside, no one!) we hear of criticism of one man's greed delivered by a beat-out homosexual prostitute. Then the moral: we criticize and are criticized. We do not need to believe that the historical Persius reproves his historical self for sexual impropriety, but he is willing to be associated with vice, if only to show the depths from which he has come and the need for reform, first in himself and then, if they will listen, in others. This association of Persius with Alcibiades may seem unlikely at first; but the question *rem populi tractas?* which begins the satire may well be translated as "So you want to be a satirist?" and the satire concludes with Socrates telling Alcibiades to correct his own faults.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Jenkinson (above, note 49) 546–47, gives a convincing outline of the course of this satire, in which Persius speaks vv. 107–09, claiming his health; and his interlocutor details his faults in the concluding lines of the poem, vv. 109–18. Jenkinson concludes (549): "We may be intended to laugh at the expense of the *comes*, a laugh which undercuts to some extent the moral rigour of the satire—'exit pursued by a sluggard': or it may be that we are to understand a severe statement to the effect that *even now* the victim's own actions are confirming the message that is being delivered to him."

<sup>55</sup> Tradition has it that Persius was both a rich aristocrat and a young man devoted to his mother and his other female relations: *Vita Persi* 4–5: *eques Romanus, sanguine et affinitate primi ordinis uiris coniunctus*; 32–34: *fuit morum lenissimorum, uerecundiae uirginalis, famae pulchrae, pietatis erga matrem et sororem et amitam exempla sufficientis. fuit frugi, pudicus.*

<sup>56</sup> Jenkinson (above, note 49) 534 allots the parts of the dialogue as follows: Socrates speaks vv. 1–22, 33–41, 43b–46a, 47b–52; Alcibiades, vv. 23–32, 42–43a, 46b–47a.

*Satire 5* is typically taken as a dialogue between the satirist and Cornutus; it may however be Persius' confession to Cornutus, whose presence is imagined.<sup>57</sup> Here someone objects to the language of Persius' poetry (he has been too fanciful in his opening lines) and we see again Persius' nervousness about the very act of writing in verse; his is supposed to be unobtrusive, and yet also not plebeian. Persius' strange language is supposed to distance him both from the pompousness of contemporary poets and from the pedestrian thoughts of the vulgar. It is quite clear that the language is a private language, designed to represent the tortured thoughts of an introspective nature that is horrified at the contemplation of human nature. As the satirist describes it (5. 19–25):

I have no interest in this, that my page swell with black nonsense, suitable only as a mass for the fire. *We are speaking in private*. At the instigation of our Muse we give our hearts to you to be shaken out, and it is good to show you, dear friend, how great a part of our soul is yours, Cornutus. Feel my pulse, you who make careful distinctions between what rings solid and what is the mere plaster of a painted tongue. And so would I dare put aside those hundred voices that with a pure voice I may draw forth how much of you I have fixed in the folds of my bosom, and that words may reveal all that lies ineffably hidden in my inner recesses.

Persius goes on to describe those ethical truths that he learned from his master; he offers them back to the one who taught him. He knows that no one else will care; tell this to a centurion, the poem ends, and he'll laugh and say a hundred Greeks aren't worth a plugged nickle. It may be some sort of modern critical truism that language serves not to unite but to divide, that language serves to isolate a group of people with shared interests and not to communicate to everyone; but I think that in Persius we have an example of a consciously enunciated literary and stylistic theory that makes the poet the primary recipient of his own poetry and language.

But there remains the logical conundrum: why write? Isn't Persius still convicting himself of passion and pride by writing poetry? What good does he do to write to himself? If we had only the first five poems there would be no very good answer to this question. But the sixth provides the answer in the depiction of a Persius who has decided, after all of his introspective angst, not to worry, to take it easy, to live with himself and without the memories of the past and the shadow of his teacher. First, I offer an outline of the progress of the book through *Satire 5*.

*Satire 1* asks whether satire does any good for the people at large and the answer is no. They can read something else. *Satire 2* is the most serious of the poems, and comes first after the introductory satire. Its theme: I can make a holy prayer by offering truth and sincerity to the gods, even if the flesh is sinful. The poem makes a strong distinction between

<sup>57</sup> See Paratore's reservations; *supra*, n. 35.

willing mind and weak flesh. *Satire 3* has the poet remembering a dissolute youth and childhood, and moving from a recollection of his own errors to a general contemplation of those who do not realize their errors even in their old age. *Satire 4*, the dialogue between the Roman Socrates and the Roman Alcibiades, asks whether the author will be involved with the affairs of the people, whether he will criticize other people's ways? The revulsion felt toward things vulgar leaves the satirist unwilling to enter the public forum either as a politician or as a satirist. To criticize is to expose your faults to view. *Satire 5*, the satirist's secret address to Cornutus, discusses freedom, not as found in politics and the illusions of social and political liberty but in devotion to study and Stoic precepts. Various substitutes for the virtuous life pass in review: Greed and Virtue pull in opposite directions (5. 154-55): *duplici in diuersum scinderis hamo. / huncine an hunc sequeris?* The life of virtue demands separation from society. *Satire 6* comes as a logical conclusion to all of this.

Now the mood of *Satire 6* has always been regarded as different, and Stoicism seems not to make an appearance.<sup>58</sup> The language is the same, Persius' private language, but its direction is not that of a satire. It is much more like an epistle, and we can include that, as well as scazon and satire, in the *satura* of Persius. *Satire 6* opens with an evocation of a beautiful natural setting, the port of Luna on the Ligurian coast. It finds the satirist resolved to live within the limits, but to the limits, of his estate. He overrides objections that spending may diminish the heirs' estate; he cares little for heirs; they should be glad with what they get; he is not going to live on nettles and smoked hog jowls for the benefit of an heir's immoral descendant (6. 62-74). Should he reduce himself to a skeleton for that? (6. 73-77): *mihi trama figurae / sit reliqua. ast illi tremat omento popa uenter?* The conclusion is brief (6. 75-80):

Sell your soul for cash, shake down every corner of the world, buy and sell in sharp practice, be second to none in buying foreign slaves right off the block. Double your investments. "I have; now it's triple, quadruple; now tenfold it comes into my purse. Tell me where to stop!" Chrysippus, the solution to your paradox of the heap has now been found.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Harvey (above, note 23) 1: "Stoicism is most noticeable in *Satires 3* and *5*, but it runs through all his other poems with the exception of *Satire 6*."

<sup>59</sup> The suggestion of Hugo Beikircher, *Kommentar zur VI. Satire des A. Persius Flaccus*, *Weiner Studien*, Beiheft 1 (Wien-Köln-Graz 1969) 124-25, that the satirist takes the interlocutor's *depunge ubi sistam* of v. 79 as the protasis of a condition to which he then supplies his own apodosis is attractive: "'Show me where to stop . . . ' . . . and the solution of the sorites argument has been found." Persius implies that greed is insatiable, and that, just as one cannot define precisely at what point a heap is achieved by addition, the greedy person cannot tell when he has enough. (Harvey *ad loc.* confuses the issue, imagining that if 100 grains of sand make a heap, it cannot be said that 101 do not; rather, if 100 grains of sand make a heap, why not 99?) This is from the greedy person's point of view; but another interpretation is possible. To the moralist speaking of money, there is a solution to the sorites conundrum:

The satirist enjoys his wealth and prosperity with Stoic intelligence. Mastering wealth instead of being mastered by wealth is one of the signs of the Stoic sage that has been alluded to all along. The interlocutor is in thrall to Greed and Ambition. The satirist bids him go to Hell, and there he cheerfully goes. The satirist does not try to correct; he has found his rest and retirement despite the errors of the world.

It may be that *Satire 1* is the last of the *Satires*, and *Satire 5* is the first. As Reckford describes the chronology of the *Satires*, we can see the progression from a Horatian view of satire, to a new conception, in which the satirist must address the question of why he should write satire.<sup>60</sup> But the book itself shows the satirist moving from his new, Stoic conception of satire to the mild-mannered and Horatian one; finally, he slips the noose of satire altogether, and, in imitation of Horace, adopts a pose of ease and comfort. Apart from society, he is no longer worried about the things that had so animated him. Money is no problem now, and does not show him to be the fool. While he is not said to be married, he now contemplates an heir, without worrying too much, in good Socratic fashion, about how he might be involved in the welfare of his children. Sex and money do not make him a fool; he is now separate from the crowd; he has learned how to be human, in his Stoic sense, by retiring from society and from the criticism of society. Now he does not worry about writing. He has a specific addressee, Caesius Bassius, also imagined to be sharing an idyllic retreat, in Horace's Sabinum. There is a touch of self-congratulation, almost of gloating, as he now undertakes to see humanity from a distance, to see people not through the glasses of his own past but as people who will never have his peace. But peace has been found.

### Conclusion

The book of Persius' *Satires* presents a coherent progression of an introspective critic of society, who looks within himself for an understanding of the nature of vice, who comes to see that he is a part of society (with wealth and aristocratic position), but who preserves himself by removing himself from it. He worries about poetry because it is self-aggrandizing, but he ultimately comes to live with it. He puts the errors of his past behind him. Society and experience only serve to put into sharp relief his own need for the truth; the goal of his preaching is only himself.

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any amount over what you already have (that is, any display of greed) creates the heap (which is too much). Cf. Epictetus *Ench.* 39: τοῦ γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον ὄρος οὐθείς ἐστιν. It should also be noted that the Stoics themselves considered the argument fallacious, and allowed the wise man to suspend judgement in such questions; cf. Rist (above, note 13) 145-46.

<sup>60</sup> Reckford (above, note 3) 503-04.

But more than this, I do not suggest that this is just Persius' idiosyncratic interpretation of what satire is about. After the days of Lucilius, in which the example of the self-defeating and self-parodic *Menippean Satires* of Varro comes to the fore and verse satire abandons politics in favor of the ethical generalities of the diatribe, satire becomes a genre that creates unified books that detail the inability of a satirist to correct his society. The satirist retires in the face of human and social error; there is no salvation for the satirist in society, and he can only take his place outside of it. He cannot really understand other people, so he tries to understand himself. He knows that a satirist is a social evil; he makes fun of himself and his quest even as he hopes to find some peace outside of the social and political order. Stoicism is an ideal philosophy to treat in a genre so conceived; Stoicism in Persius is not an imposition on the genre, but a reasonable working out of its inner characteristics.

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Petronius *Satyricon* 46. 8:  
*litterae thesaurum est*

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To raise a question about a passage in Petronius that has not received critical investigation when so many vexed readings and interpretations abound in that text may appear unwelcome. Yet Petronius' narrative does not reliably furnish its reader with a set of stable meanings, nor is its thematic organization beyond dispute, not necessarily because of the fragmentary state of the text. What has not received critical inquiry may deserve to be scrutinized, if one agrees that analysis can function as a way of moving from the particular to the whole, as well as a process dismantling the whole into its various components. Petronius' description of Trimalchio's dinner party, it has long been noted, presents speakers of Latin whose conversations undermine and dissolve classical grammar and syntax. One may also observe that the *Satyricon* as we have it also accomplishes a dissolution of the expectations of its reader for a classical text; subject, level of style, length, characterization, the level of reality represented, all are in some ways deviations from the tradition of literary composition. Operating within the system, Petronius seeks to subvert its values whilst preserving much of its old shell, such as his parody of higher forms of literature like epic.

The passage in question, the end of the speech of Echion the fireman,<sup>1</sup> seems to offer an example on the level of semantics of what the text of the *Cena* in particular, not to mention the whole of the *Satyricon*, displays on the level of significance and interpretation: an example of doubleness of meaning. At Trimalchio's table, things are not as they seem to be; allomorphic displays of food proliferate, Trimalchio's dress at dinner sends false and contradictory signals of social status, and Corinthian bronze can be something other than bronze from Corinth.<sup>2</sup> Doubleness of meaning parallels double-meaning words and phrases. Comment has frequently been addressed to the grammatical and syntactical vagaries of the men at the banquet, not least Echion. What they mean to say is often clear, but how

<sup>1</sup> Echion is a *centonarius*; Lewis and Short's "rag dealer" has been superseded by "fireman who used mats for extinguishing fires" in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., *Sat.* 49; 32; 50. 2-4.

they express their thoughts is anomalous.<sup>3</sup> One should perhaps also observe that what at first appears to be an unambiguous statement can be read in more than one way, just as the pillows are not filled with everyday stuffing but with scarlet or purple material.<sup>4</sup>

In the passage under discussion, Echion has been generally understood to conclude his remarks with a banal assertion about the relative merits of education, that is, proficiency in literature, and a trade: "*litterae thesaurum est et artificium numquam moritur.*" His remarks to the rhetor Agamemnon have included mention of his son, "*cicaro meus,*" who presently will be old enough to discard the somewhat unsatisfactory tutors he now enjoys and begin work with the professor of rhetoric with whom Echion converses. It is clear that the conversational gambit which chooses to talk of children's education with teachers is at work here. Echion either intentionally or unintentionally slights literature and things literary, including professors of literature. Alternatively, Petronius as author snipes at literature through his character Echion. One can make out a case for Echion doing this intentionally if one takes his opening statement to Agamemnon in a less than friendly way: "*non es nostrae fasciae et ideo pauperorum uerba derides,*" 46. 1. Note that here at the outset of his remarks to the literary authority Agamemnon Echion perpetrates a "mistake" in Latin, the genitive plural *pauperorum*; are we getting a signal from the writer to watch the *uerba* of this speaker? Is Echion possibly baiting Agamemnon with his "mistake"?

Echion puts down literature in the following ways. He mildly insults Agamemnon for being *fatuus prae litteras*, he is overly casual about the arrangements he makes for his son's tutoring at home,<sup>5</sup> and he displays vulgar over-estimation of the benefits to accrue from activity in barbering, being an auctioneer, "*aut certe causicum.*"<sup>6</sup> The equation of trade and profession is a sign of his social class. His son "*litteris satis inquinatus est.*" The choice of word here is not flattering to Agamemnon's role in life. The example which Echion draws to his son's attention is that of Philcros, a *causicus* who because he worked hard on learning has escaped his servile background and can take on in court that touchstone of success in this circle, Norbanus himself. He concludes his statements to Agamemnon with the passage under review, "*litterae thesaurum est et artificium numquam moritur,*" which also serves to conclude his words of wisdom to his son as well, it would appear.

Of the first clause it has long been remarked that Echion uses the wrong gender for *thesaurus*, and that this is in keeping with his educational level

<sup>3</sup> E. g., *Sat.* 46. 5; 38. 13.

<sup>4</sup> 38. 5; see also *ius cenae*, 35. 7, with the pun on *ius* "law / sauce."

<sup>5</sup> 46. 5-7.

<sup>6</sup> 46. 7. The note of Martin S. Smith, *Petronii Arbitri Cena Trimalchionis* (Oxford 1975) 124, on the comic force of "*aut certe causicum,*" is most helpful.

and outlook.<sup>7</sup> It is generally thought that the sentiment conveyed is that "a literary education is a gold-mine" rather than "an inaccessible deposit." One may note that *thesaurus* is not the word one might expect Echion to use if he were talking about his own financial resources; it is an elevated word, much in keeping with the following "*artificium numquam moritur*." It has not been generally noted that Echion's sentiment about the value of literary education is somewhat out of keeping with the speaker's assertions and attitudes elsewhere in this rather extended bit of portrayal of a denizen of a lower class.<sup>8</sup> Yet one commentary does think it necessary to assert that there is no antithesis in Echion's peroration: *litterae* is "book-learning," *artificium* "practical training."<sup>9</sup> The two terms are in the mind of the speaker logically contrasting items of a different order. The proverbial nature of the remark is also noted by commentators, and Otto lists this as the sole example of an apparently low-class sentiment.<sup>10</sup> The over-all impression of character conveyed by the language of Echion is that of someone who can speak effectively in clichés whilst perpetrating a fair number of solecisms.

Behind Echion stands Petronius, and it is not inconsonant with his technique that he can be making unexpected points through his speakers, points about social status that are of course entirely invisible to his characters, and also referential statements which may have more than one meaning for them and for the reader. The expected significance to be recuperated from "*litterae thesaurum est*" is that the speaker is on a low educational level (the gender of *thesaurus*) and that his mind is at home in banalities (the real value of a trade versus the symbolic or cultural value of literary pursuits, which are elevated, high-flown). Echion seems to be paying lip service to the value of literature ("a gold-mine") but may also be saying that it is an inaccessible and hence useless treasure, especially in contrast to a trade. A third and quite unexpected meaning may also be recovered.

The word *litterae* has in its plural the signification of scholarship, what is learned from books. As such the singular verb *est*, "is," might be seen as normal for the language level of this speaker, e. g., "letters is a gold-mine," rather than as an elevated reversal of nouns along the line of "the people is

<sup>7</sup> Smith (*supra*, n. 6) 124-25.

<sup>8</sup> Not in, e. g., P. Perrochat, *Petrone: Le festin de Trimalcion: commentaire exégétique et critique* (Paris 1939); W. B. Sedgwick, *The Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius* (Oxford 1925); or Smith. A. Salenius, *Die Griechen und das Griechische in Petrons Cena* (Helsingfors 1927) 29, has a good characterization of Echion's language in 46. 7. Obviously *thesaurus* in this context does not imply exclusively the idea of a hidden treasure the usufruct of which is unavailable, but also the idea of a store from which one may draw, as often in Greek: see e. g. Pindar, *Pythian* 6. 5 ff., and probably Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 23 ff.

<sup>9</sup> E. T. Sage and B. B. Gilleland (New York 1969) 169.

<sup>10</sup> A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890), s. v. *litterae* (2).

grass."<sup>11</sup> The gender mistake in *thesaurus* would re-inforce this. The plural *litterae* in the sense found here is notionally singular. In statements involving *est* and *sunt* as copula it is common for the copula to be assimilated to the number of the predicate rather than the subject, such as in "*amantium irae amoris integratio est*," Terence, *Andria* 555.<sup>12</sup> This is the way in which Echion's discourse has been interpreted, on the assumption that *est* is from *sum, esse*. However, keeping *thesaurum* as accusative and taking *est* as third person singular indicative active of *edo, esse* yields an interesting result. The plural *litterae* still is the subject of a singular verb, but not the copula *est*. This would be the only occurrence in Latin in which a collective noun in the plural, if indeed it be notionally singular in Echion's way of speaking Latin, is the subject of a singular verb; the opposite often occurs, e. g. with *pars, exercitus*, and so on. But the text is so rich in syntactical and grammatical peculiarities in this section of the *Cena* that one more oddity should not cause undue alarm.

Taking *est* as from *edo* removes Echion's solecism of *thesaurus* as neuter. He obviously still has trouble with gender; see 46. 7, "*emi . . . aliquot libra*," where again the "blunder" has to do with literary things. What is more important than getting *thesaurus* straight is that Echion's sentiment at the conclusion of his discourse is in keeping with his superficial reverence for literature in Agamemnon's presence and his underlying contempt for it and him. His grammatical anomalies are often perpetrated on words relating to education and literature. *Edo, esse* in the sense of "to consume, devour" of inanimate objects like one's treasure is poetical,<sup>13</sup> and the impact of such a phrase containing such an egregious blunder of verb number coming to an Agamemnon from an Echion is unmistakable.

According to this interpretation, *et* will have the meaning of the adversative, connecting the logically contrasting items of *artificium* which receives Echion's approbation, and *litterae* which receives his contempt; in this context, namely the scheme of values of Echion, these two words are opposites.

Doubtless Echion is a more complex character than we might on first reading suppose him to be. How much does Petronius deconstruct his text through him, and through him the Neronian institution and practice of *litterae*? What emerges from Echion's mouth is a many-edged remark: "the pursuit of literature eats away your money," which I take to mean not the expenditure one spends on one's child to hire *grammatici* but the expenses involved in the practice of literature; and again, "literature is a gold-mine,"

<sup>11</sup> Allen and Greenough, *New Latin Grammar* (Boston 1903) 317d, note 2; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*<sup>2</sup> II. 1 (Hannover 1912) 40-41.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Allen and Greenough 316b.

<sup>13</sup> Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*; see also the examples in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

in itself ambiguous: a source of wealth, and, perhaps in subordinate position, wealth that is inaccessible for practical purposes. This observation it is hoped contributes another measure of doubleness to a text which seems to proliferate meanings in an exceptionally unstinted way.

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## Martial et la pensée de Sénèque

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Plusieurs études récentes se sont attachées à analyser ce que l'on peut appeler la "philosophie" de Martial, qui n'est jamais exposée d'une manière systématique (le genre de l'épigramme ne s'y prêtait guère), mais qui transparait en maint endroit, lorsque le poète, dans des pièces célèbres, évoque l'idée qu'il se fait du bonheur.<sup>1</sup> Parfois, on a voulu retrouver dans son oeuvre des thèmes empruntés à la "diatribe," c'est-à-dire des lieux communs traités mille fois, et qui n'appartiennent plus à aucune école en particulier, ainsi le thème de la richesse, de la fuite du temps, des tourments d'amour, de l'ambition, de la mort, simples prétextes à développements ingénieux ou brillants, empruntés à autrui et non pas l'expression d'une méditation personnelle.<sup>2</sup> Plus souvent on a insisté sur la fréquence de formules pouvant se rattacher à l'épicurisme, qui contrastent avec les jugements nuancés, ou franchement défavorables portés sur le cynisme<sup>3</sup> ou le stoïcisme.<sup>4</sup> Tout cela montre, à l'évidence, que Martial n'a pas été indifférent à ce qui fut l'une des grandes préoccupations de son siècle, l'attention accordée à l'enseignement que dispensaient les philosophes. Nous savons, par exemple, l'estime que témoignait Pline le Jeune au stoïcien Euphratès,<sup>5</sup> qui se trouvait à Rome et donnait des conférences publiques précisément pendant les années où Martial composait la plus grande partie de son oeuvre, sous le règne de Domitien. On peut donc se demander si le poète a pris dans l'air ambiant quelques formules, pour en faire des sujets d'épigrammes, sans trop se soucier du système auquel elles se rattachaient, ou si, partant de "fleurettes," ces *flosculi* dont parle Sénèque, cueillies dans les oeuvres des grands philosophes d'autrefois,<sup>6</sup> il en fait l'objet d'une

<sup>1</sup> *Epigrammes* I, 55; II, 90; X, 47.

<sup>2</sup> L. Deschamps, "L'influence de la diatribe dans l'oeuvre de Martial," in *Atti del Congresso di Studi Vespasiani*, pp. 353-68.

<sup>3</sup> *Epigrammes* IV, 53.

<sup>4</sup> Praef. au livre I; I, 8; XI, 56; VII, 69, où les stoïciens sont traités de "*stoica turba*." Pour l'épicurisme de Martial, v. W. Heilmann, "Wenn ich frei sein könnte für ein wirkliches Leben ... Epikureisches bei Martial," in *Antike und Abendland* 30 (1984) 47-61, et T. Adamik, "Martial and the *vita beatorum*," in *Annales Universitatis Budapestinensis* 3 (1975) 55-69.

<sup>5</sup> P. Grimal, "Deux figures de la Correspondance de Pline, le philosophe Euphratès et le rhéteur Isée," in *Rome. La littérature et l'histoire* (Rome 1986) 389-99.

<sup>6</sup> *Ad Luc.* 33, 1.

méditation personnelle, cohérente, à laquelle seule la forme de l'épigramme donne une apparence de décousu.

Lorsque Sénèque entreprend d'écrire à Lucilius des lettres de direction morale, ses premiers mots sont pour inviter son ami à méditer sur le temps, à ne pas gaspiller ce bien mouvant, qu'il est si facile de perdre,<sup>7</sup> et, une douzaine d'années plus tôt, il avait présenté à Paulinus, dans le traité *Sur la brièveté de la vie*, des réflexions semblables. C'est là chez lui une démarche centrale:<sup>8</sup> la vie philosophique, celle qui conduit à la sagesse, n'est pas faite d'inaction, elle consiste dans la prise de conscience du temps, de chaque instant, sans quoi le loisir n'est que *desidiosa occupatio*, un "esclavage oisif."<sup>9</sup> Cette conquête du temps commence par le refus des *occupationes*, de tout ce qui enchaîne l'âme.

Les mêmes idées se retrouvent dans plusieurs pièces de Martial, ainsi lorsqu'il dit, en s'adressant à Julius, "bientôt tu auras vu deux fois trente consuls, et ta vie compte à peine quelques jours."<sup>10</sup> De même, la dernière phrase du traité *Sur la brièveté de la vie*: "les funérailles de ces gens (ces vieillards) devraient être faites aux cierges et aux flambeaux, comme si leur vie avait été très courte."<sup>11</sup> Du traité à l'épigramme, les formules se répondent: "Peut-on aussi sottement oublier notre condition mortelle que de remettre à la cinquantième ou à la soixantième année de bonnes résolutions, et de vouloir commencer sa vie à un âge que peu de gens ont atteint," dit Sénèque,<sup>12</sup> et Martial: "ce n'est pas être sage, crois-moi, que de dire 'je vivrai'; il est trop tard de vivre demain; vis aujourd'hui."<sup>13</sup>

L'énumération des obligations mondaines fait l'objet d'une page entière, chez Sénèque, qui fait le compte de tout le temps que l'on a donné à un créancier, à une maîtresse, à un grand personnage, à un client, que l'on a consacré à une scène de ménage, à la punition d'un esclave, à des courses dans la Ville, pour accomplir les devoirs de la vie sociale.<sup>14</sup> Tout ce développement est repris et précisé par Martial dans une pièce du livre X,<sup>15</sup> qui énumère complaisamment les *officia*, y inclut le temps perdu à écouter un poète et ajoute: "tantôt la première heure, tantôt la cinquième m'arrachent à moi-même . . ." Sénèque disait de même: "rappelle-toi . . . quand tu auras pu disposer de toi-même."

S'adressant à Collinus, Martial lui dit: "si tu es sage, Collinus, utilise tes jours tout entiers, et dis-toi toujours que c'est le dernier celui qui est

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 1, 1.

<sup>8</sup> P. Grimal, "Place et rôle du temps dans la philosophie de Sénèque," in *Rome . . . cit.* pp. 585-602.

<sup>9</sup> *De breuitate uitae* 12, 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Epigrammes* I, 15, 3-4.

<sup>11</sup> *De breu. uit.* 20, 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 3, 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Epigrammes* I, 15, 11-12.

<sup>14</sup> *De breu. uit.* 3, 2.

<sup>15</sup> X, 70.



là.<sup>16</sup> On pourrait penser à un souvenir d'Horace, et au "carpe diem," si l'on ne trouvait chez Sénèque des expressions plus proches. Ainsi, dans l'un des premières lettres à Lucilius: "Aussi faut-il ordonner chaque jour comme s'il fermait la marche et soit le terme et le couronnement de la vie."<sup>17</sup> Et, quelques mois plus tard, il revenait sur cette idée: "aussi, Lucilius, hâte-toi de vivre et dis-toi bien que chaque jour est une vie entière."<sup>18</sup>

Sénèque, ici, s'autorise d'Epicure, qui considérait comme une douloureuse folie de "commencer sans cesse sa vie,"<sup>19</sup> c'est-à-dire de vivre toujours dans l'attente, d'être "suspendu" au futur, par l'espoir aussi bien que par la crainte. On sait que, pour Epicure, le véritable plaisir consistait dans l'appréhension du passé.<sup>20</sup> Sénèque reprend l'idée dans son traité *Des bienfaits* et, se référant explicitement à Epicure, constate que les plaisirs passés sont les seuls qu'on ne puisse nous ôter<sup>21</sup> "*quod praeteriit inter tuta sepositum est.*" Cette formule se retrouve dans l'épigramme de Martial adressée à Antonius Primus, qui a échappé aux orages de la guerre civile et a su se retirer avant qu'il soit trop tard. Dans son "heureuse vieillesse," "il regarde derrière lui les jours passés et les années désormais en sûreté," *tutos annos.*<sup>22</sup> Martial se souvient-il d'Epicure? Peut-être, mais, plus probablement de Sénèque, qui, ici encore, lui sert de médiateur. La médiation de Sénèque est d'autant plus probable que, une fois encore, la même idée apparaît dans le traité *Sur la brièveté de la vie*,<sup>23</sup> où le développement est fort proche de celui de Martial. L'homme qui a mal employé sa vie ne peut regarder son passé sans souffrance. Antonius Primus, au contraire, ne voit là "aucune journée déplaisante ni pesante; il n'y en eut aucune dont il ne veuille se souvenir."

Cette conception du passé ne cessa d'être présente à l'esprit de Sénèque; on la rencontre dès la *Consolation à Marcia*,<sup>24</sup> quelques années plus tard dans la *Consolation à Polybe*<sup>25</sup> et dans l'une des dernières lettres que nous possédions.<sup>26</sup> Elle est profondément intégrée dans la pensée de Sénèque, inséparable de sa conception du temps, celle, précisément, à laquelle nous avons vu que se réfère Martial.

Le caractère irremplaçable de l'instant, le refus des *occupationes*, qui s'emparent de l'âme, la prise de possession du passé conduisent Martial à méditer, à son tour, sur la mort. Et il le fait de la même manière que

<sup>16</sup> *Epigrammes* V, 54, 4.

<sup>17</sup> *Ad Luc.* 12, 8.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 101, 10.

<sup>19</sup> Usener, fr. 493; 494. *Ad Luc.* 23, 9; 13, 16.

<sup>20</sup> V. Cicéron, *De finibus* I, 62.

<sup>21</sup> *De beneficiis* III, 4, 2 et, de nouveau, VI, 2, 2.

<sup>22</sup> X, 23, 3, où *tutos*, donné par deux familles de manuscrits, est justifié par le texte de Sénèque ci-dessus, contre *totos*, qui figure dans une autre tradition. Cf. aussi Martial X, 36.

<sup>23</sup> 10, 2.

<sup>24</sup> 22, 1: *nihil nisi quod praeterit certum est.*

<sup>25</sup> 10, 2 et suiv.

<sup>26</sup> *Ad Luc.* 99, 4.

Sénèque, qui, lui-même, sur ce point encore, se souvient d'Epicure. Celui-ci avait dit l'absurdité de certains qui, par dégoût de la vie, ou par peur de la mort, se précipitent dans celle-ci.<sup>27</sup> Lucrèce avait répété que cette crainte était à l'origine de bien des suicides.<sup>28</sup> Martial, lui, a enclos l'idée dans un distique dont le pentamètre souligne le caractère irrationnel d'une telle conduite:

"Tandis qu'il fuyait un ennemi, Fannius se donna la mort.  
N'est-ce pas là folie, dites-moi, pour ne pas mourir, de mourir?"<sup>29</sup>

Ce drame, sur lequel nous sommes assez mal renseignés, mais qui a été évoqué à deux reprises par Sénèque,<sup>30</sup> n'avait, sous Domitien, aucune actualité; il était seulement un *exemplum*, et c'est bien comme tel que le présente Martial, comme s'il avait le désir d'illustrer moins la doctrine d'Epicure que les propos de Sénèque lui-même, à qui nous devons de connaître celle-ci.<sup>31</sup>

Cohérent avec lui-même, en accord avec Sénèque, Martial récuse un héroïsme qui se traduit par un suicide. Il félicite son ami Décianus de ne pas acheter la gloire au prix de sa vie et de son sang<sup>32</sup>—bien que Décianus se réclame du stoïcisme. La lettre à Lucilius dans laquelle est rappelé le mot d'Epicure sur l'absurdité d'un suicide par crainte de mourir montre que Sénèque soutenait déjà la thèse adoptée par Martial. "Un homme énergique et sage, disait-il, ne doit point fuir de la vie mais en sortir."<sup>33</sup> Comme Sénèque, encore, Martial trouve, en revanche, justifié un suicide si une maladie détruit lentement l'être<sup>34</sup> et la mort de son ami Festus, qu'il loue, est de celles dont Sénèque aurait pu faire l'apologie.<sup>35</sup>

L'une des conditions de la sagesse est, en effet, la sérénité devant la mort. Ne pas la craindre est l'un des fondements de la philosophie épicurienne, et la formule d'Epicure lui-même, pour définir cette forme suprême de sagesse—*meditare* (ou *meditari*?) *mortem* (s'exercer à mourir)—est l'une de celles que Sénèque adopte<sup>36</sup> et qu'il s'efforce de pratiquer. Pour cela, il convient de "mourir en esprit," c'est-à-dire de rendre aussi légères que

<sup>27</sup> Usener, fr. 496; 497; 498.

<sup>28</sup> *De rerum natura* III, 79–82. Cf. Ovide, *Métamorphoses* VII, 604, mais dans un contexte assez différent.

<sup>29</sup> II, 80. Il s'agit, probablement, de Fannius Caepio, auteur d'une conjuration contre Auguste, accusé par Tibère; condamné, il aurait réussi à s'enfuir, grâce à un esclave; finalement dénoncé par un autre, il se serait tué, au moment d'être arrêté. Il est possible qu'il s'agisse d'un homonyme, qui avait suivi Sextus Pompée pendant la guerre de Sicile, en 38 av. J.C. Tout cela reste assez incertain.

<sup>30</sup> *De clementia* I, 9, 6, et *De uita beata* V, 4, 5.

<sup>31</sup> *Ad Luc.* 24, 22 et suiv.

<sup>32</sup> *Epigrammes* I, 8.

<sup>33</sup> *Ad Luc.* 24, 25.

<sup>34</sup> *Epigrammes* I, 78.

<sup>35</sup> *Ad Luc.* 70, 14, où est justifié le suicide d'un malade inguérissable.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 26, 8–10. Usener, fr. 205.

possible les chaînes qui nous attachent à la vie. Cette omniprésence de la mort, Martial l'illustre par une épigramme dont le sens n'est pas immédiatement clair:

"On m'appelle 'la mie'; ce que je suis, tu le vois, un petit pavillon;  
d'ici, tu peux voir, regarde, la tholos des Césars.  
Ecrase les lits, demande du vin, prends des roses, enduis-toi de nard;  
un dieu lui-même t'invite à te souvenir de la mort."<sup>37</sup>

Il s'agit certainement de la *mica aurea* située, par les Régionnaires, sur le Coelius, dans la Région II, et dont Saint-Jérôme nous dit qu'elle fut construite par Domitien, en 94-95.<sup>38</sup> De là, si l'on ne pouvait apercevoir le tombeau des premiers Césars, le Mausolée d'Auguste, au Champ de Mars, on pouvait certainement voir celui que Domitien avait fait élever pour Vespasien et Titus, à l'emplacement de sa maison natale,<sup>39</sup> qui se trouvait sur les hauteurs du Quirinal, et dominait la Ville. Domitien avait construit son pavillon très probablement sur une partie de l'espace occupé encore par les jardins de la Maison d'or de Néron. La "*mica*" et l'édifice funèbre se trouvaient ainsi face à face, dialogue du plaisir et de la mort. Martial renouvelait ainsi, en l'accompagnant d'une flatterie ingénieuse, le thème si souvent traité, que nous rencontrons dans le Festin de Trimalchion, par exemple, lorsque le maître de maison fait apporter sur les tables un squelette d'argent,<sup>40</sup> un usage qui, nous dit-on, remonte à l'Égypte ancienne,<sup>41</sup> et qui n'a rien d'épicurien! Martial l'insère pourtant dans sa méditation sur la mort. Oser regarder celle-ci en face, au milieu des plaisirs n'a pas pour dessein de rendre plus vive la jouissance du présent, mais est une forme de liberté. Cela aussi, Sénèque l'avait dit.<sup>42</sup> Martial lui fait écho dans ce que l'on pourrait appeler l'un de ses "sonnets du bonheur": parmi tous les biens qui rendent la vie heureuse, le plus grand de tous, c'est "de ne pas craindre le jour ultime ni le souhaiter."<sup>43</sup> Nous retrouvons ici l'un des idées les plus chères à Sénèque: celle de la mort "en esprit," conséquence de la liberté intérieure que donne une juste appréciation des valeurs.

Lorsqu'il énumère à son ami Maximus les conditions de la véritable liberté, Martial lui dit:

"Tu seras libre, si tu refuses, Maximus, de dîner dehors,  
si du raisin de Véies apaise ta soif . . ."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>37</sup> II, 59.

<sup>38</sup> V. Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, au mot *mica aurea*.

<sup>39</sup> Id., *ibid.* au mot *Gentis Flaviae (templum)*. Entre le Caelius et le mausolée d'Auguste s'interposaient plusieurs hauteurs, notamment l'avancée du Quirinal vers le Capitole, détruite quelques années plus tard par Trajan (à l'emplacement de la Colonne).

<sup>40</sup> *Satiricon* 34, 8.

<sup>41</sup> Hérodote, II, 78.

<sup>42</sup> *Ad Luc.* 24, 11 et suiv., dans un passage d'inspiration épicurienne.

<sup>43</sup> X, 47.

<sup>44</sup> II, 53; cf. II, 69.

puis il énumère les différentes sortes de plaisirs que permet la pauvreté. Sénèque affirme, à plusieurs reprises, que "une grande partie de la liberté consiste en un ventre bien discipliné."<sup>45</sup>

Ce qui revient à dire que seule peut assurer la liberté, donc l'indépendance de la personne, une stricte discipline des passions. Celle-ci n'est possible que dans la mesure où l'on a renoncé à tous les biens et, de même, que l'on est mort "en esprit," de même, il existe une pauvreté libératrice:

"Si je te salue désormais par ton nom, toi que, naguère, j'appelais 'prince' et 'maître,' ne crois pas que ce soit insolence: j'ai racheté ma liberté en vendant tous mes bagages."<sup>46</sup>

On aurait tort de penser que Martial désigne ainsi, d'un terme familier, les ustensiles de son ménage. Nous voyons, par Sénèque, que ce mot s'applique aux objets matériels qui encombrant la vie: "Allons, sois énergique et ramasse tes bagages; rien de ce que nous possédons n'est nécessaire."<sup>47</sup> Et ailleurs, cette *sententia*: "personne ne peut nager avec ses bagages."<sup>48</sup> Ces bagages, ce sont tous les biens de fortune.

Ailleurs, il est vrai, Martial semble penser que le bonheur quotidien exige la possession de quelques "accessoires," tous ceux qui composeront sa maison de Bilbilis ou son domaine de Nomentum. Il ne croit pas réellement qu'un dénuement total soit une condition de la vie heureuse, et il le dit. Il ne pense pas non plus que l'absence totale de biens soit une marque de vertu. Ainsi, Nestor ne possède rien, il vit dans une misère absolue, et il souhaite pour cette raison obtenir de la considération, se distinguer de la foule (*et in populo quaeris habere locum*). Il a tort, dit Martial: la véritable pauvreté ne consiste pas à ne rien avoir.<sup>49</sup> Le sens de cette épigramme, un peu énigmatique, s'éclaire par une autre du même livre, et aussi grâce à Sénèque. S'adressant à Chaéramon, un stoïcien,<sup>50</sup> Martial lui fait observer que le dénuement n'est pas en lui-même une vertu, ni une véritable libération; mal accepté par l'âme, il n'est qu'un accident. La liberté peut se trouver aussi dans la richesse, et telle est la conclusion de la même épigramme:

"c'est montrer de la force d'âme que de pouvoir être malheureux."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Ad Luc.* 123, 3. Cf. 17, 4.

<sup>46</sup> *Epigrammes* II, 68.

<sup>47</sup> *Ad Luc.* 25, 4.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 22, 12. Cf. 44, 7; 56, 13, etc.

<sup>49</sup> *Epigrammes* XI, 32.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* XI, 56. Ce nom évoque le hiéroglyphateus qui fut l'un des précepteurs de Néron. V. notre *Sénèque ou la conscience de l'Empire* (Paris 1978) 68 et suiv.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, vers 16: *fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest*, où le mot *miser* n'a pas le sens de "pauvre," "dans la misère," qu'on lui attribue parfois, mais se réfère à la thèse stoïcienne selon laquelle le sage, ou le *proficiens* peut avoir l'air malheureux, mais ne peut l'être en réalité. L'épigramme a pour objet de montrer que Chaéramon n'est pas un véritable stoïcien.

Pouvoir supporter la pauvreté—ce qui n'est pas la même chose que d'être pauvre effectivement. Il existe une pauvreté "en esprit." La valeur ne réside pas dans la réalité matérielle, mais dans l'esprit, dans la manière dont celui-ci l'accueille. Telle est aussi la pensée de Sénèque à propos de la richesse. Lui, le plus riche de son temps (si l'on en croit le discours que lui prête Tacite en face de Néron),<sup>52</sup> il ne cesse de condamner celle-ci,<sup>53</sup> ce qui le fait, encore aujourd'hui, accuser d'hypocrisie. Mais il est facile de montrer que, pour lui, la pauvreté, celle qui libère les âmes, est indépendante de la possession réelle des choses.

Il semble donc bien que la "philosophie" de Martial ne se résume pas à quelques formules banales, rebattues dans la déclamation des rhéteurs et des philosophes "de carrefour." Elle s'exprime en une série, cohérente, de thèses, chacune illustrée, mise en scène par une épigramme, parfois présentée sous une forme quelque peu énigmatique, de telle sorte que le lecteur, s'interrogeant, parvient à en découvrir plus profondément la signification. Au-delà des formules de résonance épicurienne, dont certaines avaient l'avantage d'évoquer des vers d'Horace, se retrouve la démarche suivie par Sénèque, qui prend l'épicurisme comme point de départ, utilise les analyses psychologiques sur lesquelles il se fonde (peur de la mort, sens du temps, etc.) pour parvenir à rendre sensible une certaine attitude morale, à partir de laquelle pourra commencer la démonstration logique des thèses stoïciennes.<sup>54</sup>

Peut-être sera-t-on tenté de voir dans ce parallélisme entre Martial et Sénèque l'effet d'une illusion. Martial se réfère peu aux philosophes de métier. Pourquoi aurait-il tant demandé à Sénèque? A ce moment, il convient de rappeler une épigramme du livre IV, où le poète évoque précisément le souvenir de la maison du "docte Sénèque," telle qu'elle se dressait avant le désastre qui frappa cette famille trois fois illustre, lorsque fut découverte la conjuration de Pison.<sup>55</sup> Les biographes de Martial en concluent généralement que la maison des Annaei, avec ses trois grands noms, ceux de Junius Gallio, le frère aîné du philosophe, et d'Annaeus Mela, son frère plus jeune avait accueilli Martial, âgé peut-être de 25 ans en 65, et l'avait accepté comme client. Plus tard, et avant la catastrophe, Martial avait choisi un autre patron, qu'il appelle Postumus (probablement d'après le nom qui figure en tête d'une célèbre ode d'Horace), qui n'était alors qu'un chevalier mais que Martial préféra, et pour lequel il aurait abandonné la maison des Annaei. Les détails biographiques que l'on peut en induire

<sup>52</sup> Au moment où, en 62, il offre de lui rendre tous les biens qu'il a reçus de lui. Tacite, *Annales* XIV, 53. Cf. Juvénal, *Sat.* X, 16: *et magnos Senecae praediuitis hortos*. La richesse de Sénèque était donc restée proverbiale au temps de Domitien.

<sup>53</sup> Par exemple *Ad Luc.* 115, 10 et suiv.: "diatribe" contre l'argent, qui domine dans la société romaine et fausse les vraies valeurs, etc.

<sup>54</sup> V. notre article, "Nature et limites de l'éclectisme philosophique chez Sénèque," *Les Etudes classiques* 28 (1970) 3-17.

<sup>55</sup> *Epigrammes* IV, 40.

restent imprécis, mais il est certain que le poète avait bien connu Sénèque, qu'il avait, probablement, vécu dans son entourage, et ne l'avait quitté que lorsque l'ancien précepteur de Néron se retira, rompit avec la vie publique, ce qui impliquait, aussi, qu'il renonçait à ses obligations de patron. C'est évidemment auprès de Sénèque que Martial avait connu Caesonius Maximus, à qui (c'est le poète qui nous l'apprend) Sénèque avait adressé toute une correspondance.<sup>56</sup> Il avait peut-être aussi connu Sérénus, dédicataire du traité *Sur la tranquillité de l'âme*, et de celui qui traite *De la constance du Sage*, et qui, préfet des vigiles, mourut empoisonné, probablement avant 62.<sup>57</sup> On ne peut douter que Martial n'ait lu les ouvrages de Sénèque, ceux que celui-ci écrivait au temps où il était le "patron" du poète (par exemple le traité *Des bienfaits*, que nous avons cité), les dialogues déjà publiés (par exemple le dialogue *Sur la tranquillité de l'âme*), et, peut-être surtout, les *Lettres à Lucilius*, avec lesquelles s'établissent la plupart des rapprochements, soit que les relations entre Sénèque et Martial aient continué après la fin de leurs rapports de clientèle soit que Martial ait eu entre les mains le recueil des *Lettres* après sa publication, comme il avait celui de la correspondance avec Maximus, aujourd'hui perdue.

De ces lectures, nous avons cru découvrir quelques indices. Parfois, c'est une *sententia* de Sénèque qui est, apparemment, le modèle et a suggéré le thème de l'épigramme. Parlant, à propos d'un "spectacle," d'un tigre qui a déchiré un lion, Martial écrit :

"il n'avait rien osé de semblable, aussi longtemps qu'il avait vécu dans les hautes forêts. Depuis qu'il est parmi nous, il est devenu plus féroce."<sup>58</sup>

Comment ne pas penser que Martial, ici, se souvient d'un mot de Sénèque condamnant la cruauté du public, aux jeux de l'amphithéâtre: "je reviens plus cruel, plus inhumain, parce que je me suis trouvé parmi des hommes"<sup>59</sup> Un tel rapprochement nous laisse entrevoir que l'une des raisons de la fascination exercée par Sénèque sur Martial était précisément ce goût du philosophe pour les formules brillantes, les *sententiae*, qui étaient autant d'épigrammes en train de naître.

Si, donc, nos hypothèses sont exactes, nous pouvons mieux comprendre la manière dont Martial devint poète. Son tempérament n'est pas, quoi qu'on dise, celui d'un poète satirique, qu'une vertueuse indignation pousse à dénoncer les mauvaises moeurs de son temps. Il n'est pas un autre Juvénal. Plus lyrique que celui-ci, mais aussi plus profondément imprégné par une vision philosophique du monde et de la vie, il réfléchit sur ce qui occupe l'âme humaine, et, avant tout, la sienne, ce, précisément, sur quoi

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* VII, 45.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Spectacles* 18, vers 5-6. *Epigramme* écrite en 80: environ dix-huit ans après la lettre qui en a inspiré la *sententia*.

<sup>59</sup> *Ad Luc.* 7, 3: *crudelior (redeo) et inhumanior, quia inter homines fui.*

réfléchissait aussi Sénèque, ce dont il s'entretenait avec ses amis. Avec eux la philosophie romaine trouve son expression; refusant de s'arrêter aux démonstrations de l'école et de s'en tenir aux mots, elle s'efforce de donner des règles de vie, moins par des préceptes (on sait que Sénèque y préférait)<sup>60</sup> que par des exemples, qui éclairent l'âme, contribuent à calmer les angoisses, mettent en lumière la nature des fautes qui nous tourmentent et font notre malheur. Ce rôle du "philosophe," Sénèque le résumait dans l'une des dernières lettres à Lucilius:

Tu essaies de montrer à un pauvre qu'il doit se croire riche; comment cela est-il possible, s'il reste pauvre? Tu montres à un affamé ce qu'il doit faire, comme s'il était rassasié: ôte-lui plutôt la faim qui s'attache à ses moelles. Et je t'en dis autant de tous les vices; ce sont eux qu'il faut enlever, et non pas conseiller ce qui ne peut se réaliser aussi longtemps que ces vices demeurent. Si tu ne chasses pas les opinions fausses qui font notre malheur, l'avare n'écouterà pas la manière dont on doit user de l'argent, le craintif la façon de mépriser le danger . . .<sup>61</sup>

C'est précisément ce que Martial essaiera de faire, grâce aux ressources de l'épigramme. Ce seront les leçons de son maître qu'il tentera ainsi de faire entendre à tous ceux qui répugnent à écouter les conférences d'un philosophe d'école mais se laisseront persuader par une image, un récit, une fable, dont la pointe se fixera dans leur âme.

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<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 94.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 6.





## Martial's "Witty Conceits": Some Technical Observations

JOHN P. SULLIVAN

It was Sir John Harington (1560–1612), perhaps the best of the English epigrammatists after Ben Jonson, who wrote in the *Metamorphoses of Ajax*: "It is certain, that of all poems, the Epigram is the plesawntest, and of all that writes Epigrams Martiall is counted the wittiest." Elsewhere he boasts, "We steal some good Conceits from Martiall." His compliments are duly reflected in the numerous close translations he made of his Roman model.

It is sometimes difficult for the post-romantic sensibility to share Harington's enthusiasm for either Martial's form or his achievement.<sup>1</sup> Still less can we follow Balthasar de Gracián, Martial's fellow countryman, in the elevation of Martial to the pinnacle of poetic practice in his *Agudeza y arte de Ingenio en que se explican todos los modos y diferencias de Conceptos* (1649). Gracián, however, was the enthusiastic theorist of the poetics of Mannerism,<sup>2</sup> the style that depended on the *concepto* and the "conceit," on *pointe* and "wit" (*acumen*), that revelled in puns and *double entendres*, and, above all, in far-fetched metaphors and analogies, some of which that common-sensical critic, Dr. Johnson, doubted were worth the carriage.

Other obstacles are apparent. Martial's aggressive sexual humour, particularly in its selection of satiric targets, is hardly compatible with modern conventions—or indeed with some ancient conventions. Physical defects present just one instance.<sup>3</sup> Much of Martial's other joke material is nowadays offensive, particularly that concerning women, slaves, passive homosexuality, prostitution, and coital perversions. On the other hand, the

<sup>1</sup> Richard Porson remarked at the end of the nineteenth century: "certainly the dignity of a great poet is thought to be lowered by the writing of epigrams."

<sup>2</sup> The most concise discussion of European Mannerism of which English Metaphysical poetry is a vigorous branch may be found in E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trs. W. R. Trask (London 1979) 273–302.

<sup>3</sup> For example, although Aristotle says in Book II of the *Poetics*: ὁ σκόπτων ἐλέγχειν θέλει ἀμαρτήματα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος (*Tractatus Coislinianus* VIII, ed. Janko), Plutarch would set limits on what physical defects were proper subjects for jokes (*Quaest. conviv.* 2. 633b). Baldness was an acceptable butt; halitosis and blindness were not. Martial, like medieval and Renaissance humorists, such as Thomas More, blithely ignores such limitations. One is reminded of Homer's description of the gods' laughing at the limping of Hephaestus (*Il.* 18. 411, 417).

stinginess of patrons, the social aberrancy of freedmen in a status-conscious milieu, while not repugnant to the modern reader in the same way, seem obsolete subjects for lively humour.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, a sketch of the *techniques* Martial employs for arousing in his readers certain amused reactions may provide some insights into Martial's poetic craftsmanship and rhetorical skills, and perhaps on the nature of Roman wit and humour in general.<sup>5</sup> Some general techniques may be passed over as being of too broad an application for our limited purposes here. Obviously Martial takes advantage of the fact that even a mildly humorous story gains by being presented in verse, just as any joke gains in the telling by a skilled raconteur. The more artistic and delicate the verse (or the manner of telling) is, the greater the gain in our pleasure. The deployment of poetic and rhetorical devices superimposes a glitter on even mediocre material. Truisms and proverbs gain in the same way, when they are expressed in rhyme, or incorporate alliteration, assonance and brevity. The neat expression of these also counted as "wit" for Harington and Gracián.

Space forbids any long disquisition on the nature of humour itself and the multifariousness of its terminology. As Quintilian remarks: *unde autem concilietur risus et quibus ex locis peti soleat, difficillimum dicere* (*Inst.* 6. 3. 35).<sup>6</sup> I would only underline, as relevant to Martial's particular brands of humour, that much of it is rooted in verbal aggression, which masks its hostility and defuses any explosive retaliation by invoking amusement or admiration in the audience. Martial takes great pains to stress the jocular light-heartedness of his work and his desire not to offend individuals.<sup>7</sup> But Quintilian points out, anticipating Freud, *a derisu non*

<sup>4</sup> These difficulties are compounded by the obscure topical and contemporary references on which certain jokes hinge and by the modern coolness towards certain types of ancient joke.

<sup>5</sup> A valuable recent study of the political and the ideological use of wit is Paul Plass, *Wit and the Writing of History* (Madison 1988). For earlier general discussions of Martial's humour, see H. Szelest, "Humor bei Martial," *Eos* 69 (1981) 293-301; W. Bumikel, *Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Witzepigramms bei Lukillios und Martial* (Wiesbaden 1980); P. Plass, "An Aspect of Epigrammatic Wit in Martial and Tacitus," *Arethusa* 18 (1985) 187-210.

<sup>6</sup> The best general discussions, to my mind, are Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 10. 1410b-13a and S. Freud, *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, tr. James Strachey (London 1960) 9-158. For a survey of Greek and Roman speculation on the subject, see M. A. Grant, *The Ancient Theories of the Laughable* (Madison 1924). The complexity of the terms used in discussing humour is as patent in Greek and Latin as it is in English. To make matters worse, the vocabulary for different aspects of the laughable changes with the passage of time and doubtless with changes in human sensibility and aesthetic perceptions. The best one can hope for is the recognition of "family resemblances." "Wit," for example, has suffered considerable semantic change in the transition from Elizabethan to modern times. In most of Sir Richard Blackmore's *A Satire against Wit* (1699), the term is synonymous with obscenity and blasphemy; elsewhere in his writings he describes it as "intellectual enameling" or "a rich embroidery of flowers and figures."

<sup>7</sup> For a general discussion of Martial's mock-modest stance see J. P. Sullivan, "Martial's *Apologia pro opere suo*," *Filologia e forme letterarie: studi offerti a Francesco della Corte* (Urbino 1988) 31-42. Aristotle's view that amusement and relaxation are necessary parts of life (*NE* 1128b) is not at odds with the thesis that humour is frequently hostile; he just cautions

*procul est risus* (*Inst.* 6. 3. 7) and Aristotle had already stated τὸ σκῶμμα λοιδορημά τι ἐστίν (*EN* 1128a), and the socially explosive topics that Martial selects for the exercise of his satiric talents tell a different story.<sup>8</sup>

A beginning may be made with the truism that most conscious humour, and almost all wit, relies on the element of surprise or unpredictability in different forms and to a greater or lesser degree. Just as language works by narrowing almost instantaneously the range of semantic and syntactic possibilities of each successive unit in a verbal sequence such as a sentence, so experience and the laws of reasoning both prepare us conceptually for a large but still limited range of progressions and endings to a story, or conclusions to an argument. When this process is frustrated by linguistic ellipse, for example, or the logic is derailed, the result is incomprehensibility, nonsense, or, with the appropriate circumstances, paradoxes, jokes, riddles, or witticisms. Metaphor and analogy depend on a similar process: the implicit or explicit likeness presented can be appropriate, startling, puzzling, incongruous, disgusting, humorous, absurd, incomprehensible or, in poetic contexts, aesthetically impressive or frigid.

Why surprise (τὸ προσεξαπατᾶν) is so fundamental in the generation of laughter was explained by Aristotle in his discussion of metaphor and wit: μάλλον γὰρ γίνεται δῆλον ὅ τι ἔμαθε παρὰ τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν, καὶ ἔοικεν λέγειν ἢ ψυχὴ "ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐγὼ δὲ ἤμαρτον" (*Rhet.* 1412a). This is valid for riddles, verbal coinages, and other wordplay.<sup>9</sup> Freud makes much of this element in jokes also, in speaking of the pleasure derived from "seeing" hidden similarities and differences.<sup>10</sup>

Before examining the phenomenon in its technical manifestations, one must allude briefly to Martial's readiness to go beyond surprise to achieve *shock* by the blatant use of obscenity,<sup>11</sup> often in conjunction with more

against αἰσχρολογία. Again this is not the place to examine the various *motives* for deliberate humour: to increase one's sense of self-esteem, as Hobbes thought; to strike at one's enemies, subvert authority, or register social protest; to relax tension or conceal embarrassment; to amuse friends or company, or, paradoxically, sheer *Schadenfreude*.

<sup>8</sup> An analysis of Martial's social and erotic material, such as the decay of patronage, the disruptive excesses of the freedman class, the financial power and sexual corruption of women, and the transgression in general of traditional boundaries is attempted in J. P. Sullivan, "Martial," *Ramus* 16 (1987) 177-91.

<sup>9</sup> Allied to this, in certain other classes of joke, is "recognition," the rediscovery of what is familiar rather than the discovery of what is new, cf. Freud (*supra* n. 6) 120-22, who grudgingly gives credit to Aristotle for his theory that the pleasure of recognition is the basis for the enjoyment of art. I assume Freud is thinking of the observation ἡ ἀναγνώρισις ἐπιληκτικόν (*Poet.* 1454a).

<sup>10</sup> Freud (*supra* n. 6) 11-12.

<sup>11</sup> There is little question that Martial uses more obscene words and allusions than any other known Roman poet; see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 1-8 for a discussion of the general topic and *passim* for Martial's specific usages. The subject is only sketchily discussed by ancient theorists of rhetoric, since the orator is to be discouraged from αἰσχρολογία or *obscenitas* and βδελυρία or *scurrilitas*, because of his need for a dignified

innocuous rhetorical formulas. These obscene jokes are invariably "tendentious" or aggressive, but they achieve their object of amusing the reader by their very flouting of social conventions. They allow the release, often under the merest pretext of wit, of forbidden emotions and repressed impulses. Of course the cleverer they are, the more uninhibited by shame our amusement becomes.<sup>12</sup>

In what follows, a somewhat heuristic classification of Martial's humorous techniques is adopted.<sup>13</sup> The divisions, although not entirely arbitrary, are not watertight, since allocating a joke to one or another may be open to interpretation and even disagreement, particularly as Martial often employs two or more techniques at once to produce the humorous reaction. The classifications I propose are:

- I. Jokes based on empirical observation which confounds common sense expectations, presenting paradoxes and incongruities;
- II. Jokes based on informal syllogistic reasoning which may end in conclusions which are seemingly valid, but are, on reflection, absurd, paradoxical or shocking, often because a superficial appearance of sense hides nonsense or illicit inferences;
- III. Humour based on various kinds of wordplay, such as puns;
- IV. Humour based on analogical metaphor or simile or symbolic instances;
- V. Humour dependent on various types of rhetorical schemata and tonalities, such as parody, hyperbole, rhyme, anaphora, or irony.

I. Surprise is most obviously the ingredient in the jokes and riddles that hinge on the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.<sup>14</sup> An elaborated paradox may be seen in this satiric epigram on Bassa (1. 90):

*persona*. Aristotle had been very strict in discouraging a gentleman (ὁ ἐλεύθερος) from vulgarity (βωμολοχία).

<sup>12</sup> See Freud (*supra* n. 6) 100.

<sup>13</sup> More elaborate classifications are of course possible. I would single out for their ingenuity the classifications of Gracián in his *Agudeza y Ingenio* and, for brevity, Szelest (*supra* n. 5).

<sup>14</sup> A considerable number of Martial's epigrams concern themselves with *lusus naturae* and various other strange events or appearances in nature which are also startling or unexpected. But few of these random ἀπροσδόκητα are humorous or even interesting; in fact, they are often rather grim. The boy bitten by a snake hiding in the maw of a bronze statuery of a bear is a case in point. For further examples and some Greek precursors, see H. Szelest, "Martials Epigramme auf merkwürdige Vorfälle," *Philologus* 120 (1976) 251–57. A whole cycle of epigrams (1. 6; 14; 22; 44; 45; 48; 51; 60) is devoted to the strange relationship that could be fostered between a hare and a lion in the amphitheatre. Hairsbreadth escapes and startling deaths are also popular topics and often prompt a neat aphorism such as *in medio Tibure Sardinia est* (4. 60. 6) or a well-turned compliment to the emperor, which may be regarded as "wit" in the obsolete sense.

Quod numquam maribus iunctam te, Bassa, videbam  
 Quodque tibi moechum fabula nulla dabat,  
 Omne sed officium circa te semper obibat  
 Turba tui sexus, non adeunte viro,  
 Esse videbaris, fateor, Lucretia nobis:  
 At tu, pro facinus, Bassa, fututor eras.  
 Inter se geminos audes committere cunnos  
 Mentiturque virum prodigiosa Venus.  
 Commenta es dignum Thebano aenigmate monstrum,  
 Hic ubi vir non est, ut sit adulterium.

Other examples of paradoxes are those individuals who claim to be poets but who don't write a line of verse or write only what is unreadable (cf. 3. 9). A compliment to Domitian on his moral legislation ends in these lines (6. 2. 5-6):

Nec spado iam nec moechus erit te praeside quisquam:  
 At prius—o mores!—et spado moechus erat.

The incongruous antithesis between the healing arts of the doctor and death-dealing skills of the gladiator or undertaker is played upon in a number of epigrams (often based on Greek models) such as 1. 47:

Nuper erat medicus, nunc est vispillo Diaulus:  
 Quod vispillo facit, fecerat et medicus.

The strange contrast (cp. 1. 30; 39) between the behaviour prompted by riches and that due to poverty is another fertile theme, often with sexual overtones (cf. 6. 50; 9. 88; 11. 87). Comparisons between the poetic craft and the vulgar arts of the zither-player or charioteer with their inequitable pay differentials provoke a sour smile (3. 4). Similarly the money spent on race horses is contrasted with more appropriate and charitable uses (5. 25; 10. 9). A neatly balanced set of antitheses purport to describe a paradoxical emotional state (5. 83):

Insequeris, fugio; fugis, insequor; haec mihi mens est:  
 Velle tuum nolo, Dindyme, nolle volo.

The upsetting of the reader's normal anticipations may be achieved without perverting logical argument. It can be done merely by the production of fresh evidence. The innkeeper's traditional habit of profitably watering wine is found reversed in Ravenna, where they cheat by simply serving it neat (cf. 1. 56; 3. 57; 9. 98). There are similar reversals of expectation when the conduct of women who profess high ideals exemplifies the opposite (1. 62; 5. 17). Another example is the unexpected judgment on a dandy: *non bene olet qui semper bene olet*.

Obviously hypocrisy and pretence in general offer the requisite conditions for such surprise endings. The *Erwartung* or "build-up" may then consist of a more or less elaborate description of the hypocrite's overt

behaviour or public professions: this is then deflated without argument by the sudden revelation of the truth, but the *Aufschluss* purports to be empirical, not subjective. Martial's satiric observation and this mode of humour are highly compatible; hence the numerous examples of vice comically stripped of its disguises,<sup>15</sup> as was seen earlier in the epigram on Bassa (1. 90). Martial can manage these effects on a small or large scale. If brevity be the soul of wit, the following is an excellent illustration:

Pauper videri Cinna vult—et est pauper!

More elaborate examples are to be found in the short cycle of epigrams on a *cenipeta* (2. 11; 14; 27), in which the deep mourning, the frenzied activity, and the extreme sycophancy of Selius are prompted merely by his desire to be invited to dinner.

II. Somewhat more convoluted than these are the number of the jokes that depend on logical (or invalid) deductions of the types expounded in Aristotle's *Sophistici Elenchi* and perfectly familiar to Roman orators; they are humorous because the conclusion is more or less surprising or even shocking. So, for example, in 4. 21, Segius says there are no gods; if there were gods, Segius would be destroyed; Segius has not been destroyed, in fact, he prospers, so there are no gods. An unholy, but logical conclusion. Gallus, in another example, is now convicted of long-standing incest with his stepmother: she continues to live with him after Gallus' father is dead (4. 16). Lycoris has buried all her friends: I wish my wife were a friend of hers (4. 24). Again a scandalously logical argument. More commonly such jokes involve *reductio ad absurdum*, anti-climax, or bathos, or what might be described as "overkill."<sup>16</sup> An epigram in which the climax goes *beyond* what would be anticipated is 4. 43 on Coracinus, where Martial denies he called him a *cinaedus*, he said he was rather a *cunnilingus*. Even more elaborate are the attacks on Vetustilla and Zoilus (3. 93; 82). In the first the old hag is shown to be so sexually insatiable that *intrare in istum sola fax potest cunnum* (3. 93. 27). In the second, Zoilus' intolerably anti-social ostentation has to be tolerated because the traditional revenge of *irrumatio* is excluded. Why? *Fellat*. This is reminiscent of the apparently paradoxical logic in the sadist's refusal to beat the consenting masochist. In these epigrams hidden premisses are invoked.

The *derailment* of logic which is initially concealed by an apparently artless, almost reasonable, form of expression provides the opportunity for a

<sup>15</sup> It has been argued, not without justice, that this is the mainspring of Martial's humour; see T. P. Malnati, *The Nature of Martial's Humour* (Diss. Witwatersrand 1984). For examples of social hypocrisy, see pp. 22–84. Instances of sexual hypocrisy are especially numerous.

<sup>16</sup> Quintilian takes note of the last two of these (*Inst.* 9. 2. 22–23); they exemplify *sustentatio* or *παράδοξον*, depending on whether one looks at the *Erwartung* or the *Aufschluss*.

variety of jokes.<sup>17</sup> The amusement is provoked when "hidden nonsense is revealed as manifest nonsense," as in Wittgenstein's proposal for the dissolution of philosophical puzzles. Often the jokes are produced by setting up a logical chain of expectations which is dramatically uncoupled at its last link by an anticlimax or an incongruity, often in the form of a category mistake, or a hyperbolic (and often obscene)<sup>18</sup> climax. A simple example is 10. 8:

Nubere Paula cupit nobis, ego ducere Paulam  
Nolo: anus est. Vellem, si magis esset anus.

Paula wants to marry the poet, but he is unwilling to accept the offer, since she's an old woman. He would, however, do so—if she were older. The reader had expected—if she were younger. The subtext is that Paula is undesirable but rich and, although Martial would not mind waiting a short time for his inheritance, Paula has too many years left in her. And, unlike the hideous Maronilla pursued by Gemellus, she doesn't have an ominous cough (1. 10).

A more elaborate twist may be seen in 1. 99, where a generous poor man becomes unexpectedly miserly after receiving several large legacies (cf. 1. 103). Martial then uses the *reductio ad absurdum* for his imprecation:

Optamus tibi milies, Calene.  
Hoc si contigerit, fame peribis.

Similar to these deformations of syllogistic reasoning is the misuse of analogical argument, which should perhaps be mentioned here. For example 10. 102 depends on a tendentious analogy:

Qua factus ratione sit requiris,  
Qui numquam futuit, pater Philinus?  
Gaditanus, Avite, dicat istud,  
Qui scribit nihil et tamen poeta est.

<sup>17</sup> It is characteristic of Irish bulls ("If this letter offends you, please return it unopened"), of certain types of ethnic humour, and, in the ancient world, of Abderite jokes; cf. B. Baldwin (trs.) *The Philogelos or Laughter-Lover* (Amsterdam 1983) 21–24. Plass (*supra* n. 5) 190, draws attention to Quintilian's remark: . . . *eadem quae si imprudentibus excidunt stultia sunt, si simulamus venustia creduntur* (*Inst.* 6. 3. 12). The particular derailment of logic which consists in seizing on the wrong element in a complex proposition was singled out by William Hazlitt as an effective form of wit, which he described as "diverting the chain of your adversary's argument abruptly and adroitly into another channel." He instances "the sarcastic reply of Porson, who hearing someone observe that 'certain modern poets would be read and admired when Homer and Virgil were forgotten,' made answer—'And not till then!'" (*Lectures on the English Comic Writers, Lecture I* [London 1819; repr. 1910] 17). A more familiar instance is Robert Benchley's retort to a lady who pointed out to him that alcohol was a slow poison: "Who's in a hurry?"

<sup>18</sup> As Plass (*supra* n. 5) 195 notes, citing 4. 43; 50. Cf. also 2. 73; 3. 74; 4. 84; 9. 27; 12. 79 for similar endings.

To claim to be a poet without proof may be pretentious, but it is in the realm of the conceivable; Philinus' paternity, however, is quite impossible and the analogy discredits Gaditanus' claims. A similar epigram (1. 72) about a would-be poet who hopes plagiarism will get him the title follows the analogies of denture wearers and white lead on dark skin to conclude:

Hac et tu ratione qua poeta es,  
Calvus cum fueris, eris comatus.

A similar false analogy provides the point in 6. 17:

Cinnam, Cinname, te iubes vocari.  
Non est hic, rogo, Cinna, barbarismus?  
Tu si Furius ante dictus esses,  
Fur ista ratione dicereris.

Cinna and Furius are both respectable names: *fur* is not.<sup>19</sup>

Under the heading of twisted logic also must be classified the *non sequitur*, most often found in the snappy retort, *Tu quoque*. Martial, for instance, is accused of writing bad verses, his response is, you don't write any at all (1. 110); his epigrams are too long; a mere distich, however, from Cosconius would be too long (2. 77; cf. 6. 65); his dress is shabby; well, at least it's paid for (2.58). In forensic terms, this is distracting the jury from the issue.

Logic is defied in 4. 69: the rumours that Papyrus' fine wine is lethal are rejected—and so is Papyrus' invitation to have a drink. Here a premiss is accepted, but the appropriate conclusion is denied.

III. Particularly pervasive in Martial's *oeuvre* are the various forms of wordplay.<sup>20</sup> The most obvious is the simple pun (*calembour* or *Kalauer*) in the lexicographical sense of the use of one word or phrase to convey two different senses in the same context or the use of a homophone (or near homophone) with different meanings. Quite apart from our lack of "inwardness with the living voice," punning has ceased to be a fashionable form of making jokes in comparatively recent times, if we except the work of James Joyce. It was not always so; James Boswell declared: "A good pun may be admitted among the small excellencies of lively conversation."

<sup>19</sup> This epigram is imitated very effectively by Johannes Burmeister in his *Martialis Renatus* (Lüneburg 1618), an amusing collection of "sacred parodies of Martial," to produce an anti-Papist joke turning on *Pontifex / faex*.

<sup>20</sup> The standard discussion is that of U. Joegen, *Wortspiele bei Martial* (Diss. Bonn 1967); see also E. Siedschlag, *Zur Form von Martials Epigrammen* (Berlin 1977) 86. On puns, the most comprehensive recent study is W. Redfem, *Puns* (Oxford 1984), although this concentrates on French literature for examples. The importance of word-play in general in Martial may be gauged from the frequency of their occurrence: cf. 1. 20; 30; 41; 45; 47; 50; 65; 79; 81; 98; 100; 2. 3; 7; 43; 67; 3. 25; 34; 42; 67; 3. 78; 4. 9; 52; 5. 26; 6. 6; 17; 7. 41; 57; 71; 8. 16; 19; 22; 9. 72; 95; 12. 39. It is interesting that Martial uses this form of jocularity less and less as he grows older.



Writers as different as Shakespeare and Thomas Hood made no apology for them. For the modern reader, however, to treat an accidental or external relationship, verbal or aural, as having *conceptual* significance is merely a poor joke. Nevertheless philosophers and critics from Plato (particularly in the *Cratylus*), Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1400b), Lucretius, and Varro to Freud and Derrida have regarded puns as valuable ways to ferret out "truths" about the physical and psychological world in general and about literary texts in particular. It is against this intellectual background that the Greco-Roman fascination with homophones, homonyms, and etymologies (true or false) must be set.<sup>21</sup> Homer and Heraclitus were acutely aware of the linguistic possibilities in puns. The belief that words relate closely to things, indeed reflect their very essence, rather than being arbitrary symbols for them was deep-rooted in ancient thinking. Varro certainly believed that there is *verum* in the *verbum* and his work is full of false, speculative etymologies (*lucus a non lucendo*, and the like). Names and nouns could illuminate the nature of things or reflect actual characteristics hidden in them. This is not to say that Martial is interested in such theories, but simply that the poet and his audience would attribute far greater significance to puns and wordplay in general than we would, and so they would be far more acceptable as a form of humour. One obvious type of punning (*annominatio*) is playing on the signification of elements in proper names. This often provides the point of a poem.<sup>22</sup> Sometimes the play is bilingual, as in 5. 35, the case of the impostor Eucleides and the treacherous key, which reveals that he is a slave—*nequior clavis* puns on κλείς, Greek for "key," although Martial must have known that the name derives from εὐκλείης, "famous." Snow-White (Χιώνη) is jeered at for her dark complexion and sexual frigidity (3. 34), the latter being then contrasted with the fieriness of Phlogis (derived from φλόξ, "fire"). A very artificial pun, combined with a defective anagram, provides a complex play on Paulinus/Palinurus, alluding to Aeneas' drowned helmsman and Paulinus' desire to micturate twice from a moving boat, incorrectly etymologizing the name from πάλιν and οὐρεῖν instead of οὐρος, "watcher." "Gallus" as a name, an ethnographical description and the title of a eunuch priest of Cybele offers fertile material for sexual jokes (e. g. 11. 74; 3. 24).

Real names could also be used for bantering wordplay, as in the case of Domitian's favourite, Earinus (9. 13). Since ἐαρινός is the adjective for "spring," which in Latin is *verna* (which also fortuitously, but here conveniently, means "home-bred slave"), Martial can joke on the

<sup>21</sup> See J. M. Snyder, *Puns and Poetry in Lucretius' "De Rerum Natura"* (Amsterdam 1980) on the importance of word-elements (e. g. the *ignis* in *lignis*); F. M. Ahl, *Metaformations: Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1985) discusses their literary implications in Latin poetry, even suggesting that Roman poets might overlook the difference between diphthongs, long and short vowels, and aspirated and unaspirated words (p. 56); cf. 2. 39. 4.

<sup>22</sup> See further J. M. Giegegack, *Significant Names in Martial* (Diss. Yale 1969) 22–51.

possibilities of other Greek seasonal names for such a slave, Oporinos (autumnal), Chimerinos (wintery), Therinos (summerly).

Simpler plays are possible with Maternus by implying that he is effeminate (1. 96); Panaretus does not have all the virtues as the meaning of his Greek name might imply—he drinks too much (6. 89). Hermogenes is a real son of Hermes, god of thieves—he snitches napkins (12. 29). No wonder one Phileros is, as the literal meaning of his Greek name implies, fond of love—he's buried seven rich wives on his property (10. 43). Another Phileros has got through the besotted Galla's dowry (2. 34). So even when not directly punning, Martial tries for allusive humour in chosen fictitious names that will fit, sometimes by contrast, the point of the epigram. Historical connotations attached to a name may similarly reinforce, directly or indirectly, the thrust of the humour or satire. The literary technique is most obviously seen in Petronius, in Shakespeare, or in Charles Dickens: we know what will be happening in Dotheboys Hall or what behaviour to expect from Toby Belch or Mr. Gradgrind. So the name Lesbia, with its Catullan reminiscences and its overtones of *λεσβιάζειν* (to fellate), is appropriate for one who practices fellation (2. 50), is an exhibitionist (1. 32), sexually aggressive (6. 23), and an old hag (10. 39), who has to pay for sex (11. 62). The historical connotations of Lais and Thais, the names of the great Greek courtesans, work in the same symbolic way, as do such historical names as Sardanapallus, or such mythical names as Hylas, Hyacinthus and Phoebus. Typical slave names also invite conceptual or literary wordplay (cf. Mistyllos/Taratalla, 1. 50).

Beyond plays on names, Martial has a wide variety of common words whose possible ambiguity in the right contexts leads up to sexual innuendo or *double entendres* (Aristotle's *ὑπόνοια* and Quintilian's *emphasis*). A good example, whose subtlety is less likely to offend a modern sense of humour, is 4. 39, which is presented almost in the form of a riddle, a not uncommon technique of Martial's to build suspense before a climax:

Argenti genus omne comparasti,  
 Et solus veteres Myronos artes,  
 Solus Praxitelus manum Scopaeque,  
 Solus Phidiaci toreuma caeli,  
 Solus Mentoreos habes labores.  
 Nec desunt tibi vera Gratiana,  
 Nec quae Callaico linuntur auro,  
 Nec mensis anaglypta de paternis.  
 Argentum tamen inter omne miror  
 Quare non habeas, Charine, purum.

Here Martial is feigning surprise that a rich connoisseur of wrought silver *objets d'art* and tableware has no *argentum purum* in his collection. The surface meaning of "unadorned" yields the hidden suggestion that Charinus'

propensity for oral sex leaves none of it untainted (*purus*; for this implication, cf. 3. 75. 5; 6. 50. 6; 6. 66. 5; 11. 61. 14; 14. 70. 2).

Similar *double entendres* are generated by *soror/frater*, male or female siblings or lovers (2. 4); *figus* (figs or hemorrhoids, 1. 65; 7. 71); *dare* (of innocent gifts or sexual favours, 2. 49; 56; 7. 30); *irrumare* (of consensual oral sex or insulting humiliation as in 2. 83; 4. 17). Martial is particularly fond of ambiguous possessives. Poems I write are *yours* if you buy them or recite them so badly that I disclaim them (1. 29; 1. 38; 2. 20); false teeth, false hair, and such things are yours (implying natural), if you purchase them (5. 43; 6. 12; cf. 9. 37; 12. 12; 14. 56). But unvarnished and often frigid puns are found in such epigrams as 1. 79 (different usages of *agere*); and sometimes the joke hinges only on the supposedly correct use or form of words (e. g. 2. 3, *debere*; 1. 65 *figus/fficos*).

Somewhat better are the pointed homophones (Fronto's *paronomasia*) found in such epigrams as 1. 98 (*podagra/cheragra*). Although a whole epigram may be built around a favourite ambiguous word such as *purus*, sometimes a pun is used simply to terminate, more or less satisfactorily, an otherwise humorous poem. An example of this may be seen in Martial's fictive description of a tiny farm given him by Lupus, which, he claims, is no bigger than a window box (11. 18). The poem now generates a series of amusing meiosis and comparisons (cf. IV below): it could be covered by a cricket's wing; it could be ravaged by an ant in a single day; a cucumber couldn't grow straight in it; a caterpillar would famish and a gnat would starve to death in it; a mushroom or a violet couldn't open in it; a mouse would be like the Calydonian Boar if it ravaged it; its harvest would scarcely fill a snail shell or make a nest for a swallow; its vintage fits into a nutshell; and a half-size Priapus, even without his sickle and phallus, would be too large for it. Obviously the joke could continue, but a crowning hyperbole (or meiosis) would be hard to find, so Martial resorts to a pun: Lupus should have given him a *prandium* instead of a *praedium*, a lunch instead of a ranch, a spree instead of a spread.

Under wordplay may be subsumed such jokes as that in 10. 69, where an incorrect and unexpected usage of a verb leads to the point:

Custodes das, Polla, viro, non accipis ipsa.  
Hoc est uxorem ducere, Polla, virum.

The substitution of *ducere* for *nubere* implies that Polla "wears the trousers" in the household, providing the point of the misogynistic joke. The idiom can be reversed to mock a macho homosexual (1. 24).

IV. Martial's imagery is a large topic. Lord Macaulay singled out this aspect of Martial's art for special praise: "His merit seems to me to lie, not

in wit, but in the rapid succession of vivid images."<sup>23</sup> And he must have known that to Aristotle the mastery of metaphor was the chief token of the true poet (cf. *Poet.* 1459a: πολλὸν δὲ μέγιστον τὸ μεταφορικὸν εἶναι). Here we must limit ourselves to the humorous metaphors, similes and symbolic instances that occur in the satiric epigrams. Macaulay's commendation, however, is well illustrated by the epigrams of witty and sustained invective against Vetustilla (3. 93), Zoilus (3. 82), the anonymous forger of his verses (10. 5), Hedylus' cloak (9. 57), Lydia (11.21) and Nanneius (11. 61), and also by the ingenious string of belittling comparisons Martial uses to describe the pettiness of the gifts given him, a subject which invariably elicits his most pointed sallies. Worth notice are the epigram on a gift of a tiny cup (8. 33) and that on his little farm (11. 18, discussed above). The hyperbole of the imagery used in such epigrams is best illustrated by the abuse aimed at the loose *cunnus* of the hapless Lydia or the vile smell of Thais:

Tam male Thais olet, quam non fullonis avari  
 Testa vetus, media sed modo fracta via,  
 Non ab amore recens hircus, non ora leonis,  
 Non detracta cani transtiberina cutis,  
 Pullus abortivo nec cum putrescit in ovo,  
 Amphora corrupto nec vitiata garo.  
 Virus ut hoc alio fallax permutet odore,  
 Deposita quotiens balnea veste petit,  
 Psilothro viret aut acida latet oblita creta  
 Aut tegitur pingui terque quaterque faba.  
 Cum bene se tutam per fraudes mille putavit,  
 Omnia cum fecit, Thaida Thais olet.

(7. 93)

I cite this somewhat gross epigram because it highlights a specific feature of Martial's imagery, its highly specific, almost palpable quality, and its dependence not only on visual stimuli but also on the evocation of physical smells. The Swiftian revulsion is pervasive in large and small ways in his work—note the casual comparison in an otherwise innocuous poem on Martial's rejection of the rich repasts pressed upon him by *captatores*:

Quod sciat infelix damnatae spongia virgae  
 Vel quicumque canis iunctaque testa viae:  
 Mullorum leporumque et suminis exitus hic est,  
 Sulphureusque color carnificesque pedes.

(12. 48. 7-10)

<sup>23</sup> G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (London 1878) 458. See also T. Adamik, "Die Funktion der Vergleiche bei Martial," *Eos* 69 (1981) 303-14, who counts three hundred or so similes in the oeuvre, a high proportion by comparison with other Latin poets. Via *enumeratio*, they often occur in clusters.

Such imagery is frequently connected with food, excretion or cosmetics as in the list of Vacerra's possessions as he moves house:

Ibat tripes grabatus et bipes mensa,  
 Et cum lucerna comeoque cratere  
 Matella curta rupta latere meiebat;  
 Foco virenti suberat amphorae cervix;  
 Fuisse gerres et inutiles maenas  
 Odor impudicus urcei fatebatur,  
 Qualis marinae vix sit aura piscinae.  
 Nec quadra deerat casei Tolosatis,  
 Quadrima nigri nec corona pulei  
 Calvaeque restes alioque cepisque,  
 Nec plena turpi matris olla resina,  
 Summemmianae qua pilantur uxores.<sup>24</sup>

(12. 32. 11–22)

It is interesting to contrast the offensive and earthy images directed against female physical deficiencies with the imagery of sweet scents, redolent flowers, and soft textures used to describe beautiful boys such as Diadumenus (3. 65) and Amazonicus (4. 42), or young Erotion (5. 37). He criticizes the breath of crapulent Fescennia (1. 87) and Myrtale (5. 4), but it is the natural stink of women that he finds particularly revolting; he castigates their sexual pheromones, invoking images of old boots, stale urine, sulphur pits, unirrigated fishponds, the post-coital reek of goats, various reptilian and vulpine smells, and so on. In these poems the imagery works largely through olfactory associations, but visual associations are just as common. Phaethon's fiery doom prompts several "twists." A bad poet should choose such a mythological subject—then appropriately burn his verses (5. 53). An encaustic painting of Phaethon constitutes double jeopardy (4. 47). A coarser visual image is conjured up by Philaenis' physical appearance: she is bald, red, and one-eyed: the resultant innuendo is inescapable.

The kinetic images and imaginary instances used to describe Hermogenes' thieving propensities are particularly amusing: he is pictured as a deer sucking up frozen snakes and a rainbow catching the falling raindrops; if he can't steal a napkin, he'll steal a tablecloth, the awnings of the amphitheatre, the sails of a ship and the linen robes of Isis' priests (12. 28).

V. Finally, there are the jokes or subsidiary aids to joking that depend essentially on "the rediscovery of the familiar," in Freud's terminology.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> For a supercilious description of the cheap comestibles presented by clients to an advocate, see 4. 46; disgusting cosmetics and artificial aids to beauty are the subject of 11. 54; 9. 37; compare Jonathan Swift's "The Lady's Dressing Room" (1730).

<sup>25</sup> See Freud (*supra* n. 6) 120–22.

Here the techniques used are metrical rhythms, repetition of words or phrases, modifications of familiar saws, allusions to quotations, historical or topical references, and such rhythmic devices and tropes as alliteration, rhyme, assonance, anaphora, *enumeratio*, *accumulatio*, and others. The most ingenious example in English of the playful use of alliteration is Poulter's rhymes beginning

An Austrian Army awfully arrayed  
Boldly by battery besieged Belgrade . . .

Martial's *tour de force* here is 5. 24, in which each line begins with the name of the gladiator Hermes; this is underscored by further alliteration within the lines. The repetition of a telling phrase or question is very effectively deployed in 7. 10, where the rhetorical *Ole, quid ad te?* recurs four times; it is then reprised by four variations on *hoc ad te pertinet, Ole* in a crescendo of insults until the dismissive climax is reached. Similar to this are 1. 77 (. . . *Charinus et tamen pallet*) and 11. 47 (*ne futuai*).

A clever mixture of punning, assonance, rhyme, alliteration and anaphora together is offered in 12. 39:

Odi te, quia bellus es, Sabelle.  
Res est putida bellus et Sabellus.  
Bellum denique malo quam Sabellum.  
Tabescas utinam, Sabelle belle.

Parody, which above all relies on the comfortable feeling of recognition and familiarity, is an infrequent humorous device in Martial. The most successful example (2. 41) is based on perverting an untracable or adapted line of Ovid's, *Ride si sapis, o puella, ride*,<sup>26</sup> by a series of amusingly sarcastic images into the advice, *Plora, si sapis, o puella, plora*. The setting of proverbial saws in humorous or incongruous contexts provides a similar type of amusement, as in 1. 27, 1. 45. In 11. 90 the citing of Lucilius' famous epitaph on Metrophanes and a line-ending of Ennius serve as sardonic rebuke to the admirers of archaic poetry.

Here the investigation may stop.<sup>27</sup> What is clear from it, I believe, is that it was the sheer range of Martial's techniques that made him the primary model for Elizabethan and Jacobean imitators, whose sense of humour differed radically from ours. Harington's judgment was shared by earlier Elizabethans such as the Reverend Thomas Bastard, who in his collection *Chrestoleros. Seven Bookes of Epigrammes* (London 1598) wrote (Epigr. 17 *de poeta Martiali*):

Martial, in sooth none should presume to write,  
Since time hath brought thy epigrams to light:

<sup>26</sup> The closest analogies are AA 3. 281 ff., 3. 513.

<sup>27</sup> For further investigation of the rhetorical aspect of Martial's wit, see K. Barthwick, *Martial und die zeitgenössische Rhetorik* (Berlin 1959).

Yet through our writing, thine so prais'd before  
Have this obtain'd, to be commended more:  
    Yet to ourselves although we win no fame,  
    We please, which get our master a good name.

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Marziale e la Letteratura per i Saturnali  
(poetica dell'intrattenimento e cronologia della  
pubblicazione dei libri)\*

MARIO CITRONI

1. Ovidio, *Tristia* II 471 ss.: una letteratura per i Saturnali

Relegato nel Ponto anche con l'accusa di aver scritto poesia lasciva e corrottrice, Ovidio, nel II libro dei *Tristia*, conduce davanti ad Augusto un'ampia difesa della sua *Ars amatoria*. In questa difesa ha un ruolo notevole il richiamo a dei "precedenti" che devono valere a sua giustificazione: una lunga serie di poeti, autori di teatro e prosatori greci e latini hanno trattato di amori illeciti senza averne alcun danno, senza subire condanna alcuna; anzi, le loro opere sono lette e apprezzate da tutti e sono tenute a disposizione di tutti nelle pubbliche biblioteche (vv. 361-470 e cfr. 259-62). Dopo questo catalogo di opere in cui si tratta di amori illeciti, segue (vv. 471 ss.) un'altra categoria di "precedenti" giustificativi: ed è appunto di questa categoria che ora ci dobbiamo occupare.

Ovidio fa osservare che non è stato lui il primo a scrivere un trattato su un'attività leggera, frivola, o magari illecita. Sono stati scritti, senza che i loro autori ne dovessero subire alcun danno, trattati sui giochi d'azzardo, che pure erano proibiti per antica tradizione: sul gioco con i *tali*, sul gioco con le *tesserae*, e ancora: sono stati scritti trattati sul *ludus latrunculorum*, sul gioco dei *terni lapilli*<sup>1</sup> e su tanti altri giochi con i quali sprechiamo il nostro tempo e che Ovidio non intende elencare uno per uno (vv. 471-84). E sono stati scritti anche trattati sui tipi di palloni e sulle diverse modalità dei loro lanci, sul nuoto, sul gioco del cerchio, su come truccarsi, sulle regole dei banchetti e dell'ospitalità, sui tipi di argilla con cui foggiare le coppe e sui tipi di anfora più adatti per conservare il vino (vv. 485-90).

\*Una versione abbreviata e modificata dei primi tre paragrafi di questo articolo ha costituito parte di una relazione presentata al IX Congresso della F.I.E.C. (Pisa 24-30 agosto 1989), nella quale ho anche trattato ulteriori aspetti del rapporto col pubblico nella poesia latina.

<sup>1</sup> Per l'identificazione di questi giochi si possono vedere i commenti di S. G. Owen al II libro dei *Tristia* (Oxford 1924; rist. Amsterdam 1967) pp. 251 ss. e di G. Luck ai *Tristia* (Heidelberg 1977) pp. 147 ss. e soprattutto la ricchissima voce *lusoria tabula* di H. Lamer, in *RE* 13 (1927) c. 1900 ss.

Ovidio ci offre dunque in questo passo una preziosa testimonianza sull'esistenza di una letteratura didascalica giocosa, una trattatistica relativa ai giochi, al divertimento, al tempo libero. Si tratta naturalmente di una letteratura minore: non per caso Ovidio non ritiene opportuno fare il nome di alcun autore e si limita ad elencare gli argomenti trattati. Se avesse potuto citare qualche scrittore di sicuro prestigio che si era dedicato a questo tipo di opere, egli lo avrebbe probabilmente nominato, perché ciò sarebbe stato vantaggioso per la sua autodifesa.<sup>2</sup> Ma si trattava, a quanto pare, di una produzione vivace, varia ed abbondante. La testimonianza di Ovidio è unica per quanto riguarda la ricchezza e la varietà di questa letteratura, ma non mancano sporadiche conferme da altre fonti.<sup>3</sup>

A conclusione della sua rassegna, Ovidio riconduce riassuntivamente questi trattatelli giocosi ad una qualificazione che li accomuna: *talia luduntur fumonso mense Decembri* (v. 491). È letteratura scritta per gioco nel mese di dicembre, quando fa freddo e il fuoco arde nelle case riempiendole

<sup>2</sup> Viceversa sarebbe stato naturalmente un grave errore ai fini della sua autodifesa citare il proprio trattato di cosmetica (i *Medicamina faciei femineae*) che era se mai bisognoso anch'esso di apologia come il resto delle opere erotiche ovidiane e che dunque non poteva essere utilizzato a sua volta come motivo di giustificazione. Riferendosi invece genericamente all'esistenza di trattati di cosmetica (v. 487), Ovidio giustifica implicitamente anche il proprio, che non dovrà dunque essere considerato come prova di una sua particolare frivolezza. Se in *Ars* III 206 Ovidio tiene a sottolineare che i *Medicamina faciei* sono un'opera che, non ostante la brevità, gli è costata molto impegno, è probabilmente perché egli si preoccupa che il pubblico riconosca la differenza tra l'opera di un poeta di qualità e la produzione corrente di questi frivoli trattatelli.

<sup>3</sup> Svetonio (*Claud.* 33) ci testimonia che l'imperatore Claudio *aleam studiosissime lusit, de cuius arte librum quoque emisit*. Isidoro (*Etym.* XVIII 69) cita due esametri di carattere evidentemente didascalico ricavati da un'opera del poeta Dorcatius *de (pilarum) genere et pondere* (vd. *Fragm. poet. Lat.* ed. Morel-Buechner, p. 154): M. Haupt, *Opuscula* III 571, formulò l'ipotesi che si tratti di una citazione dall'opera relativa a *formae et iactus pilarum* di cui parla Ovidio nel nostro passo (v. 485), ipotesi riferita con favore nell'apparato dal Morel (e ora dal Buechner) e giudicata molto probabile da H. Dahlmann, *Cornelius Severus*, *Abhandl. der Akad. der Wiss. u. d. Literatur-Mainz, Geistes- u. sozialwiss. Kl.* 6 (1975) pp. 139 s. Carattere sistematico ed erudito aveva invece il trattato di Svetonio, in lingua greca, *Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι παιδιῶν*, del quale conserviamo vari estratti sia per tradizione diretta che per tradizione indiretta: cfr. Suétone, *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν. Περὶ παιδιῶν (extraits byzantins)*, a cura di J. Taillardat (Paris 1967); il *De puerorum ludibus* citato da Servio, *Aen.* V 602 non sarà opera autonoma, ma coinciderà con il *Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν παιδιῶν* o eventualmente con una parte di esso: cfr. la lucida introduzione del Taillardat e inoltre G. Fumaioli, *RE* IV A (1931) c. 625 s. (s. v. *Suetonius*); G. Brugnoli, *Sulle possibilità di una ricostruzione dei Prata e della loro attribuzione a Svetonio*, in *Memorie Acc. Linc.*, Cl. di Scienze mor. e stor., Ser. VIII, vol. VI, 1 (1954) pp. 10 ss. Altre notizie sulle fonti letterarie relative ai giochi d'azzardo e ad altri giochi consimili in S. G. Owen, l. cit., e in H. Lamer, art. cit. Ateneo I 15C riferisce che lo spartano Timocrate aveva scritto *περὶ σφαιριστικῆς*. Per quanto riguarda i trattati in cui si danno regole per i conviti, alle varie opere di gastronomia e alla didattica relativa alla gastronomia e all'ospitalità presente in generi diversi, come la satira, si potrebbe aggiungere anche la testimonianza di Marziale IX 77 su un Prisco autore di uno scritto *facundus* in cui si discetta con *pectus dulce, sublime, doctum*, su quale sia l'*optimum convivium*: anche se si trattasse di un'invenzione di Marziale, questa invenzione resterebbe pur sempre significativa del fatto che questi trattati si scrivevano e venivano apprezzati.

di fumo: evidente il riferimento ai Saturnali.<sup>4</sup> G. Luck, nel suo commento a questo passo,<sup>5</sup> spiega: "Durante i Saturnali, quando i fuochi fumavano nelle case, si aveva tempo di scrivere queste cose per inviarle in dono agli amici." La stessa idea era già suggerita da Owen nel suo commento.<sup>6</sup> Ma l'elemento veramente interessante e significativo che si ricava dalla testimonianza ovidiana, a mio avviso, non è questo: qui non si tratta genericamente di libri di contenuto leggero che scrittori dilettanti trovano il tempo di comporre preferibilmente durante i giorni di vacanza—ed in particolare durante i Saturnali, quando sono indotti a scriverli dal desiderio di corrispondere con l'invio di proprie composizioni all'obbligo sociale di fare dei doni agli amici. Ciò che veramente caratterizza le composizioni elencate da Ovidio è il fatto che hanno tutte carattere didascalico e tutte danno precetti su attività di svago, attività che si fanno, tipicamente, durante i Saturnali, la festa che rappresenta per eccellenza il periodo dell'anno in cui i Romani si dedicano a divertimenti e svaghi. È in quanto si tratta di una didascalica relativa ad attività che si fanno soprattutto durante i Saturnali, che questa letteratura è scritta (e fruita), tipicamente, *fumonso mense Decembri*.

Nella rassegna ovidiana hanno la massima evidenza, proprio all'inizio del brano, i giochi d'azzardo: è ben noto che essi erano proibiti durante l'anno (anche se la proibizione non doveva essere fatta rispettare con molto rigore)<sup>7</sup> ed erano invece consentiti in occasione dei Saturnali, cosicché in quei giorni a Roma si verificava un'autentica esplosione del gioco d'azzardo al punto che lo scatenarsi del gioco d'azzardo viene spesso chiamato a simboleggiare i Saturnali e la spensierata licenza che li caratterizza: basterà richiamare Marziale IV 14, 7-9; V 84, 1-5; XI 6, 2 e cfr. anche XIII 1, 5-8; XIV 1, 3 s.; V 30, 7 s. e ad es. Svetonio, *Aug.* 71, Luciano, *Sat.* 2; 4; 8 s.; 25. Ancora in un calendario figurato del 354 d. C. (il calendario di Filocalo) il mese di dicembre è rappresentato simbolicamente da un giocatore di dadi.<sup>8</sup> E negli *Apophoreta*, tra gli oggetti da donare ai Saturnali, troviamo *tali, tesserae*, un particolare tipo di bossolo per gettare i dadi, e le noci comunemente usate per giochi d'azzardo durante i Saturnali (Mart. XIV 14; 15; 16; 19).<sup>9</sup> Ovidio, nel passo dei *Tristia*, collega strettamente ai giochi

<sup>4</sup> Come vedremo più avanti (n. 21) i Saturnali sono spesso indicati col solo generico riferimento al mese di dicembre, che era tutto investito dello spirito della festa. Un'associazione dell'atmosfera dei Saturnali con lo starsene in casa intorno al fuoco è anche in Luciano, *Sat.* 9.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> Per la documentazione al riguardo cfr. H. Lamer, cit., *RE* XIII, c. 1910 s. e L. M. Hartmann, *RE* I (1893) c. 1359 s. (s. v. *alea*).

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354. Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations* (Paris 1953) pp. 283 ss., Tav. XIII e XIX 2 e vd. anche H. Lamer, cit., *RE* XIII, c. 2028. M. Bettini, "Iacta alea est: Saturn and the Saturnalia," in AA. VV., *Saturn from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Toronto 1989) ritiene che l'*alea* costituisse un elemento fondamentale del significato religioso-antropologico più profondo della festa dei Saturnali.

<sup>9</sup> Con le noci giocavano solitamente soprattutto i ragazzi, ma durante i Saturnali i giochi con le noci erano praticati largamente anche dagli adulti: le noci erano strumento di giochi d'azzardo

d'azzardo con *tali e tesserae* (vv. 473–76) anche il *ludus latruncolorum* (vv. 477–80) che era invece un gioco di abilità (anche se non si può escludere che fosse a volte giocato con poste in denaro): in ogni caso anch'esso appare tra i giochi che caratterizzano i Saturnali in Macrobio, *Sat.* I 5, 11 e in Marziale VII 72, 6–8, ove il poeta augura a un avvocato di buon successo che i Saturnali gli portino ciò che egli più desidera: di battere i suoi amici nel *ludus latruncolorum*; inoltre, tra gli *apophoreta* troviamo una *tabula lusoria* (XIV 17) e i *calculi* (XIV 18) per quel gioco. Il gioco dei *terni lapilli* e gli altri giochi consimili cui Ovidio allude genericamente (vv. 481–84) rientrano nello stesso quadro. Per quanto riguarda il gioco della palla, esso ovviamente si praticava tutto l'anno, ma la maggior disponibilità di tempo libero durante i Saturnali faceva sì che in quei giorni vi si potesse dedicare maggiore impegno. Così Marziale a quel suo amico avvocato augura, insieme ai successi nel *ludus latruncolorum*, anche vittorie nel gioco del *trigon*, in cui si farà ammirare specialmente nei più difficili tiri di sinistro (VII 72, 9–11): e il trattatista cui si riferisce Ovidio al v. 485 insegna appunto i tiri particolari (*iactus pilarum*), che, possiamo immaginare, si aveva più tempo di provare, e più occasione di esibire, nei giorni di vacanza. E vari tipi di palla (cfr. in Ovidio al v. 485 *formae pilarum*) appaiono tra i doni degli *Apophoreta* (XIV 45; 46; 47) insieme ad altri attrezzi ginnici (XIV 48; 49; 164 e cfr. 50 e 51). Cfr. anche Marziale IV 19, in cui il dono di un particolare tipo di abito in occasione dei Saturnali è motivato dal fatto che esso è indicato per quando si gioca al *trigon* o quando si fanno esercizi ginnici nella stagione invernale. Anche il *trochus*, ricordato da Ovidio al v. 486, ricorre tra gli *apophoreta* (XIV 168 e 169). Non potrà naturalmente essere considerato caratteristico dei Saturnali il nuoto (ricordato da Ovidio al v. 486), che non è certo favorito dalla stagione invernale, ma andrà tenuto presente che esso era praticato anche in piscine riscaldate (cfr. ad es. Plin. *Epist.* II 17, 11): del resto il nuoto rientra pur sempre nel quadro delle attività ginnico-sportive che, in generale, erano favorite dalla disponibilità di tempo libero.<sup>10</sup> Non sono specificamente legati ai Saturnali i trattati sul trucco, sui banchetti e sull'ospitalità (ricordati da Ovidio ai vv. 487 s.), ma è chiaro che

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innocenti, di cui esse stesse erano anche la posta (Mart. XIV 1, 12; 19 (18); V 30, 7 s. e cfr. anche IV 66, 15 s.), ma non si può escludere che dessero luogo anche a scommesse in denaro (cfr. XIII 1, 7 s.). Da Luciano, *Sat.* 8 s. e 17 si ricava che le noci erano anche considerate tradizionalmente la posta appropriata, in luogo del denaro, per i giochi d'azzardo con i dadi durante i Saturnali, ma si ricava anche che la delimitazione dell'azzardo a questi oggetti di valore quasi solo simbolico non era praticata, come del resto si vede chiaramente da Mart. IV 14, 7 ss. e V 84 e da altri passi, e come è naturalmente presupposto dall'enfasi che viene posta sul fatto che durante i Saturnali non venivano applicate le leggi restrittive dell'*alea*.

<sup>10</sup> Si potrebbe ricordare che il nuoto, l'unica tra le attività citate nel passo di Ovidio che sia in qualche modo "fuori stagione" ai Saturnali, è anche l'unica per la quale vi sia un qualche margine di incertezza nel testo (cfr. l'apparato e il commento di Owen a *Trist.* II 486): ma in realtà la lezione *nandi*, accolta da tutti gli editori, è sufficientemente sicura.

nell'intensificata vita di relazione che si aveva durante i Saturnali, e che si svolgeva soprattutto nei conviti, questi trattatelli trovavano più vasto campo di applicazione e potevano essere più richiesti. Possiamo ricordare che i precetti conviviali della *Menippea* varroniana *Nescis quid vesper serus vehat* vengono utilizzati nella discussione sull'estensione del numero dei convitati nel banchetto tenuto in occasione dei Saturnali in Macrobio, *Sat.* I 7, 12 s. Per quanto riguarda infine i trattati sui tipi di materiale per coppe e anfore per il vino, è evidente che anch'essi avevano particolare applicazione durante il periodo dei Saturnali, quando era così fitta l'attività conviviale. Coppe, anfore, recipienti vari per uso simposiale costituiscono, certo non per caso, la categoria di oggetti più numerosa all'interno degli *Apophoreta* (XIV 93-96; 98-103; 105-13; 115-18) e per lo più Marziale introduce precisazioni ed osservazioni, anche di natura in certo senso "tecnica," sui materiali di cui questi oggetti sono fatti. Inoltre, ben 19 biglietti degli *Xenia* si riferiscono al dono di vini, e cfr. inoltre, per doni di anfore di vino o coppe in occasione dei Saturnali, Mart. IV 46, 9 e 14-16; VII 53, 4 e 6; 72, 4 e vd. anche V 59; VIII 33; 50; IX 72, nei quali il dono non è riferito all'occasione dei Saturnali. Si può anche ricordare che il vino, che scorreva abbondante in quelle giornate, più volte è chiamato a rappresentare lo spirito festoso dei Saturnali: cfr. ad es. Hor. *Sat.* II 3, 4 s.; Mart. XIV 1, 9; Stat. *Silv.* I 6, 5; Iuv. 7, 97. Anche gli *Xenia* e gli *Apophoreta* di Marziale, del resto, non si riferiscono genericamente ai doni propri dei Saturnali, ma a un tipo particolare di doni: quelli legati all'ospitalità (XIII 3, 5) e al banchetto (XIV 1, 6), un tipo di doni praticato tutto l'anno, ma che aveva una particolare importanza durante i Saturnali (cfr. anche Suet. *Vesp.* 19), che erano appunto la stagione dei regali e dei banchetti: anche questi due libri di Marziale, voglio dire, presentano, in occasione dei Saturnali, un repertorio su come completare convenientemente con dei doni l'ospitalità e il convito in quanto ospitalità e convito sono attività caratteristiche del periodo dei Saturnali.

La variegata letteratura didascalica di cui ci parla Ovidio è dunque una letteratura che ha una speciale attualità nelle giornate dei Saturnali: è, in un certo senso, una letteratura intesa come guida pratica per l'uso del tempo libero, per l'uso delle vacanze e dunque, soprattutto, per l'uso dei Saturnali. Il momento strettamente didascalico, l'insegnamento delle regole e i consigli pratici per i giochi e per le varie attività del tempo libero, doveva costituire un reale motivo di attrattiva verso questa letteratura per il pubblico nelle giornate dei Saturnali, ma si dovrà anche ammettere che sia la produzione che la fruizione di questa letteratura erano probabilmente sentite di per se stesse come un passatempo piacevole: trasferire, o trovar trasferiti in un trattato, magari scritto in versi, i consigli e le regole per i giochi e gli svaghi come se si trattasse di una scienza di venerabile dignità, poteva indurre un piacere, un divertimento, affine a quello che ci dà, su un piano di ben altra levatura letteraria, lo scarto tra l'assunzione di un autorevole impianto didascalico e la giocosità del contenuto degli insegnamenti nell'*Ars*

*amatoria* ovidiana.<sup>11</sup> Regole da seguire nei banchetti, nell'ospitalità e nei doni nel periodo dei Saturnali sono dettate anche da Luciano (*Sat.* 10 ss.), ma in questo caso non nella forma di una didattica giocosa, bensì nella forma di una giocosa legislazione, modalità che aveva anch'essa una propria tradizione e che era pure legata ai Saturnali. I νόμοι συμποτικοί saturnali del Cronos luciano hanno alle spalle una tradizione di νόμοι συμποτικοί parodistici, che in latino è rappresentata per noi soprattutto dalla *lex Tappula*, "promulgata" il 22 dicembre, penultimo giorno dei Saturnali.<sup>12</sup> Ed è notevole, nelle leggi sui doni proclamate dal Cronos luciano, l'importanza del motivo della distinzione e della contrapposizione tra il ruolo dei ricchi e il ruolo dei poveri nel donare, motivo che costituisce il principio di composizione e di ordinamento degli *Apophoreta* di Marziale.

Una letteratura di regole e di precetti, ma su un piano ameno e scherzoso, una letteratura che insegnando a usare bene i Saturnali è essa stessa uno dei piacevoli passatempi della festa. *Talia luduntur fumonso mense Decembri*: il verbo *ludere* è usato abitualmente per la composizione di letteratura, e specialmente di poesia, di carattere leggero, ma non escluderei che in questo caso Ovidio, con l'uso di questo verbo, volesse suggerire che scrivere (e leggere) questa poesia è un "gioco" che si iscrive esso stesso tra i giochi dei Saturnali.

## 2. *Xenia* e *Apophoreta* come letteratura per i Saturnali

La pagina ovidiana che abbiamo esaminata ci offre, come abbiamo già suggerito nel precedente paragrafo, il quadro di riferimento appropriato in cui situare la produzione dei due libri più singolari di Marziale: *Xenia* e *Apophoreta*. Questi due libri si presentano come dei repertori destinati a un uso pratico nei giorni dei Saturnali. Tutti i Romani in quei giorni si

<sup>11</sup> B. Effe, *Dichtung und Lehre. Untersuchungen zur Typologie des antiken Lehrgedichts*, Zetemata 69 (München 1977) pp. 234 ss., mostra bene come nella poesia didascalica l'applicazione stessa delle modalità didascaliche a materia quotidiana familiare e banale comporti di per sé un effetto di contrasto di tipo parodistico, anche se la parodia non è espressamente ricercata dall'autore, ed anche se l'autore prende sul serio il suo compito didascalico.

<sup>12</sup> A. v. Premerstein, "Lex Tappula," *Hermes* 39 (1904) pp. 327 ss., in un'eccellente analisi delle questioni poste dalla *lex Tappula*, non solo ha convenientemente collocato questo testo nell'ambito della tradizione delle leggi conviviali, ma ha avuto anche il merito di ricondurlo (pp. 342 ss.) a "quella abbondante letteratura giocosa che era in rapporto con il camevale romano" e della quale egli dà per primo una documentata ricostruzione. V. Premerstein si riferisce soprattutto a scherzi da recitare nei conviti, come appunto le stesse *leges convivales* o come la raccolta di *aenigmata* poetici in *AL* 286 R. (che l'autore, "Symposium scholasticus," presenta come improvvisati in un convito durante i Saturnali) e individua la spregiudicatezza della polemica politica e sociale in testi riconducibili all'atmosfera dei Saturnali, quali l'*Apocolocyntosis*, i *Saturnalia* di Luciano e i *Caesares* di Giuliano. Egli non tiene però conto del passo ovidiano e di tutta la didascalica giocosa che fioriva ai Saturnali e dunque non può nemmeno dare piena ragione della genesi delle opere più caratteristiche di quella letteratura che ci sono rimaste: gli *Xenia* e gli *Apophoreta*, libri che non possono essere ricondotti semplicemente alle raccolte di giochi e di facezie conviviali.

scambiano inviti e offrono agli ospiti e agli amici doni di ogni specie. Le regole dell'etichetta richiedono che il dono sia accompagnato da un biglietto, possibilmente spiritoso, e tanto meglio se in versi.<sup>13</sup> Con gli *Xenia* e gli *Apophoreta* Marziale mette a disposizione del pubblico un repertorio di idee per regali e di testi di biglietti poetici da utilizzare (magari con adattamenti) per accompagnare i regali stessi. È ovvio che in realtà non solo la funzione di *Xenia* e *Apophoreta* non si esaurisce in questa finalità pratica, ma che anzi essa è poco più di un pretesto. Anche nel caso della modesta letteratura didattica di cui parla Ovidio nel II libro dei *Tristia* ammettevamo che fosse da contemplare un piacere di tipo estetico, al di là della mera finalità pratica: evidentemente ciò è tanto più vero nel caso di questi libri, scritti da un poeta di qualità. *Xenia* e *Apophoreta* rispondono a un gusto artistico che sarà tipico anche del Marziale più maturo: il gusto per la rappresentazione concisa ed essenziale, incisiva e brillante, dell'oggetto quotidiano colto nella viva concretezza del suo uso. E il lettore avrà il piacere di trovare in un libro poetico un inventario brillante e arguto degli oggetti (e dei cibi) di cui ha quotidiana esperienza e che nei giorni dei Saturnali appaiono nella nuova attualità e nella nuova identità di oggetti di dono (così come il lettore dei trattati di cui parla Ovidio poteva ricavare piacere dal ritrovare in forma di trattato, in forma di letteratura, le regole e i precetti di giochi e di comportamenti familiari). Eppure la conformazione di questi libri e la loro stessa concezione, la possibilità di proporre al lettore libri così configurati, va collocata nel quadro di quella letteratura da "usare" nei Saturnali di cui ci parla Ovidio.

Anche *Xenia* e *Apophoreta* si propongono in un certo senso come una guida pratica per le giornate dei Saturnali. Non hanno forma didascalica, non insegnano una tecnica da esercitare nel tempo libero, ma offrono un repertorio che può aiutare nello svolgimento di una delle attività più caratteristiche dei Saturnali: quella del dono. E del resto questi stessi libri non sono privi di un risvolto didascalico: non solo l'elenco dei doni può essere considerato, implicitamente, come un'indicazione degli oggetti che è più opportuno donare; non solo questi epigrammi si propongono come modelli esemplari per chi vorrà accompagnare con un biglietto i suoi doni, ma in questo inventario di doni vi è un continuo interesse a precisare le qualità, i materiali, il costo, le caratteristiche dei diversi oggetti in rapporto agli usi cui possono essere destinati, cosicché questi libri assumono anche un carattere di guida all'uso corretto dei cibi e degli oggetti che hanno più tipica e opportuna circolazione come oggetti di dono durante i Saturnali. E in vari casi l'atteggiamento assunto dal poeta è propriamente didascalico.

<sup>13</sup> Per quanto riguarda gli *apophoreta*, l'uso è confermato da Petronio 56 e da Svetonio, *Aug.* 75, ma in generale l'uso di accompagnare un dono con un epigramma è, come si sa, molto diffuso almeno a partire dall'età ellenistica. Richiamerò soltanto una curiosa caricatura che ci è presentata da Marziale stesso in VII 46: un personaggio che, volendo a tutti i costi accompagnare degnamente i suoi doni con dei versi ed essendo d'altra parte poeta stentato, non si decide mai ad inviare i doni dovuti (e in definitiva si risparmia di farli).

Per i cibi proposti negli *Xenia* sono spesso indicati ricette di preparazione e trattamenti adeguati o le più opportune occasioni di assunzione, e la formulazione è spesso imperativa o comunque precettistica: mi limito a citare solo alcuni casi in cui la forma precettistica è più marcata: XIII 5; 8; 17; 40; 110. In XIII 92 il poeta si attribuisce esplicitamente il ruolo di *iudex* sulle qualità della selvaggina, ma i casi in cui egli dà "autorevolmente" valutazioni su usi e qualità dei cibi sono troppo numerosi perché meriti citare degli esempi. Altrettanto si può dire degli *Apophoreta*, in cui vi sono continue indicazioni per l'uso degli oggetti, e non di rado una formulazione apertamente precettistica: cfr. specialmente XIV 5; 12; 22; 24; 38; 44; 47; 50; 51; 68 (71); 86; 103; 113; 130; 131; 146; 167; 209; 221. Come si è già osservato sopra, Marziale negli *Xenia* e negli *Apophoreta* dà indicazioni, che hanno in parte carattere precettistico, anche su argomenti contemplati dalla trattatistica di cui ci parla Ovidio nei *Tristia*: sui tipi di palloni e sull'uso di coppe e recipienti per il vino in rapporto al materiale di cui sono fatti (hanno carattere apertamente didattico, su questo tema, specialmente XIII 110 e XIV 113).

Che questi due libri si inserissero in un quadro di letteratura specificamente destinata alla fruizione nella festa dei Saturnali è del resto suggerito abbastanza chiaramente da Marziale stesso nell'epigramma proemiale degli *Xenia*, quando afferma (XIII 1, 4) *postulat ecce novos ebria bruma sales*. Questa letteratura di *sales* che il pubblico si attende per i Saturnali non coincide del tutto, ma certo si integra facilmente, col quadro di letteratura "saturnalicia" offertoci da Ovidio.

Il fatto che Marziale abbia scelto di inserirsi, con questi due libri, in una corrente di produzione giocosa di consumo che generalmente aveva modeste ambizioni letterarie e che si proponeva come destinata ad un uso pratico nelle feste e nel tempo libero, non deve stupire. Prima di iniziare la regolare pubblicazione delle raccolte di epigrammi vari, in cui la sua poesia si propone direttamente come destinata ad una fruizione propriamente "letteraria," Marziale aveva certamente per lungo tempo scritto e diffuso i suoi epigrammi in rapporto a circostanze concrete in cui essi assumevano una funzione "pratica" di celebrazione, omaggio, intrattenimento nei conviti e nel tempo libero, di accompagnamento e commento di feste pubbliche (come nel caso del cosiddetto *Liber de spectaculis*) o private. Gli *Xenia* e gli *Apophoreta* sono il momento più vistoso e più singolare di una produzione poetica che, nel suo complesso, si propone come un ingrediente da inserire, e uno strumento da usare, nelle più varie occasioni di intrattenimento e di rapporto sociale.<sup>14</sup>

A livello di esplicitazione programmatica, nei proemi di ciascuna delle due raccolte Marziale fa soltanto un accenno, comunque sufficientemente chiaro, alla funzione di "repertorio" pratico che esse propongono (XIII 3, 5

<sup>14</sup> Ho analizzato più ampiamente questo aspetto della poesia di Marziale in "Pubblicazione e dediche dei libri in Marziale," *Maia* 40 (1988) pp. 3 ss.



s.; XIV 1, 5 s.),<sup>15</sup> mentre dà maggior spazio alla funzione più autentica, quella di intrattenimento: un intrattenimento, in primo luogo, del poeta stesso, per il quale la composizione di questi epigrammi sostituisce i consueti passatempi dei giorni dei Saturnali, col vantaggio che, nel peggiore dei casi, si sciupa un po' di carta, mentre i giochi d'azzardo propri dei Saturnali possono costare più cari: cfr. XIII 1 (spec. vv. 7 s. *haec mihi charta nuces, haec est mihi charta fritillus: / alea nec damnum nec facit ista lucrum*) e XIV 1 (spec. vv. 9 ss. *sed quid agam potius madidis, Saturne, diebus...? / "lude," inquis, "nucibus": perdere nolo nuces*). Abbiamo visto che l'espressione ovidiana *talia luduntur fumonso mense Decembri* poteva suggerire l'idea che la composizione (e forse la fruizione) di quella letteratura sui giochi e sul tempo libero fosse essa stessa un gioco del tempo libero dei Saturnali. In Marziale è affermato con chiarezza che il libro è un passatempo, una sostituzione dei passatempi usuali nei Saturnali. Marziale utilizza questo motivo a fini di apologetica proemiale, per presentare, con il gesto di ostentazione di modestia che è consueto nei proemi, la propria opera come niente più che un trastullo dei giorni di vacanza, un gioco fatto a tempo perso, che non pretende di essere preso in seria considerazione, che non aspira ad avere successo, anzi, che certamente non ne avrà (XIII 1, ma l'esagerata modestia di questo epigramma è poi in buona parte smentita dalla conclusione dell'epigramma successivo; XIV 1). Ma il motivo ha un significato che va al di là dell'espedito apologetico: attraverso l'idea del libro come sostituto, per il poeta, dei giochi dei Saturnali, è certamente suggerito che il libro può essere un sostituto (o un accompagnamento, un'integrazione) dei giochi dei Saturnali anche per il lettore: è certamente suggerita l'idea del libro come intrattenimento piacevole che è così importante nella poetica di Marziale. Per questo Marziale nel proemio degli *Xenia* fa riferimento al fatto che la festa richiede poesia spiritosa (*sales* in XIII 1, 4 cit. sopra) e nel proemio degli *Apophoreta* afferma che sarebbe assurdo chiedergli di comporre poesia seria, epica o tragica, nei giorni dei Saturnali, ai quali si adatta solo poesia conforme al carattere allegro e giocoso della festa. Lo stesso concetto è ripetuto, questa volta con chiaro riferimento alla fruizione, non alla composizione dell'opera, in XIV 185: *Accipe facundi Culicem, studiose, Maronis, / ne nucibus positus ARMA VIRUMQUE legas*. La poesia leggera è dunque per il lettore, non meno (anzi certamente assai più) che per l'autore, un sostituto dei giochi dei Saturnali (*nucibus positus...*). Vedremo che in epigrammi dei libri

<sup>15</sup> La battuta scherzosa di XIII 3, 5 s. *Haec licet hospitibus pro munere disticha mittas, / si tibi tam rarus, quam mihi, nummus erit*, presuppone che il lettore, in condizioni "normali," invii alcuni dei doni che trova elencati nel libro, insieme al relativo bigliettino (se invece non ha soldi potrà mandare solo il bigliettino). In XIV 1, 5 s. Marziale è più esplicito: *Divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes: / praemia convivae dent sua quisque suo*.

posteriori questo stesso motivo tornerà ancora, con esplicito riferimento al lettore.<sup>16</sup> E proprio perché ciò che Marziale ha in mente è in primo luogo l'ottica del lettore, cui vuole offrire un piacevole intrattenimento conforme ai (e potenzialmente sostitutivo dei) giochi dei Saturnali, egli, nei proemi delle due raccolte, esprime la preoccupazione che il lettore non abbia ad annoiarsi (XIII 3, 7 s.; XIV 2).

Che il libro pubblicato in occasione dei Saturnali, in quanto è inteso come strumento di intrattenimento, si configuri come un accompagnamento della festa stessa e come un'alternativa rispetto agli altri intrattenimenti caratteristici della festa, mi pare sia confermato in modo allusivo, ma nondimeno assai efficace, da un epigramma degli *Apophoreta* di cui non mi sembra sia stato colto il vero significato. Si tratta dell'epigramma XIV 223, che conclude la raccolta:

#### Adipata

Surgite: iam vendit pueris ientacula pistor  
 cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves.

#### Pasticcini

Alzatevi! Il fornaio già vende le merende ai ragazzi e in ogni luogo  
 risuona la voce dei crestati uccelli della luce.

L. Friedlaender, nel suo commento,<sup>17</sup> identifica esattamente la situazione cui l'epigramma fa riferimento: "I ragazzi si recavano a scuola già all'alba e si compravano allora la colazione dai fornai." Si deve tener presente che durante i Saturnali le scuole facevano vacanza, e si può essere certi che non solo gli scolari, ma tutti i Romani avranno approfittato, nei limiti del possibile, delle giornate di vacanza per alzarsi più tardi del solito. Questo invito ad alzarsi perché è l'alba e già i ragazzi stanno andando a scuola significa, attraverso un'allusione non troppo coperta, che i Saturnali sono finiti e che è il momento di ricominciare con la consueta vita dei giorni lavorativi. L'oggetto cui si riferisce questo epigramma si integra perfettamente nello schema su cui è costruita l'ultima sezione della raccolta, ma si noterà una certa inadeguatezza del testo dell'epigramma a fungere da biglietto di accompagnamento del dono, o almeno un suo rapporto con il dono un po' diverso da quello più consueto: questo epigramma non dà indicazioni sulle qualità o sull'uso più appropriato dell'oggetto donato, ma, prendendo spunto dal suo uso più tipico (come merenda per gli scolari), lancia un invito generale ad alzarsi all'alba—e, si deve intendere, a mettersi al lavoro. L'ultimo epigramma del libro segna dunque la fine delle vacanze. Marziale suggerisce in tal modo una coincidenza tra la durata del libro e la

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. anche le regole date da Luciano in *Sat.* 16: ai Saturnali il letterato potrà regalare un libro di autori del passato, purché esso sia εὐφημον καὶ συμποτικόν e vedi inoltre, ad es., *Stat. Silv.* IV *Epist.*

<sup>17</sup> Leipzig 1886 (rist. Amsterdam 1967) II, p. 344.

durata dei Saturnali. Il libro scritto per i Saturnali, il libro che si presenta come una guida, un repertorio per una attività tipica dei Saturnali, il libro inteso come un intrattenimento che accompagna e che integra, o che sostituisce, gli intrattenimenti dei Saturnali, ha uno svolgimento che coincide idealmente con lo svolgimento della festa: e col finire del libro finisce anche la festa. Il vivace imperativo *surgite*, che induce al risveglio i Romani nel primo giorno di lavoro dopo i Saturnali, sembra contemporaneamente voler richiamare i lettori a riscuotersi dallo straniamento in cui li ha immersi la lettura del libro—e la festa stessa.

Non è raro, del resto, trovare alla fine di un'opera (o di un singolo componimento) espressioni che, pur riferendosi alla conclusione di una situazione interna alla finzione posta dal testo, alludono contemporaneamente al fatto che, col concludersi della situazione, giunge al suo termine il testo stesso. Ciò avviene solitamente in composizioni di impianto mimico o narrativo, in cui la cessazione dell'azione comporta la cessazione del componimento. La sottolineatura del fatto che siamo giunti al termine dell'azione può alludere più o meno apertamente al fatto che siamo con ciò stesso giunti anche alla fine del componimento e spesso nei testi di carattere mimico questa sottolineatura si esprime in forme imperative o esortative che mostrano anche qualche affinità formale con il *surgite* che segna la fine degli *Apophoreta* in Marziale. Così nel caso dell'ecloga X di Virgilio, in cui l'arrivo della sera fa alzare i pastori e mette termine al loro canto: un termine che in questo caso rappresenta la conclusione dell'intera raccolta bucolica: *Surgamus: solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra . . . ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae* (vv. 75 ss.). Il *surgamus* virgiliano ha, come si vede, una certa affinità con il *surgite* di Marziale: la fine dei Saturnali, come la fine della giornata per i pastori, impone un cambiamento di condizione, un cambiamento di comportamento, e nella nuova condizione non ha più spazio la poesia che si proponeva come accompagnamento e integrazione delle attività proprie della condizione precedente. Il *surgere*, l'alzarsi, segna la fine delle sedute di dialogo, e dunque del testo del dialogo, in ciascuno dei tre libri del *De oratore* ciceroniano: cfr. I 265; II 367 *Sed nunc quidem, quoniam est id temporis, surgendum censeo et requiescendum*; III 230 *Sed iam surgamus . . .* Possiamo ricordare anche le esortazioni che concludono l'ecloga IX di Virgilio (vv. 66 s. *Desine plura, puer, et quod nunc instat agamus; / carmina tunc melius . . . canemus*) e che, dichiarando che non vi saranno altri canti inseriti nel quadro mimico, segnano contemporaneamente la fine del quadro mimico e del componimento stesso. Così nell'ecloga VIII l'esortazione finale di un carne non mimico inserito entro una cornice mimica allude implicitamente al concludersi della cornice mimica e del componimento stesso (v. 109 *parcite . . . iam parcite carmina*). Altri esempi si potrebbero addurre sia di testi a carattere mimico, sia di testi che narrano un'azione, nei quali i segnali di interruzione dell'azione sono al

tempo stesso segnali della fine del testo,<sup>18</sup> ma ciò che più mi preme sottolineare sono, a questo punto, le differenze: gli *Apophoreta* non mimano né narrano un'azione la cui conclusione possa segnare la naturale fine del libro. La corrispondenza di questo libro con la durata della festa non è un fatto interno a una finzione artistica (quale è la presupposizione che un testo accompagni mimicamente o esponga per ordine lo svolgimento di un'azione), ma è un fatto legato alla sua destinazione d'uso presso il pubblico come repertorio pratico da impiegare—e come intrattenimento con cui dilettersi—durante la festa. Non in quanto il libro accompagni le fasi dello sviluppo della festa (non è questo il principio su cui sono costruiti gli *Apophoreta*), ma in quanto esso si propone alla fruizione dei lettori in modo precipuo e privilegiato durante la festa, ha senso che Marziale suggerisca nell'epigramma finale una coincidenza di durata tra il libro e la festa.

### 3. I libri di epigrammi vari (I–XII) e i Saturnali

Poco tempo dopo la pubblicazione degli *Apophoreta* Marziale inizia a pubblicare le sue raccolte di epigrammi vari, che si differenziano dalla sua produzione anteriore (pur comprendendo al loro interno anche epigrammi scritti negli anni precedenti) in quanto non si presentano più come legate a determinate situazioni di intrattenimento sociale di cui si propongono come interpretazione e accompagnamento (come era stato il caso del *Liber de spectaculis*, degli *Xenia* e degli *Apophoreta*). Le raccolte di epigrammi vari destinate alla pubblicazione si differenziano significativamente anche dalle brevi raccolte e dai carmi singoli che Marziale doveva in precedenza aver composto per intrattenimento di cerchie di amici o per omaggio e complimento di protettori, in quanto nel libro pubblicato gli stessi epigrammi di omaggio, di complimento e intrattenimento si propongono uniti tra loro e avulsi da una determinata occasione pratica di complimento, di omaggio, di intrattenimento, per essere letti come testi propriamente "letterari," destinati alla lettura di un pubblico vasto e differenziato che dall'insieme della raccolta e dalla stessa alternanza delle sue diverse componenti (carmi di intrattenimento, di omaggio personale, di omaggio all'imperatore ecc.) ricaverà un'impressione estetica e darà un giudizio di natura propriamente artistica sull'opera del poeta. Ma anche in questa diversa prospettiva, l'intenzione di offrire al lettore un piacevole

<sup>18</sup> Tra i componimenti di carattere narrativo potrei ricordare la satira oraziana del viaggio (I 5), il cui ultimo verso è *Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est*. Tra i componimenti di carattere mimico citerò ancora Hor. *Sat.* II 3 che si conclude con un *tandem parcas, insane* (v. 326) rivolto a Damasippo che ha tenuto il suo lungo sermone e che continua ancora ad infierire e la satira II 5 in cui Tiresia, costretto a ritirarsi, così conclude il suo discorso—e la satira: *Sed me imperiosa trahit Proserpina: vive valeque* (vv. 109 s.). Si potrebbero citare altri esempi bucolici: cfr. Theocr. 2, 163 ss.; 3, 52 ss.; 15, 147 ss. ed è chiaro che il fenomeno è comune nel dialogo: cfr. ad es. in Platone il finale del *Cratilo*, del *Teeteto*, del *Fedro* e del *Protagora*, e in Cicerone *Fin.* IV 80; *Nat. deor.* III 95; *Div.* II 150.

intrattenimento letterario resta fondamentale, e la connessione della propria poesia con i Saturnali conserva il valore di simbolo di questa fondamentale intenzione, ripresentandosi più volte e alternandosi con altre connessioni di analogo significato simbolico, quali quella con il mimo, con la festa dei *Floralia*, con il teatro in quanto occasioni di spettacoli a larga partecipazione popolare<sup>19</sup> o quale il frequente richiamo al fatto che la sua poesia va letta nelle ore dedicate allo svago, preferibilmente la sera, nei simposi, quando ci si abbandona alla spensieratezza e all'eccitazione suscitata dal vino.<sup>20</sup>

L'idea che ai Saturnali si addice poesia leggera e che i suoi libri di epigrammi, in quanto poesia leggera e spiritosa, sono adatti ai Saturnali e possono costituire un passatempo alternativo ai giochi consueti in quella festa, torna più volte nel corso dei libri I–XII di Marziale. In IV 14, offrendo il suo libro al poeta Silio Italico in occasione dei Saturnali, Marziale afferma che i suoi epigrammi sono intonati alla spensieratezza della festa e suggerisce l'idea che essi si inseriscono bene tra i tanti giochi cui si abbandona tutta la città. In V 30, offrendo a un Varrone, poeta tragico, lirico ed elegiaco i suoi carmi leggeri adatti ai Saturnali, Marziale così si esprime: *sed lege fumoso non aspernanda Decembri / carmina mittuntur quae tibi mense suo* (vv. 5 s.). Il parallelo con Ovidio, *Tristia* II 491 *Talia luduntur fumoso mense Decembri* è stato naturalmente notato tanto dai commentatori di Ovidio quanto dai commentatori di Marziale: è possibile che Marziale volesse richiamarsi a quel passo ovidiano che aveva presentato un quadro di quella letteratura per i Saturnali in cui si inseriscono queste sue offerte di poesia piacevole per l'occasione della festa. A Varrone, Marziale propone la lettura del suo libro come sostituto innocuo dei giochi d'azzardo propri dei Saturnali, con i quali si rischia invece di rimetterci (vv. 7 s.): è lo stesso motivo che Marziale aveva riferito a sè stesso, alla sua attività di autore degli *Xenia* e degli *Apophoreta*, in XIII 1 e XIV 1. La coerenza tra la poesia leggera e lasciva di Marziale e lo spirito dei Saturnali in occasione dei quali egli la propone ai suoi dedicatari o ai lettori è affermata con evidenza ancora in X 18; XI 2; 6; 15. Invece in VII 28 (e cfr. anche V 80) il rapporto tra l'offerta del libro a un amico e l'occasione dei Saturnali è costituito soltanto dal fatto che i giorni di vacanza consentiranno al dedicatario di avere tempo libero per leggere (e per correggere) i versi di Marziale.

In questo quadro merita particolare attenzione il fatto che anche nelle raccolte di epigrammi vari troviamo suggerita, certamente in un caso, forse in due casi, la coestensione del libro con la festa dei Saturnali, nello stesso modo che abbiamo sopra individuato a proposito degli *Apophoreta*. L'ultimo epigramma del V libro (V 84) annuncia, in un modo che nei primi due versi è sensibilmente affine all'ultimo epigramma degli *Apophoreta*, la fine dei Saturnali:

<sup>19</sup> Cfr. I *Epist.*; 4; II *Epist.*; VIII *Epist.*

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. IV 82; V 16; VII 51; 97; X 20; XI 17 e inoltre XI 1 e XII 1.

Iam tristis nucibus puer relictis  
 clamoso revocatur a magistro,  
 et blando male proditus fritillo,  
 arcana modo raptus e popina,  
 aedilem rogat udus aleator.  
 Saturnalia transiere tota,  
 nec munuscula parva nec minora  
 misisti mihi, Galla, quam solebas.  
 Sane sic abeat meus December . . .

Il libro termina con la fine della festa, quando i ragazzi lasciano i giochi consueti dei Saturnali e se ne tornano tristemente a scuola. Il poeta, da parte sua, verifica se gli amici hanno fatto il loro dovere nei suoi riguardi.

Nel IV libro non l'ultimo, ma il penultimo epigramma (IV 88) segna la fine della festa e il momento in cui il poeta fa il bilancio dei doni ricevuti:

Nulla remisisti parvo pro munere dona,  
 et iam Saturni quinque fuere dies . . .

In questo caso la coincidenza tra fine della festa e fine del libro non è piena, ma si consideri che l'epigramma finale del libro, che segue a questo, non è una "continuazione" del libro, non aggiunge altri temi, ma è un vero e proprio congedo (*Ohe, iam satis est, ohe, libelle . . .*). Il motivo del consuntivo dei doni ricevuti durante i Saturnali torna altre due volte in Marziale, in epigrammi non collocati in fine di libro (IV 46 e VII 53): esso non è dunque legato necessariamente alla funzione di segnale della coincidenza tra durata del libro e durata della festa. Ma la collocazione in posizione finale di un epigramma che svolge questo motivo non mi pare possa essere casuale, almeno nel caso del V libro, specialmente in considerazione dell'affinità con la chiusa degli *Apophoreta*. Va anche notato che sia in IV 88, sia specialmente in V 84, la conclusione della festa è annunciata con una certa enfasi, cosa che non si verifica negli altri due epigrammi in cui il motivo appare all'interno del libro e nei quali la conclusione della festa è solo presupposta.

#### 4. Questioni di cronologia

A questo punto si pone, è chiaro, un problema di cronologia della pubblicazione dei libri. Il motivo per cui il libro viene proposto come accompagnamento e integrazione dei Saturnali, come sostitutivo dei giochi propri dei Saturnali e addirittura come coesteso con la festa stessa ha, come si è detto, un valore generale di affermazione di intenzione poetica di intrattenimento, ma risulta più pienamente giustificato e più interamente significativo se, come nel caso di *Xenia* e *Apophoreta*, il libro viene effettivamente proposto al pubblico in occasione dei Saturnali, se viene pubblicato, e diffuso tra gli amici, *fumonso mense Decembri*, tra le altre

pubblicazioni amene che vengono messe a disposizione dei lettori dediti agli svaghi nei giorni dei Saturnali.

Mi rendo conto che vi è un certo margine di rischio nel voler passare dal piano dei simboli di cui un poeta si serve per affermare un aspetto della sua poetica al piano fattuale della cronologia della pubblicazione delle sue opere, e perciò le considerazioni che svolgerò nelle pagine seguenti vanno intese solo come la cauta proposta di elementi di cui a mio parere si dovrebbe tenere un qualche conto nella ricostruzione della cronologia di alcuni libri di Marziale. E si intende che quando parlo di pubblicazione in occasione dei Saturnali non pretendo di fissare la data della pubblicazione precisamente nei giorni della festa, ma penso più approssimativamente a una sua datazione in dicembre, mese che era investito per tutta la sua durata dallo spirito dei Saturnali, al punto che nell'uso linguistico il nome del mese poteva designare direttamente la festa e l'atmosfera di piacere e di licenza che vi era connessa.<sup>21</sup>

L'affermazione che il libro può integrarsi opportunamente nell'atmosfera dei Saturnali o può sostituire gli svaghi propri dei Saturnali ricorre, oltre che in *Xenia* e *Apophoreta*, nei libri IV, V, VII, X, XI. Nel caso del libro XI tutto è chiaro: in tre epigrammi di carattere proemiale (XI 2; 6; 15) il poeta dichiara apertamente ai suoi lettori che in questo libro egli si concederà un tono e un linguaggio particolarmente liberi e sfrenati perché se ne sente autorizzato dall'atmosfera dei Saturnali, che richiedono poesia spensierata e che lasciano ampi margini di licenza. Come nel caso di *Xenia* e *Apophoreta*, così nel caso di questo libro XI nessuno dubita che esso sia stato presentato al pubblico in occasione dei Saturnali (del 96, come risulta dal fatto che il libro viene pubblicato quando Nerva è già succeduto a Domiziano e quando è ancora vivo Partenio, che sarà ucciso nel corso del 97). Nel caso degli altri libri la questione si presenta in modo un po' diverso, perché l'affermazione della adeguatezza del libro alla festa non è formulata in proemi che riguardano inequivocabilmente il libro nella sua forma destinata alla pubblicazione, ma in carmi di presentazione e di offerta a singoli amici privati, carmi che potrebbero riferirsi a raccolte minori, destinate a circolazione privata o semiprivata, inviate agli amici in occasioni

<sup>21</sup> Sen. *Epist.* 18, 1 *December est mensis: cum maxime civitas sudat. Ius luxuriae publicae datum est . . . tamquam quicquam inter Saturnalia intersit et dies rerum agendarum; adeo nihil interest ut <non> videatur mihi errasse qui dixit olim mensem Decembrem fuisse, nunc annum e* cfr. *Apocol.* 8, 2 *Saturno . . . cuius mensem toto anno celebravit.* Stazio, in apertura di un suo carme scritto in occasione di un festeggiamento tenutosi il 1° di dicembre (*Silv.* 1 6), invita le divinità che ispirano la poesia seria ad andarsene in vacanza per tutto il mese e a ritornare al 1° di gennaio e invoca invece come proprie divinità ispiratrici *iocus, sales protervi, e December* che, *multo gravidus mero*, rappresenta dunque lo spirito dei Saturnali (cfr. anche vv. 81 s.). Marziale usa *December* per indicare il periodo in cui regna l'atmosfera dei Saturnali, o come diretto equivalente di *Saturnalia*, in IV 14, 7 s.; V 18, 1; 84, 9; VII 72, 1; X 87, 7; XII 62, 15 e cfr. in particolare V 30, 5 s. che si riferisce appunto alla presentazione di un libro in dicembre in quanto mese dei Saturnali: *lege fumoso non aspernanda Decembri, I carmina mittuntur quae tibi mense suo.*

particolari (ad esempio appunto come dono per i Saturnali) e poi confluite, in tutto o in parte, insieme con gli epigrammi di dedica, nel libro destinato alla pubblicazione che noi oggi leggiamo. In altra sede<sup>22</sup> ho addotto gli argomenti che mi inducono a ritenere che queste dediche a singoli amici debbano in genere essere intese come dediche del libro stesso in cui attualmente le leggiamo, nella sua forma di libro destinato al pubblico. Ma poiché riconosco che non si può escludere che in qualche caso si tratti invece di dediche di *libelli* a destinazione privata, e poiché non pretendo di avere, con quella mia argomentazione, eliminato ogni dubbio in questa complicata questione, non considero la presenza di un riferimento alla congruità del libro con i Saturnali contenuto in una dedica a un amico come motivo sufficiente per ritenere che il libro in cui quella dedica è attualmente compresa sia stato pubblicato in occasione dei Saturnali. Ritengo però che si tratti di un indizio di un certo peso, da confrontare con gli altri indizi relativi alla cronologia del libro.

Per quanto riguarda il X libro, Marziale, nell'epigramma X 18, dice che egli non può sottrarsi al dovere di pagare il suo *Saturnalicium tributum* a Macro che, pur essendo persona impegnata in importanti responsabilità pubbliche (come *curator* della via Appia), esige da lui poesie allegre, adatte alla festa. È uno di quei casi in cui non mi sentirei di escludere (pur non ritenendolo probabile) che la dedica si riferisca a un *libellus* destinato a circolazione privata, e d'altra parte non vi sono, nel corso del X libro, altri indizi consistenti che possano indurci a riferirne con sufficiente probabilità la pubblicazione all'occasione dei Saturnali. La seconda edizione del libro X, come è lucidamente mostrato da Friedlaender (I, pp. 64 s.), deve essere stata pubblicata tra l'aprile e l'ottobre del 98. Quanto alla prima edizione, che deve essere del 95, Friedlaender (p. 62) ritiene che essa sia stata verosimilmente pubblicata in occasione dei Saturnali, ma non adduce le ragioni che lo inducono a questa ipotesi: probabilmente egli pensava appunto all'epigramma X 18, e forse anche a X 29, che contiene un gioco sui doni in occasione dei Saturnali. Benché la datazione ai Saturnali (del 95) della prima edizione del X libro sia ammissibile, mi pare che gli indizi in tal senso siano troppo esili per consentirci un'ipotesi sufficientemente fondata.

Nel caso del libro VII la data di pubblicazione può essere fissata con certezza in dicembre (del 92) in quanto gli epigrammi 5; 6; 7 e 8 fanno riferimento alle aspettative suscitate appunto in quel mese (VII 8, 3) dalla notizia del prossimo ritorno a Roma di Domiziano dopo la vittoria sarmatica, ritorno che avvenne nel successivo mese di gennaio.<sup>23</sup> È notevole

<sup>22</sup> *Maia* 40 (1988) pp. 33 ss.

<sup>23</sup> R. Hanslik, "Die neuen Fastenfragmente von Ostia in ihrer Beziehung zu gleichzeitigem epigraphischem und literarischem Material," *Wien. Stud.* 63 (1948) pp. 122 ss., aveva proposto uno spostamento di un anno della data della guerra sarmatica, e quindi dei libri VII e VIII di Marziale, che egli collocava rispettivamente nel 93 e nel 94; ma mentre uno spostamento al 94 del libro VIII è plausibile (vd. *infra* n. 40), la datazione consueta della guerra sarmatica, e del libro VII, non va spostata: alle vittorie riportate in questa guerra deve essere necessariamente



che in questo libro pubblicato in dicembre troviamo un epigramma di offerta del libro a un amico in occasione dei Saturnali (VII 28)<sup>24</sup> e inoltre, come osservava già Friedlaender (p. 58), vari epigrammi che si riferiscono esplicitamente ai Saturnali (oltre a VII 28, si riferiscono agli scambi di doni per i Saturnali anche VII 53; 72; 91 e probabilmente 36, ove si parla di un dono da fare in dicembre) e si potrebbe anche aggiungere che in questo libro ben 26 epigrammi complessivamente si riferiscono a situazioni di dono.<sup>25</sup> Questa notevole frequenza di riferimenti ai Saturnali e di contenuti tematici che si inseriscono nell'atmosfera dei Saturnali in un libro pubblicato in dicembre induce alla naturale conclusione che Marziale ha voluto connettere il suo libro con la festa che caratterizzava il mese di dicembre, intendendo proporre questo libro come lettura per accompagnare la festa dei Saturnali.

Nei casi esaminati finora la connessione della pubblicazione del libro con il periodo dei Saturnali corrisponde a un quadro cronologico certo (nel caso dei libri VII e XI), oppure ipotetico, ma conforme a ipotesi già avanzate e d'altra parte non passibile di sufficienti conferme (nel caso del libro X). Per quanto riguarda i libri IV e V, di cui ora ci occuperemo, la connessione della pubblicazione con i Saturnali significherebbe l'adozione di ipotesi cronologiche che sono state già proposte per tali libri, ma non concordemente accettate e, nel caso del libro IV, comporterebbe delle conseguenze anche per la datazione della rivolta di Antonio Saturnino.

Il IV libro è datato da Friedlaender (pp. 55 s.) al dicembre 88 e verosimilmente ai Saturnali di quell'anno. La datazione al dicembre si fonda sul fatto che il libro è posteriore al compleanno di Domiziano (24 ottobre), di cui si parla in IV 1, e anteriore alla notizia della repressione dell'insurrezione di Antonio Saturnino, legato della Germania Superiore, insurrezione di cui in IV 11 si parla come di un evento che causa grande

riferita la XXII, e ultima, salutatione imperatoria di Domiziano (la XXI risale all' 89); ora una moneta acquistata dal British Museum nel 1977 e pubblicata da I. A. Carradice, "A denarius of AD 92," *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 28 (1978) pp. 159 s., prova con sostanziale certezza che la XXII salutatione è anteriore al 13/14 settembre del 92. Vedi l'argomentazione del Carradice, l. cit., e l'ulteriore conferma portata da T. V. Buttrey, *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980) pp. 38 s. Altre considerazioni contro l'ipotesi di spostamento della data della guerra sarmatica già in E. Wistrand, *De Martialis epigr. VIII 15 commentatiuncula*, Acta Univ. Gotoburg. 60, 9 (1954) pp. 5 s. n. 1. Lo stesso Hanslik aveva lasciato cadere la sua proposta in *Der Kleine Pauly* II (1975) c. 124 (s. v. *Domitianus*).

<sup>24</sup> Si tratta di un invio di versi con richiesta di correzione. Nell'articolo cit. sopra (n. 22) ho sostenuto che anche nei casi in cui vi è richiesta di correzione può trattarsi in realtà dell'invio-offerta del libro nella sua forma definitiva destinata alla pubblicazione: la richiesta di correzione può essere solo un gesto "formulare" di deferenza cortese in quanto ha il significato di una dichiarazione di dipendenza dal giudizio del dedicatario.

<sup>25</sup> VII 3; 16; 17; 26; 27; 28; 29; 31; 36; 42; 46; 49; 52; 53; 55; 68; 72; 77; 78; 80; 84; 86; 89; 91; 97; 99. In dodici di questi epigrammi si tratta dell'offerta del libro da parte del poeta stesso (ma in tre casi: VII 80; 84; 99 non è probabile che l'offerta sia da connettere con l'occasione dei Saturnali); negli altri epigrammi si tratta di doni diversi.

preoccupazione. Sappiamo che la notizia dello scoppio della rivolta aveva suscitato grande angoscia, che Domiziano era partito in tutta fretta con i pretoriani alla volta della Germania e che aveva dato ordine a Traiano di mettersi in marcia con la massima urgenza con le truppe che erano ai suoi comandi in Spagna. E sappiamo che mentre Domiziano era ancora in marcia lo aveva raggiunto la notizia che la rivolta era stata repressa dal legato della Germania Inferiore.<sup>26</sup> Dagli Atti degli Arvali risulta che il 12 gennaio (dell' 89) Domiziano era già partito da Roma e che forse il 24, ma certamente il 25 gennaio, la notizia della vittoria era già giunta a Roma (mentre non vi era ancora giunta il 17 gennaio). L'epigramma IV 11, che registra le angosce per la rivolta, deve dunque essere anteriore al 25 gennaio, ma non di molto, perché sappiamo che la repressione della rivolta fu molto rapida. Poiché il libro, come si è detto e come vedremo meglio più avanti, fa vari riferimenti ai Saturnali, sembra naturale datarne la pubblicazione ai Saturnali dell' 88. Questa datazione è stata in genere accolta (come del resto quasi tutta la cronologia marzialiana di Friedlaender) ed anche negli studi di storia antica la rivolta di Antonio Saturnino è spesso collocata tra il dicembre dell' 88 (suoi primi inizi e allarme a Roma) e il gennaio dell' 89 (sua rapida repressione). Ma ha notevole diffusione e prestigio anche una cronologia lievemente diversa. E. Ritterling, cui va il merito di aver dato, muovendo da premesse poste dal Bergk, una solida ricostruzione dello svolgersi degli eventi,<sup>27</sup> ipotizzava che la rivolta fosse scoppiata il 1° gennaio 89, in occasione della cerimonia del giuramento di fedeltà all'imperatore che le truppe pronunciavano ad ogni nuovo inizio dell'anno. Ritterling era indotto a questa ipotesi dall'analogia con quanto era avvenuto esattamente 20 anni prima nella stessa guarnigione della Germania

<sup>26</sup> Identificato ormai con sostanziale sicurezza, anche in base a reperti epigrafici relativamente recenti, come A. Bucius Lappius Maximus, cons. suff. nell' 86, governatore della Siria nel 91, cons. suff. nuovamente nel 95. Probabilmente non identificabile, invece, come si era ritenuto in precedenza, con il Norbanus a cui si rivolge Marziale in IX 84 attribuendogli un ruolo importante nella vittoria su Saturnino: cfr. J. Assa, "Aulus Bucius Lappius Maximus," in *Acte des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik*: Wien 1962 (Wien 1964) pp. 31 ss.; G. Alföldi, "Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmeen," *Epigraphische Studien* 3 (Köln-Graz 1967) pp. 11 ss.; W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian. Prosopographische Untersuchungen mit Einschluss der Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der Statthalter* (München 1970), cfr. i riferimenti nell'indice a p. 276. Sull'identità e sul ruolo avuto dal Norbanus di cui parla Marziale cfr. H. Nesselhauf, "Umriss einer Geschichte des obergermanischen Heeres," *Jahrb. des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 7 (1960) pp. 151 ss. (spec. p. 165); G. Winkler, "Norbanus, ein bisher unbekannter Prokurator von Raetien," in *Acten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik*: München 1972 (München 1973) pp. 495 ss.

<sup>27</sup> E. Ritterling, "Zur römischen Legionsgeschichte am Rhein, II," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst* 12 (1893) pp. 203 ss. Th. Bergk, "Der Aufstand des Antonius," *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (successivamente *Bonner Jahrbücher*) 58 (1876) pp. 136 ss., era stato il primo a riferire gli Atti degli Arvali del gennaio dell' 89 agli eventi relativi alla sollevazione di Antonio Saturnino, ponendo le premesse per la corretta definizione della cronologia.

Superiore. Come allora, la notizia dell'atto di insubordinazione poteva essere arrivata a Roma già prima del 10 gennaio;<sup>28</sup> Domiziano poteva essere partito tra il 12 e il 17 gennaio ed essere stato raggiunto dalla notizia della vittoria intorno al 22 gennaio, mentre era in marcia. Questa ricostruzione è seguita dal Syme e da altri, che collocano senz'altro lo scoppio dell'insurrezione al 1° di gennaio.<sup>29</sup> Ciò comporterebbe, come si vede, tempi estremamente stretti per lo svolgimento dei fatti e uno spazio ben circoscritto in cui collocare il libro di Marziale: egli avrebbe concluso e affidato al libraio-editore la sua nuova raccolta tra il 10 gennaio e il 24 gennaio dell' 89.

Il Ritterling teneva conto del fatto che nel IV libro di Marziale vi sono vari riferimenti ai Saturnali e notava che IV 88 parla dei Saturnali come conclusi: ma appunto in questi riferimenti egli trovava una conferma alla sua tesi di una pubblicazione del libro *dopo* la fine dei Saturnali. In realtà non dobbiamo in alcun modo pensare che epigrammi che prendono ad argomento i doni dei Saturnali o qualsiasi altro comune fatto di costume debbano necessariamente essere fondati su esperienze biografiche determinate e databili. Di per sè la presenza in un libro di riferimenti ai Saturnali non è rilevante per la cronologia: Marziale ovviamente può scegliere in qualunque momento dell'anno di prendere come tema per un suo epigramma una situazione ambientata ai Saturnali. Rilevante per la cronologia è la presentazione del libro come adatto accompagnamento della festa dei Saturnali, e ciò può essere tanto più rilevante in quanto abbiamo visto che esiste una letteratura di intrattenimento destinata specificamente ai Saturnali e in quanto abbiamo visto che Marziale non disdegna di inserire i suoi libri in questo tipo di produzione. Solo come elemento aggiuntivo può essere presa in considerazione una frequenza notevole di riferimenti ai Saturnali, che sarebbe ingenuo interpretare come la registrazione immediata di esperienze occorse al poeta durante la festa, e che dovrebbero se mai essere intesi come la proposta al lettore di temi che possano apparirgli attuali al momento della fruizione dell'opera, come si è visto sopra nel caso del libro VII.

Nel IV libro troviamo una dedica a Silio Italico (IV 14) in occasione dei Saturnali: il poeta serio e austero potrà concedere qualche attenzione alla poesia lasciva di Marziale visto che siamo nei giorni in cui tutta Roma è

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. Tac. *Hist.* I 12; 18; 55; 56. I tempi in cui viaggiavano i dispacci urgenti sono analizzati da A. M. Ramsay, "The Speed of the Roman Imperial Post," *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 15 (1925) pp. 60 ss.; F. Köster, *Der Marsch der Invasionsarmee des Fabius Valens vom Niederrhein nach Italien (Anfang 69 n. Chr.)*. *Untersuchungen über Tacitus, Historien I 61-66. II 14-15, 27-30*, Diss. (Münster 1927) pp. 11 ss.

<sup>29</sup> Cfr. R. Syme, in *Cambridge Ancient History XI* (1936) pp. 172 s.; id., "Antonius Saturninus," *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 68 (1978) pp. 13 e 21; R. Hanslik, art. cit., p. 125; B. W. Jones, *Domitian and the Senatorial Order. A Prosopographical Study of Domitian's Relationship with the Senate, A.D. 81-96*, *Memoirs of the Amer. Philos. Soc.* 132 (1979) p. 30.

dedita ai giochi e alla spensieratezza. Poiché si tratta dell'invio di epigrammi giocosi, dei quali Marziale sottolinea la non corrispondenza con il carattere del dedicatario, è più probabile che l'offerta si riferisca al libro nella sua forma destinata alla pubblicazione, al libro che Marziale offre ai lettori per i giorni dei Saturnali, anziché ad una raccolta destinata alla circolazione privata, confezionata per compiacere l'amico. Il libro contiene altri tre epigrammi (19; 46; 88) che fanno riferimento esplicito ai Saturnali (e altri 6 epigrammi si riferiscono a situazioni di dono, 4 dei quali al dono del libro da parte del poeta). Abbiamo già visto che la collocazione al penultimo posto del libro, subito prima del congedo, di un epigramma che dichiara finiti i Saturnali, può suggerire l'idea che il libro, destinato ad essere letto come intrattenimento giocoso nel corso dei Saturnali, dura quanto la festa stessa. A me pare che questo complesso di riferimenti ai Saturnali contenuti nel IV libro risulti più naturalmente collocato in un libro che si presenta al pubblico in occasione della festa, piuttosto che in un libro che i lettori prenderanno in mano quando la festa sarà finita da un mese, e credo quindi che la datazione proposta da Friedlaender vada mantenuta. La data di inizio dell'insurrezione di Antonio Saturnino andrebbe dunque collocata nel dicembre dell' 88. Del resto il Walser, autore della più recente analisi storica di quell'episodio,<sup>30</sup> pur riconoscendo la probabilità della congettura secondo cui la cerimonia del giuramento del 1° gennaio 89 avrebbe costituito il vero inizio dell'insurrezione, ritiene però che notizie sulla congiura dovessero essere giunte a Roma già nel corso del dicembre dell' 88. Walser non si fonda sulla testimonianza di Marziale, della quale egli non tiene conto, ma valuta senz'altro impossibile che, essendo arrivata la notizia della rivolta verso il 10 di gennaio, Domiziano potesse essere già in marcia il 12. Anche le energiche misure che misero in marcia contro Antonio Saturnino le truppe di varie province non potevano, secondo Walser, essere state predisposte solo a partire da gennaio.

Il V libro è datato da Friedlaender (p. 56) all'autunno dell' 89, in quanto vi si fa riferimento (V 3) all'incontro di Domiziano con Degis, fratello di Decebalo, che precedette di poco la pace conclusa con i Daci nel corso dell' 89, e in quanto viceversa non vi si farebbe ancora alcun riferimento al duplice trionfo per le vittorie sui Daci e sui Catti celebrato da Domiziano verso la fine dello stesso 89 (ma una datazione più precisa della celebrazione di questo trionfo non è possibile).<sup>31</sup> Gsell, nella sua importante monografia su Domiziano, sosteneva invece che in Mart. V 19, 3 il plurale *triumphos* presuppone il trionfo dell' 89, giacché prima di esso Domiziano aveva celebrato un solo trionfo, quello dell' 83 dopo la campagna contro i Catti.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> G. Walser, "Der Putsch des Saturninus gegen Domitian," in *Provincialia. Festschr. für Rudolf Laur-Belart* (Basel-Stuttgart 1968) pp. 497 ss.

<sup>31</sup> Cfr. E. Köstlin, *Die Donaukriege Domitians*, Diss. (Tübingen 1910) pp. 69 s. e 74-81.

<sup>32</sup> S. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (Paris 1894) pp. 198 ss. L'ipotesi di un precedente trionfo di Domiziano sui Daci, celebrato già nell' 86, era stata formulata da F. Vollmer nel suo commento alle *Silvae* di Stazio (Leipzig 1898, rist. Hildesheim-New York

Gsell riteneva anche che le feste e i donativi imperiali cui si fa riferimento in epigrammi come V 31; 49 e 65 fossero da porre in rapporto con l'occasione del duplice trionfo e che il banchetto pubblico tenutosi il 1° dicembre di cui parla Stazio in *Silv.* I 6 fosse pure stato dato in occasione di quel trionfo e fosse da identificare con la distribuzione imperiale di pasti di cui parla Marziale in V 49. Gsell proponeva dunque di datare il libro al dicembre (dell' 89), anche in considerazione del fatto che in V 18; 30; 59; 84 si fa riferimento alla festa dei Saturnali. Successivamente anche altri storici hanno riferito Mart. V 19, 3 al trionfo celebrato alla fine dell' 89, senza peraltro esprimersi sull'ipotesi di una connessione della pubblicazione del libro con i Saturnali.<sup>33</sup> In realtà in V 19, 3 *Quando magis dignos licuit spectare triumphos* il plurale ha valore del tutto generico ("in quale altra epoca si è assistito a trionfi più degni") e non può valere come prova che Domiziano avesse celebrato, a questo punto, più di un trionfo. Ma è pur vero che se Marziale, nell'elencare le benemeritenze del regime domiziano, comincia dai trionfi, sembra naturale dedurne che il trionfo del sovrano ha in quel momento una sua attualità presso il pubblico, il che non potrebbe certo valere per un trionfo celebrato nell' 83.<sup>34</sup> Si potrebbe obiettare che se il trionfo fosse già stato celebrato alla data del V libro, Marziale avrebbe dovuto parlarne di più, in quanto l'avvenimento doveva aver attratto l'attenzione dell'epigrammista e del suo pubblico. Ma anche nel successivo libro VI a questo trionfo vi è appena qualche accenno, e si deve del resto tener conto del fatto che al tempo del V libro (che è il primo libro che egli osa dedicare a Domiziano), Marziale non considera ancora le sue raccolte di epigrammi vari come legittimate ad essere lo spazio letterario in cui si registrano e si celebrano i più significativi eventi pubblici di attualità connessi col sovrano e con la sua corte, come avverrà, del resto non sistematicamente, soprattutto dal VII libro in poi.<sup>35</sup> A me pare dunque più probabile che il V libro sia posteriore al duplice trionfo celebrato verso la fine dell' 89: in tal caso la pubblicazione del libro andrebbe verosimilmente

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1971) p. 45, n. 6 e cfr. p. 49: ripresa da C. G. Brandis, *RE* IV (1901) c. 2248 s. (s. v. *Decebalus*) e poi da R. Weyand, *RE* VI (1909) c. 2563 (s. v. *Flavius Domitianus*) e ancora da R. Hanslik in *Der Kleine Pauly* II (1975) c. 123 (s. v. *Domitianus*), è stata convincentemente confutata da E. Köstlin, op. cit., pp. 77 ss. e cfr. pp. 10 e 58 s. e cfr. anche G. Corradi, in E. De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico* II (1910) pp. 1959 s. (s. v. *Domitianae Kalendae*). Nega l'esistenza di questo trionfo anche R. Syme, *Cambridge Ancient History* XI (1936) p. 171. Ulteriori ragioni di dubbio sono addotte da A. Garzetti, *L'impero da Tiberio agli Antonini* (Bologna 1960) p. 657, che assume però sulla questione una posizione più possibilista.

<sup>33</sup> R. Weyand, *RE* VI (1909) c. 2571; G. Corradi, in E. De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico* II (1910) p. 1987 (s. v. *Domitianus*); E. Köstlin, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>34</sup> E nemmeno, direi, per l'eventuale, improbabile trionfo dell' 86 (vd. *supra* n. 32).

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. *Maia* 40 (1988) pp. 18 ss.

collocata nel dicembre di quell'anno, come appunto proponeva Gsell<sup>36</sup> (sarei invece assai più cauto nel riferire ai festeggiamenti organizzati in occasione del trionfo gli epigrammi V 31 e 65, e non credo che Stat. *Silv.* I 6 sia riferibile alla stessa circostanza nè che abbia a che fare con la situazione presupposta da Mart. V 49).

Il V libro mostra al suo interno un numero considerevole di indizi che suggeriscono di collegarlo ai Saturnali: vi sono due epigrammi di offerta del libro a un amico con riferimento all'occasione della festa: V 30, in cui, come si è visto sopra, la lettura del libro è presentata come conveniente alternativa ai giochi dei Saturnali, e V 80, in cui viene detto che l'amico avrà, dato il periodo di vacanza (non è specificato che si tratta dei Saturnali), il tempo per leggere e correggere i suoi versi. Altri riferimenti ai doni per i Saturnali ricorrono in V 18; 19; 84. A situazioni di dono si riferiscono anche V 52; 59; 68; 73. E, soprattutto, questo è il libro in cui l'epigramma finale sanziona con particolare sonorità, e in modo affine all'ultimo epigramma degli *Apophoreta*, la fine della festa: il parallelo che viene così suggerito tra lo svolgimento del libro e lo svolgimento dei Saturnali ha pieno senso solo se il libro è stato pubblicato in occasione dei Saturnali, come lettura che accompagnerà gradevolmente la festa.

Vi è dunque notevole probabilità che oltre ai libri XIII, XIV, VII e XI, anche i libri IV e V siano stati pubblicati in dicembre, nel mese dei Saturnali, e abbiamo visto che la stessa collocazione è stata ipotizzata, sia pur con insufficiente fondamento, anche per la prima edizione del X libro.

Per quanto riguarda gli altri libri, non hanno alcun riferimento ai Saturnali il I, che è stato forse pubblicato agli inizi dell' 86;<sup>37</sup> il III, che potrebbe forse essere stato pubblicato tra settembre e ottobre dell' 87;<sup>38</sup> il

<sup>36</sup> Credo però sia opportuno precisare che per il V libro, e per lo stesso VI libro, manca in realtà un solido *terminus ante quem* che non sia la data di pubblicazione del VII libro, nel dicembre del 92. Perciò non solo per il V libro, ma anche per il VI libro, non si può a rigore escludere una datazione più tarda di quelle proposte da Friedlaender, la cui cronologia viene a determinare una pausa insolitamente lunga (dall'autunno del 90 al dicembre del 92) tra la data di pubblicazione del VI e quella del VII libro.

<sup>37</sup> Cfr. l'introduzione della mia edizione commentata del libro I di Marziale (Firenze 1975) pp. ix ss.

<sup>38</sup> È un'ipotesi che ho proposto in "Marziale e i luoghi della Cispadana," in *Cispadana e letteratura antica*, Atti del Convegno di Studi tenuto ad Imola nel maggio 1986 = vol. XXI della serie "Documenti e Studi" della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna (Bologna 1987) pp. 138 ss. Data la limitata diffusione di questo volume, mi permetto di riassumere brevemente qui l'argomentazione ivi svolta. Il libro III è pubblicato durante il soggiorno dell'autore a Imola e contiene vari epigrammi che fanno riferimento a diverse città della Cispadana: dunque è stato pubblicato quando Marziale si trovava in quella regione da parecchio tempo, ma anche parecchio tempo prima che egli ne venisse via, perché se Marziale avesse avuto la prospettiva di un imminente ritorno a Roma avrebbe verosimilmente rinviato la pubblicazione al periodo del suo rientro. E infatti nel IV libro vi è un epigramma che fa riferimento a un'escursione sul litorale veneto (IV 25), verosimilmente compiuta durante il soggiorno cispadano, dopo la pubblicazione del III libro. Ma il IV libro, che è del dicembre 88, presuppone chiaramente un recente soggiorno estivo di Marziale a Baia e in altre località del Golfo di Napoli. Dunque egli deve aver lasciato la Cispadana entro i primi mesi dell' 88 per

IX, che Friedlaender (p. 61) datava a dopo l'estate del 94 e che, qualora si debba far scendere la datazione dell'VIII fino al gennaio del 94 (vd. *infra*), potrebbe essere a sua volta fatto scendere di qualche mese (ma non di molto, perché nel 95 e nel dicembre del 96 saranno pubblicati rispettivamente la prima edizione del X e l'XI libro). Un riferimento ai Saturnali non rilevante per la datazione si ha nel II libro (II 85), che si pone in una data del tutto incerta tra I e III libro,<sup>39</sup> e uno ancor più irrilevante nel VI (VI 24), che Friedlaender (pp. 57 s.) pone tra estate e autunno del 90, ma per il quale, come si è detto sopra (n. 36), manca in realtà un affidabile *terminus ante quem*. Una consistenza un po' maggiore hanno i due riferimenti ai Saturnali che ricorrono nel libro VIII (VIII 41 e 71), che Friedlaender datava alla metà del 93, ma che è da spostare quanto meno verso la fine dell'anno, ma più

poter aver avuto il tempo di tornare a Roma e di ricevervi gli opportuni inviti per l'estate sul Golfo di Napoli. La pubblicazione del libro sarà anteriore di almeno un paio di mesi al suo rientro: il gennaio 88 è dunque un verosimile *terminus ante quem* del libro. L'epigramma III 6 è dedicato a una celebrazione privata tenutasi in casa di un amico il 17 maggio: si deve ritenere che alla data di quella festa il II libro era già stato pubblicato (sarebbe stato scortese nei riguardi dell'amico non pubblicare il carne nel primo libro edito dopo il verificarsi dell'occasione di omaggio) e dunque non credo che la festa possa essersi tenuta nel maggio 86, perché ciò comporterebbe una data troppo ravvicinata dei libri I e II. Il maggio 88 porterebbe invece troppo al di là del *terminus ante quem* del gennaio 88 che abbiamo sopra individuato come probabile per il III libro. La festa sarà dunque del 17 maggio 87, probabile *terminus post quem* per la pubblicazione del libro. L'escursione in Veneto cui si fa riferimento in IV 25, posteriore alla pubblicazione del III libro, probabilmente non sarà avvenuta nei mesi più freddi: o è del marzo 88, e allora Marziale dovrebbe, dopo poche settimane, aver fatto ritorno a Roma in tempo per riallacciare i rapporti con gli amici e per procurarsi gli inviti per l'estate: ipotesi possibile, ma che comporta tempi stretti. Più probabile che l'escursione in Veneto non sia posteriore al novembre 87, e allora la data di pubblicazione del libro III andrebbe collocata probabilmente poco prima: nel settembre-ottobre 87. Probabilmente non più indietro, dovendoci verosimilmente essere un congruo intervallo tra i libri I, II e III. L'epigramma III 20 sembrerebbe scritto all'inizio della stagione balneare a Baia (fine febbraio-marzo) mentre Marziale si trova lontano da Roma: se Marziale quando scrive III 20 è in Cispadana, doveva dunque esservi, a quanto pare, già dal febbraio 87.

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. i miei lavori citati nelle due note precedenti. Ricordo che in *Maia* 40 (1988) pp. 11 s. mi sono occupato anche della cronologia di *Xenia* e *Apophoreta*.

probabilmente agli inizi del 94.<sup>40</sup> In ogni caso dall'insieme di questi dati si ricava l'impressione che in linea di massima i riferimenti ai Saturnali si concentrano soprattutto in alcuni libri che anche per altri indizi risultano pubblicati verosimilmente in dicembre (IV, V e VII; nel caso dell' XI la datazione al dicembre si basa sui riferimenti interni ai Saturnali, ma è comunque certa), mentre sono rari o assenti nei libri per i quali una datazione a dicembre non risulta suggerita da altri elementi. Quanto al libro XII, esso, o nella forma attuale o in un suo primo nucleo, fu presentato all'amico Prisco, in Spagna, in occasione del ritorno di suo figlio da Roma, occasione che sembra coincidesse con i Saturnali (XII 62, 5 s.): ma in

<sup>40</sup> Nel libro VIII ben 10 epigrammi si riferiscono al ritorno di Domiziano dalla campagna sarmatica, avvenuto nei primi giorni di gennaio del 93, e ai grandi festeggiamenti che accompagnarono e seguirono questo evento. Vari altri epigrammi relativi a spettacoli e al restauro di edifici sono probabilmente da ricondurre a questa stessa occasione, la cui presenza non solo domina la parte proemiale, ma attraversa tutta l'estensione del libro (cfr. *Maia* 40 [1988] p. 26). Sembrerebbe naturale pensare che Marziale avesse pubblicato il libro a breve distanza dal ritorno dell'imperatore, per assicurare alla sua opera l'attrattiva dell'attualità, tanto più che un epigramma relativo alla stessa occasione si trova anche nel libro IX (IX 31), quasi che la rapida pubblicazione del libro VIII non avesse consentito di registrare in esso tutti gli episodi notevoli connessi alle celebrazioni sarmatiche (vd. in proposito le ipotesi di R. Hanslik, art. cit., p. 127). Ma già H. F. Stobbe, "Die Gedichte Martial's. Eine chronologische Untersuchung," *Philologus* 26 (1867) pp. 47 ss., e poi L. Friedlaender, op. cit., I, pp. 59 s., hanno osservato che i molti festeggiamenti di cui si parla nel libro, e soprattutto le costruzioni del tempio della *Fortuna Redux* e di un arco in onore del ritorno di Domiziano di cui in VIII 65 si parla come di opere già realizzate, presuppongono un lasso di tempo di almeno qualche mese tra il ritorno dell'imperatore e la pubblicazione del libro. In VIII 66 Marziale celebra il conferimento del consolato al figlio maggiore di Silio Italico, che si suole identificare con L. Silius Decianus, il quale, come risulta dai *Fasti Ostienses*, fu *suffectus* nel 94, e non nel 93 come si era precedentemente ritenuto in base a *CIL* XVI 39 (cfr. A. Degraffi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII, 1 [1947] p. 222). L'epigramma VIII 66 sarà da riferire non all'entrata in carica del figlio di Silio Italico, che avvenne solo il 1° settembre del 94, ma alla sua designazione. Hanslik (art. cit., pp. 122 s.), ritenendo che la designazione dei *suffecti* avvenisse di regola il 9 gennaio dell'anno di assunzione della carica, collocava il libro VIII nella primavera del 94, anche in rapporto alla sua non più accettabile proposta di una diversa cronologia della guerra sarmatica (vd. *supra*, n. 23). In realtà non sappiamo con certezza in quali giorni venissero designati i *suffecti* sotto Domiziano (ed anzi non mancano, in età giulio-claudia, casi di *suffecti* nominati già nell'anno precedente a quello di assunzione della carica), ma l'ipotesi di una designazione agli inizi di gennaio (forse il 12 gennaio) dell'anno stesso di assunzione della carica pare la più ragionevole: cfr. R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton 1984) pp. 202 ss. Perciò, se si ammette l'identità del figlio di Silio Italico con L. Silius Decianus, l'VIII libro sarà verosimilmente da collocare agli inizi del 94 (così anche E. Wistrand, l. cit., che riferisce VIII 41 e 71 ai Saturnali del 93), pur non potendosi a rigore escludere del tutto una data di poco anteriore. La distanza di circa un anno dall'evento che domina il libro apparentemente come un fatto di attualità, può lasciare perplessi, ma da un lato questa datazione concede lo spazio necessario alla costruzione del tempio e dell'arco, e d'altro lato si deve considerare che, al momento del ritorno di Domiziano, Marziale aveva appena fatto uscire il VII libro, e ragioni di "mercato," oltre che i tempi necessari alla elaborazione di un libro, non gli consentivano probabilmente una cadenza molto più stretta di quella, ormai ben collaudata, di circa un libro all'anno.



questo caso il movente per la probabile pubblicazione a dicembre<sup>41</sup> non sarebbe l'intenzione di offrire ai suoi amici e al pubblico un intrattenimento consono alla festa, ma l'intenzione di celebrare un evento felice nella casa di un amico, verificatosi in dicembre, nonché l'intenzione di fare omaggio all'amico Arrunzio Stella che rivestiva il consolato appunto negli ultimi mesi di quell'anno (XII 3).

### 5. I libri di Marziale e i Saturnali

Il libro era un oggetto di dono consueto ai Saturnali. Doveva esserlo già al tempo di Catullo, come ci suggerisce il carme 14 sullo scambio dispettoso di doni di libri con Licinio Calvo, e certo lo era al tempo di Marziale, che tra i doni degli *Apophoreta* pone un buon numero di libri (183-96), che non si caratterizzano come opere di letteratura leggera o amena (rappresentata solo da due opere minori dei massimi poeti: la *Batrachomyomachia* e il *Culex*), ma anzi come i grandi classici della letteratura latina e greca. L'invio di un libro ai Saturnali e il contraccambio dispettoso con un altro libro, è, sulle orme di Catullo, il tema di un carme di Stazio (*Silv.* IV 9) che a sua volta, come quello di Catullo, sarà da immaginare come inviato in scherzoso "dono" in occasione dei Saturnali. Altrove in Marziale vediamo che era consuetudine per i poeti donare, in occasione dei Saturnali, raccolte di proprie poesie agli amici (IV 14; V 18; 30; 80; VII 28; X 18, per limitarmi ai casi in cui il riferimento ai Saturnali è esplicito). Anche Luciano, nel dettare le regole per i doni dei Saturnali (*Sat.* 16), prescrive che i letterati inviino un libro di autori classici (ma di argomento allegro: vd. *supra* n. 16) oppure, se possibile, un libro scritto da loro. E sappiamo anche, da Ovidio e dallo stesso Marziale (dal fatto che egli ha pubblicato *Xenia* e *Apophoreta*), che esisteva una letteratura leggera prodotta specificamente per il consumo ai Saturnali. Marziale del resto, come abbiamo già ricordato, suggerisce tante volte che la sua poesia è adatta all'intrattenimento in occasioni quali le cene e le conversazioni, che i suoi epigrammi sono affini al mimo o al teatro in quanto forme di

<sup>41</sup> Sul problema della data e delle modalità di pubblicazione del XII libro rinvio alla limpida trattazione di L. Friedlaender, op. cit., I, pp. 65 s. Ancora utili le sottili argomentazioni condotte, in polemica con Mommsen, da H. F. Stobbe, "Martials zehntes und zwölftes Buch," *Philologus* 27 (1868) pp. 630 ss. In *Maia* 40 (1988) p. 30, n. 50, ho avanzato l'ipotesi che la mancanza, nella terza famiglia dei codici di Marziale, degli epigrammi del libro XII che presumibilmente derivano dall'antologia presentata a Nerva, possa riflettere lo stato di un'edizione antica in cui il XII libro era privo di quei carmi (come nel caso della mancanza, nella seconda famiglia, degli epigrammi I 1 e 2, probabilmente aggiunti in una seconda edizione) e che ciò possa rappresentare un indizio, in verità assai labile, a favore dell'ipotesi di una riedizione del libro XII. Ad ogni modo che la raccolta inviata a Prisco non avesse carattere meramente privato, ma fosse intesa come destinata a esser diffusa tra il pubblico di Roma si ricava chiaramente dalle parole finali dell'epistola prefatoria. La richiesta di correzione, e di approvazione preventiva, formulata all'amico non rappresenta una seria difficoltà: vd. *supra* n. 24.

intrattenimento giocoso aperto a una larga partecipazione del pubblico. I Saturnali sono per eccellenza il momento dello svago, del divertimento, ed è normale, in questo quadro, che egli connetta ripetutamente la sua poesia con gli svaghi propri dei Saturnali e che ripetutamente proponga agli amici suoi libri come "strenna" per i Saturnali. Ma i suoi libri, probabilmente gli stessi libri che offre ai singoli amici, Marziale sembra volentieri proporli anche al pubblico vasto e indifferenziato dei lettori come una "strenna," come una lettura che può costituire uno svago adatto per l'occasione della festa: egli sceglie in vari casi, lo abbiamo visto, di pubblicare i suoi libri in dicembre, inserendo così i suoi epigrammi nella produzione leggera che a Roma si diffondeva nel periodo dei Saturnali.

Le ragioni che inducono via via Marziale alla pubblicazione di nuovi libri sono naturalmente molteplici e non riconducibili a un unico denominatore: sono ragioni dovute ai suoi rapporti personali con i protettori, ragioni dovute alla celebrazione dell'imperatore e all'intenzione di essere presente con la sua poesia in episodi che coinvolgono la vita della città, ma sono soprattutto ragioni riconducibili alla sensazione dell'artista di aver maturato la composizione di una nuova opera da proporre al pubblico dei suoi lettori. La maturazione delle condizioni per pubblicare un nuovo libro in prossimità dei Saturnali si configura per Marziale come un'opportunità, che egli coglie volentieri, per far sentire ai lettori la capacità che la sua poesia ha di porsi come un elemento vivo e attivo di piacevole intrattenimento, proponendosi alla lettura proprio nei momenti in cui era più largo e intenso nella società romana il consumo di intrattenimenti e svaghi e in cui anche la produzione libraria si inseriva con le sue offerte in questo bisogno di divertimenti e di distrazioni.

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Notes on Statius' *Thebaid* Books I and II

J. B. HALL

Had Fate been kind to students of the *Thebaid*, we might have had an edition of the poem by the great Aristarchus himself. It is well known that Bentley contributed a good deal to the conjectural emendation of the epic; what is not well known is that he had collated five manuscripts in their entirety, an enterprise which signals more than a passing interest in the restoration of the text.<sup>1</sup> In the event, however, no edition of the *Thebaid* ever came from Bentley's pen, any more than it had come from Heinsius', or would come from Housman's; the three greatest critics of the Latin poets thus missed, or declined, the editorial challenge presented by this epic.

For unless I am sorely mistaken, and despite the best endeavours of generations of critics,<sup>2</sup> there remains a vast amount still to be done for the amelioration of the *Thebaid*; and the reason why is not far to seek. Statius is not an easy writer even to take the measure of, let alone to emend: he is tortuous, devious, prone to exaggeration, prone to straining at the confines of Latinity, a bold experimenter in language.<sup>3</sup> Or so he seems, from what the manuscripts tell us; but never distant is the question whether what they tell us is the product of scribal corruption or authorial audacity; and I have a

<sup>1</sup> I know of no explicit evidence that Bentley ever meditated an edition of the *Thebaid*, and I have looked in vain for any reference to the poem in *The Life of Richard Bentley* by J. H. Monk. Of the five manuscripts collated by Bentley, four were Cambridge ones, two in Peterhouse, one in Emmanuel College, and one in what was then the Public Library; the collations of these are to be found in a copy of Gevartius' edition of 1616 now in the British Library (shelfmark 687. c. 10). The fifth manuscript, written at Rochester (and r in the current sigla), he collated in the King's Library; this collation, transcribed for O. Müller by a Polish scholar (Klotz viii), who presumably could have looked at the actual manuscript, is to be found in a copy of Gevartius' edition of 1618 (shelfmark 687. c. 11). I fancy I am the first scholar since Bentley to have collated this manuscript in its entirety; and that reflects no credit on the British editors of the *Thebaid*.

<sup>2</sup> To which must now be added distinguished contributions by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, in *Museum Helveticum* 40 (1983) 51–60, and W. S. Watt, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 31 (1984) 158–62 and *Eranos* 85 (1987) 49–54.

<sup>3</sup> See the remarks by Moritz Haupt in "Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Gedichte des Statius," *Opuscula* 3, 126–36, especially 128. Haupt faithfully records the unpublished conjectures of Bentley (to be found in the copy of Gevartius' edition of 1616 mentioned above, note 1) and of Schrader (to be found in MS. Berol. Diez. B. Sant. 47). Many of these conjectures are unaccountably omitted by Hill.

strong suspicion that it was because of this ubiquitous uncertainty that none of the three Grand Masters undertook a recension of the epic. Be that as it may, the generality of editors has been guided by a respectful timidity which has led them to leave unquestioned in the text a whole mass of unsatisfactory, or incredible, lections.

No one who attempts to emend Statius can fail to be aware that he is operating in a minefield, where any suspicious object which he handles may blow up in his face. I am very conscious of the risks attendant on this exercise, and have no great hopes of returning entirely unscathed from this initial "push" to the end of Book II. At every turn I proceed on the assumption that the *amica Thebais* was originally a poem which could be understood, at least superficially, on a first hearing; and that is more than can be said about much of the medieval *Thebaid* with which we now have to contend.<sup>4</sup> That said, let me now go "over the top"!

\* \* \*

1. 33-40

	satis arma referre	
Aonia et geminis sceptrum exitiale tyrannis		
nec furiis post fata modum flammasque rebelles		35
seditione rogi tumulisque carentia regum		
funera et egestas alternis mortibus urbes,		
caerula cum rubuit Lernaeo sanguine Dirce		
et Thetis arentes adsuetum stringere ripas		
horruit ingenti uenientem Ismenon aceruo.		40

As Lactantius Placidus correctly informs us in his note on line 37, the two cities emptied by death are Thebes and Argos, and in the sequel we naturally expect to find reference to both of them. Argos, indeed, is dealt with in 38 (*Lernaeo sanguine*), but Thebes is nowhere to be seen. The fault, I suggest, lies in the very tame *ingenti*, and what Statius wrote was perhaps *Ogygio*.

1. 41-45

quem prius heroum, Clio, dabis? inmodicum irae		
Tydea? laurigeri subitō an uatis hiatus?		
urguet et hostilem propellens caedibus amnem		
turbidus Hippomedon, plorandaque bella proterui		
Arcados atque alio Capaneus horrore canendus.		45

Lest anyone suppose that "authority" attaches to the remarks of an ancient scholiast, hear what Lactantius Placidus has to say about *alio* in 45: "bene

<sup>4</sup> In this paper I take my lemmata from Hill's edition (1983). I have also consulted the following editions: Gevartius (1616 and 1618); Cruceus (1618); Veenhusen (1671); O. Müller (1870); Garrod (1906); Klotz (1908), revised by Klinnert (1973); Mozley (1928); Heuvel, Book I only (1932); and Mulder, Book II only (1954).

alio horrore, maiore impetu dictionis. ut ipse alibi de Capaneo 'grauioraque tela mereri' . . ." This is moonshine, and it comports ill with *ploranda . . . bella*, glossed by Lactantius as "miseratione digna,"—if indeed the intrinsic incredibility of *alio* is insufficient condemnation. I say all this by way of commending Frieseemann's *alto*, which had occurred also to me before I learned that he had proposed it.

## 1. 46–52

impia iam merita scrutatus lumina dextra  
 merserat aeterna damnatum nocte pudorem  
 Oedipodes longaue animam sub morte trahebat.  
 illum indulgentem tenebris imaeque recessu  
 sedis inaspectos caelo radiisque penates  
 seruantem tamen adsiduis circumuolat alis  
 saeua dies animi, scelerumque in pectore Dirae.

50

The story of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae's* lost cat was immortalized by A. E. Housman, but that loss was occasioned by *ThLL's* looking at the text of Juvenal 15. 7 in the wrong edition; in the present case no blame whatever attaches to *ThLL*, since the lugubrious word I here wish to present has never before appeared in print. Consider, if you will, the phrase *indulgentem tenebris*, and ask yourself what it means; consider also Lactantius, who glosses *indulgentem* as "operam dantem," and ask yourself what he thought he meant. Mozley translates: "while he hugs his darkness"; and that, even as paraphrase, is miles from the Latin. The sheer idiocy of *indulgentem* may perhaps be made clearer if I concoct an analogous expression, and write of a blind man *qui indulget caecitati*.<sup>5</sup> If one is blind, how can one "indulge" or "apply oneself" (so Lactantius) to one's "blindness"? But enough. The word unknown to all dictionaries of the Latin language which is required here is *inlugentem*.

## 1. 73–74

exaudi, si digna precor quaeque ipsa furenti  
 subiceres.

Why not *subicias*?

## 1. 112–13

tum geminas quatit ira manus: haec igne rogali  
 fulgurat, haec uiuo manus aera uerberat hydro.

Efforts to remove the unpleasing reduplication of *manus* drew Heinsius' and Gronovius' fire to line 112, where they proposed *minax* and *minas* respectively. Both conjectures are easy in themselves, but both, to my

<sup>5</sup> Heuvel comments: "Non caecitate contentus etiam sponte novas tenebras sibi quaerit senex . . ."; but how on earth would the old man tell one kind of darkness from another?

mind regrettably, leave *geminas* temporarily unexplained. Barth, accordingly, had aimed at line 113, advancing the proposal *uacuum*, which is obviously a possibility, but no more than that, since *simul* or *motum* would be no less possible.

## 1. 137–38

haud secus indomitos praeceps discordia fratres  
asperat.

There has preceded a simile describing two bulls tugging a yoke in opposite directions. With 137 f. we return to Eteocles and Polynices, and the adjective *praeceps*, which has occurred already at 123 and will occur again at 141 in the form *praecipiti*, is offered by the manuscripts to describe their discord. I will not say that there is no sense here in *praeceps*, but I will venture to say that there would be more sense in *anceps*.

## 1. 156–61

quid si peteretur crimine tanto  
limes uterque poli, quem Sol emissus Eoo  
cardine, quem porta uergens prospectat Hibera,  
quasque procul terras obliquo sidere tangit  
aius aut Borea gelidas madidiue tepentes  
igne Noti? 160

The problem lies in 160, where the sun, which always travels along the ecliptic, is wrongly described as *aius*,<sup>6</sup> and *Borea*, unlike *Noti*, is unqualified. I propose

aut niueo Borea gelidas madidiue tepentes  
igne Noti.

The combination *aut . . . -ue* has Virgilian precedent (*Aen.* 10. 93); cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Lat. Gramm.* II. 112.

## 1. 184–85

fraternasque acies fetae telluris hiatu  
augurium seros dimisit ad usque nepotes.

I am surprised to find that no one, apparently, has yet proposed *demisit*.

## 1. 324–26

tunc sedet Inachias urbes Danaeciaque arua  
et caligantes abrupto sole Mycenae  
ferre iter impaudum, . . .

<sup>6</sup> Wrongly, unless one can swallow Heuvel's comment: "Quasi Sol ipse, non radii Solis perveniant ad loca illa procul sita."

Various conjectures in the *Thebaid* by Gilbert Wakefield are to be found recorded in a copy of Cruceus' edition now in the British Library (shelfmark 654. b. 15); that these manuscript notes should not have been consulted even by British editors of Statius is matter for regret.<sup>7</sup> In 325 Wakefield proposed *abrepto*, which I mention in the body of this paper simply because it had also occurred to me before I found my way to him.

## 1. 364-69

ille tamen, modo saxa iugis fugientia ruptis  
 miratus, modo nubigenas e montibus amnes  
 aure pauens passimque insano turbine raptas  
 pastorum pecorumque domos, non segnius amens  
 incertusque uiae per nigra silentia uastum  
 haurit iter; pulsat metus undique et undique frater. 365

At 326 (quoted above) we had *ferre iter impaudum*; and are we now to believe that Polynices is afraid (366, 369)? As the text stands, moreover, the exile does no more than "marvel" at falling boulders (which could prove dangerous or even fatal), while "fearing with his ear"<sup>8</sup> the torrents which carry away cottages and farm buildings (and could prove equally dangerous or even fatal). In place of *pauens* I propose *cauens*: Polynices uses his ears to guard against falling into the rushing waters.

In 369 it is not possible, I believe, to extend the connotation of *metus* to mean "fear from which he is immune" (so as to save 326), since Polynices very evidently is "buffeted" by thoughts of his brother, and the complementary noun in 369 ought to be equally effective. Perhaps *Notus* in the general sense of "the wind"?

## 1. 370-75

ac uelut hiberno deprensus nauita ponto,  
 cui neque Temo piger neque amico sidere monstrat  
 Luna uias, medio caeli pelagique tumultu  
 stat rationis inops, iam iamque aut saxa malignis  
 expectat summersa uadis aut uertice acuto  
 spumantes scopulos erectae incurere prorae. 375

To sink the ship, the reefs (375) must obviously hole it on or below the water-line; hence (I suspect) Mozley's pictorial translation: "waits to see

<sup>7</sup> Since these conjectures, unlike Bentley's (see above, note 3), have not been published, I will here list those in Books I and II (reserving the others for a future occasion): 1. 20 *templa Iouis*; 27 *ignigerum*; 52 *lues*; 55 *laeuaque*; 135 *neque ab aequis uel et iniquis*; 182 *corpora*; 198 *lectis*; 227 *immota uel indocta*; 231 *uice noctis abacta*; 232 *mentemque*; 264 *melior*; 283 *aspera mouit*; 360 *ueteres*; 382 *omnis*; 437 *terribilem flictu*; 477 *rapidam* ("et ita MS."); 490 *onus*; 594 *at atro*; 622 *scabrosque*; 2. 5 "an ut καταιξις"; 43 *plangentia*; 67 *nexa uel fixa*; 130 *bella furit*; 136 *uultumque*; 237 *Phoebo* ("et ita schol."); 332 *mente aluit*; 351 *num (?) conscius*; 378 *Nemeam*; 380 *illataque*; 541 *aspraque*; 599 *pulsata*.

<sup>8</sup> The phrase *aure pauescens* occurs at *Theb.* 12. 222, where it is applied to Argia.

foaming jagged rocks fling themselves at his prow and *heave it high in the air*" (my italics). But *erectae* is most awkwardly placed to bear a predicative function.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps *porrectae*, for which compare *OLD* s. v. *porrectus*.

## 1. 376–79

talis opaca legens nemorum Cadmeius heros  
 accelerat, uasto metuenda umbone ferarum  
 excutiens stabula, et prono uirgulta refringit  
 pectore (dat stimulus animo uis maesta timoris).

Fear once again in 379 (376 is different, since *metuenda* means "fearful" in a generalized way). Lactantius informs us that "VIS MAESTA TIMORIS tristitia est," but this does not account for *timoris*; and fear indeed is the last emotion to beset a man who barges through the lairs of wild beasts in the dead of night. I suggest *tumoris*, and understand the phrase *uis maesta tumoris* to mean something like "the force of his sullen passion."

## 1. 390–91

rex ibi, tranquillae medio de limite uitae  
 in senium uergens, populos Adrastus habebat.

Against *tranquillae* and in favour of *tranquille* Müller had commented: "*apparet sententiam populos Adrastus habebat ieiunam et frigidam esse propter nuditatem uerbi habebat*"; and his objection to *tranquillae* has force, in my opinion. But is not the Latinity of *rex populos tranquille habebat* somewhat peculiar? Might not *tranquille*, moreover, placed as it would be before *uergens*, be gathered into an association with the wrong verb? Altogether clearer, I suggest, would be *tranquillos*.

## 1. 408–12

hic uero ambobus rabiem fortuna cruentam  
 attulit: haud passi sociis defendere noctem  
 culminibus; paulum alternis in uerba minasque 410  
 cunctantur, mox ut iactis sermonibus irae  
 intumescere satis, tum uero . . .

On *alternis* Lactantius comments, correctly: "mutua uice uerborum"; and that surely steals the thunder of *uerba*, though thunder is hardly the right word for so tame a noun. I suggest that what Statius wrote was *in probra*.

## 1. 412–16

tum uero erectus uterque  
 exertare umeros nudamque lacessere pugnam.

<sup>9</sup> And this interpretation was rightly rejected by Heuvel. His own comment, however, I do not find helpful: "Prora navis, sublata undis, eo maiore vi scopulis illiditur." Where is the justification for "eo maiore vi"?



celsior ille gradu procera in membra simulque  
integer annorum; sed non et uiribus infra  
Tydea fert animus, . . . 415

"Taller the Theban, with long stride" is Mozley's version of *celsior ille gradu*, but where in the Latin is "long"? Lactantius is hilariously vacuous: "Polynices pedibus longior et membris decorus." At the heart of the problem is the incongruity of the conjunction of *celsior* with *gradu*;<sup>10</sup> and, since *celsior* is unexceptionable, the odd-man-out must be *gradu*. I suggest *auctu*, comparing (though the comparison is not entirely apposite) *Ach.* 2. 90 *quas membra augere per artes*; the phrase *corporis auctu(m)* is attested for *Lucr.* 2. 482 and *Luc.* 9. 797 (*ThLL* 2. 1235, 21 ff.).

1. 451-59

inde orsus in ordine Tydeus  
continuat: "maesti cupiens solacia casus  
monstriferae Calydonis opes Acheloiaque arua  
deserui; uestris haec me ecce in finibus ingens  
nox operit. tecto caelum prohibere quis iste  
arcuit? an quoniam prior haec ad limina forte  
molitus gressus? pariter stabulare bimembres  
Centaurus unaque ferunt Cyclopas in Aetna  
compositos . . ." 455

Despite Virgil (*Georg.* 4. 497, where the *ingens nox* is that of Styx) and Lucan (7. 571 *nox ingens scelerum est*, and Mars is at work on the battle-field), I do not entirely believe in *ingens* at 454. It was a bad night, to be sure, with a great storm (though no storm is mentioned here), but, *qua* night, it did no more than bear down on Tydeus; and for that sense to be conveyed we require *urgens*.

Then, at 455, the manuscripts represent Tydeus as enquiring about the identity of the man who prevented him from taking shelter from the storm, and following that up with a suggestion that it was perhaps "because" he got there first that the man prevented him; after which, we are told that even Centaurs and Cyclopes share quarters with one another. Thereafter, the initially burning question of identity is forgotten, and Tydeus proceeds to threaten his opponent, *quisquis es*, with a fresh bout of fighting. Has he lost all interest now in the name of his opponent? No, because he never had any, his words in 455 f. being

tecto caelum prohibere quid iste  
arcuit?

<sup>10</sup> "Cum ambo stabant ('gradu'), Polynices magis elatus erat in proceritatem" is Heuvel's comment. But *gradu* refers to movement, not to stance.

I labour this conjecture (in which, as I discover, I have been preceded by Baehrens) since Hill does not see fit even to record it in his apparatus, and neither Klotz nor Garrod appreciated its point.

I. 655–57

sed quid fando tua tela manusque  
demoror? expectant matres, supremaque fiunt  
uota mihi. satis est: merui ne parcere uelles.

And does Coroebus, then, who offers himself as the scapegoat to save his comrades, have more than one mother? His last prayer, that his comrades should be spared, has been made, and what await him now are the *manes*.<sup>11</sup>

I. 664–66

nostro mala nubila caelo  
diffugiunt, at tu stupefacti a limine Phoebi  
exoratus abis.

The point here, as I see it, is that Coroebus did not beg for his life; quite the contrary, in fact, as 659 in particular demonstrates (*insignem . . . animam leto demitte*). The right word in 666 is, I think, *exoneratus*.

I. 684–86

regnum et furias oculosque pudentes  
nouit et Arctois si quis de solibus horret  
quique bibit Gangen . . .

Line 685 Mozley renders as: "even he hath heard who shivers 'neath an Arctic sun," the sense of which is impeccable. Would not *sub solibus*, then, be more appropriate?<sup>12</sup>

2. 26–31

illos ut caeco recubans in limine sensit  
Cerberus, atque omnes capitum subrexit hiatus;  
saeuus et intranti populo, iam nigra tumebat  
colla minax, iam sparsa solo turbauerat ossa,  
ni deus horrentem Lethaeo uimine mulcens  
ferrea tergemino domuisset lumina somno.

30

The manuscripts in 27 all have *atque*, which Hill understands as meaning "statim"; he then alleges, I know not why, that it is "wrong" to join *saeuus . . . populo* with *illos . . . hiatus*, and punctuates strongly after *hiatus*. I may of course be wrong, but it seems to me that the strong break comes

<sup>11</sup> From Heuvel I learn that this conjecture was proposed by Alton (in *CQ* 17 [1923] 175), and that it is "useless."

<sup>12</sup> For *de* here Heuvel compares *Theb.* 4. 72 f. *nam trunca uident de uulnere multo / cornua*, but I do not see that the two cases are at all comparable.

after *populo*, not after *hiatus*: Mercury and Laius may surely count for the nonce as part of the *intrans populus*. That *atque* may here have the force of "statim" I cannot disprove, but, like Lachmann (*alte*) and Unger (*aeque*), and recently Watt (who proposes *et* for *ut* in 26),<sup>13</sup> I find it troublesome, largely because of its ambivalence. Perhaps Statius wrote *una*?

## 2. 37-40

illic exhausti posuere cubilia uenti,  
fulminibusque iter est; medium caua nubila montis  
insumpsere latus, summos nec praepetis alae  
plausus adit colles, nec rauca tonitrua pulsant.

Unlike Hill, I do not regard these lines as spurious (and I have accordingly dropped his square brackets round them); but I am not here concerned with the general question of authenticity, only with one particular matter of reading. In 38 all the manuscripts have *iter est*, which is flatly at variance with 37; hence Postgate's *quies*. I suggest *mora est*.

## 2. 134-39

et iam Mygdoniis elata cubilibus alto  
impulerat caelo gelidas Aurora tenebras, 135  
rorantes excussa comas multumque sequenti  
sole rubens; illi roseus per nubila seras  
aduertit flammam alienumque aethera tardo  
Lucifer exit equo . . .

Aurora has risen from her couch and driven away the darkness. Behind her follows the sun. As the morning star makes its exit from the sky, which now belongs to another, does it turn its flames towards Aurora (*aduertit*)? Surely not. What it does is to turn them away from her; and that is *auertit*.

## 2. 148-51

postquam mediis in sedibus aulae  
congressi inque uicem dextras iunxere locumque,  
quo serere arcanas aptum atque euoluere curas, 150  
insidunt, prior his dubios compellat Adrastus.

*locum insidunt quo aptum* (*sc. erat*) *serere curas* is to my mind thoroughly pedestrian. *conserere*, with *aptum* serving as an exponent of *locum*, would be altogether neater.

## 2. 188-89

sic interfatus, et alter  
subicit.

<sup>13</sup> In *Eranos* 85 (1987) 49.

For *interfatus* Hill refers his reader to 174–76, where Polynices and Tydeus are said to give the impression that they would each be happy for the other to speak first; and then the impulsive Tydeus begins. His speech proceeds without interruption to a natural conclusion in 188, and then Polynices follows. There is, I submit, no suggestion of any interruption, which is the normal sense of *interfor*.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps, therefore, *sic alter fatus, et alter subicit*?

I note that Gruber (in *ThLL* 7. 1. 2196. 40 ff.) was evidently bothered by this passage, to which he subjoins another Statian passage (*Th.* 7. 290), which bothers me also. That line reads:

dixerat (sc. Phorbas), et paulum uirgo interfata loquenti.

But how is *paulum* here to be reconciled with *interfata*, and how does *loquenti* suit Phorbas now that he has (temporarily) finished speaking? The manuscripts at this point offer *docenti* as well as *loquenti*, and there is attestation also for the termination *-em*. Let me therefore hazard, at least as a stimulus to further thought about this line, that we might contemplate reading:

dixerat, et paulum uirgo remorata docentem.

## 2. 240–43

tunc, si fas oculis, non umquam longa tuendo  
expedias, cui maior honos, cui gratior, aut plus  
de loue; mutatosque uelint transumere cultus,  
et Pallas deceat pharetras et Delia cristas.

When *honos* has been qualified by *maior*, is there any gain in adding the further qualification *gratior*? The word that lurks here, I suggest, is *gratia*, and if that suggestion is right, the line might be restored as follows:

expedias, cui maior honos aut gratia, cui plus . . .

## 2. 303

quos optat gemitus, quantas cupit impia clades!

Eriphyle's desire is for the fatal necklace, and, in so desiring, she in fact desires *gemitus* and *clades*; for her husband will be slain in the war to come. No doubt she is *impia*, but in this line what is needed is *inscia*.

## 2. 309–310

quippe animum subit illa dies, qua, sorte benigna  
fratris, Echionia steterat priuatus in aula.

<sup>14</sup> Mulder has a long note on *sic interfatus*, but I cannot accept his suggestion that the words are to be understood to mean "sic pro sua parte fatus est."

Laur. 38. 6 (= M) gives *ille* in 309, and a reduction in the number of feminine words in this line would aid clarity. Perhaps *ille . . . quo*, therefore?

2. 368–70

iam potior cunctis sedit sententia, fratris  
 pertemptare fidem tutosque in regna precando  
 explorare aditus.

The council decides to negotiate with Eteocles, and by entreaty seek a “safe” return to Thebes for Polynices. *tutos* seems strangely without point here. It is not so much that Polynices wishes to return without being attacked as that he wishes to return as king in terms of the original agreement, of which *fides* was the guarantee. *pactos* therefore?

2. 389–91

constitit in mediis (ramus manifestat oliuae  
 legatum) causasque uiae nomenque rogatus  
 edidit;

For *ramus* some manuscripts offer *ramo*, and the parenthesis, to my mind, is uncomfortably abrupt. Perhaps *ramo manifestus oliuae / legatus*?

2. 430–38

te penes Inachiae dotalis regia dono  
 coniugis, et Danaae (quid enim maioribus actis  
 inuideam?) cumulentur opes. felicibus Argos  
 auspiciis Lemamque regas: nos horrida Dirces  
 pascua et Euboicis artatas fluctibus oras,  
 non indignati miserum dixisse parentem  
 Oedipoden: tibi larga (Pelops et Tantalus auctor!)  
 nobilitas, propiorque fluat de sanguine iuncto  
 Iuppiter. 435

What is the relevance of *actis* (431), when the surrounding context is concerned with wealth? Madvig had an inkling that something was amiss, but his *aulis* is wide of the mark. What is required here is *arcis*, money-chests.

In 432–38 Hill runs together what I conceive to be two distinct pairs of contrasts: between Argos and Lerna in their felicity, and the rough pastures and cramped shores of the Theban realm; and between the Theban lineage, which includes Oedipus, an unwelcome parent (cf. 442), and the Argive, which ascends by a shorter route to Jupiter via Pelops and Tantalus. To demarcate this second contrast a full-stop is needed after *oras*; and to reinforce the emphasis laid on *tibi larga . . . nobilitas*, the factually (in this context) incorrect *non indignati* should become *nos indignati*.

## 2. 438–40

anne feret luxu consueta paterno  
hunc regina larem? nostrae cui iure sorores  
anxia pensa trahant, . . .

Why *iure*? What difference would it make whether Antigone and Ismene spun because they were obliged to, or because they chose to? The contrast here, surely, is between a new queen who is accustomed to luxury, and royal sisters who are accustomed to the menial task of spinning; and that contrast would be better served by *more*.

## 2. 446–47

respice quantus  
horror et attoniti nostro in discrimine ciues.

Koestlin did not like *et* (for which he proposed *ut*), and neither do I. It may be that all that is necessary is to replace it with *quam*,<sup>15</sup> which would better maintain the impetus of *quantus*, or alternatively, *quantus / horror et* might be changed to *quanto / horrore*.

## 2. 451–53

non ultra passus et orsa  
iniecit mediis sermonibus obuia: "reddes,"  
ingeminat "reddes; . . ."

Tydeus can stand no more of Eteocles' sanctimonious concern for the people of Thebes, and rudely interrupts. The adjective *obuia*, as a predicative, is utterly feeble here, and something stronger is needed. *improba* would suit well.

## 2. 460–61

o quanta Cithaeron  
funera sanguineusque uadis, Ismene, rotabis!

When Mozley translates "What carnage shalt thou see, Cithaeron, and thou, Ismenus, roll down upon thy blood-stained waters!", he is plainly cheating, since "shalt thou see" is nowhere to be seen in the Latin.<sup>16</sup> The verb *rotabis* is entirely apt of a river, but entirely inept of a mountain. What we need here is a second river name in place of *Cithaeron*. Perhaps *Lycormas*, mentioned at 4. 845 (837)?

<sup>15</sup> Klotz comments: "*sed ex quantus ἀπὸ κοινοῦ quam ad attoniti pertinet.*" I do not find this credible.

<sup>16</sup> For *rotabis* Müller proposed *notabis*, but I cannot imagine how he then understood *uadis*. Klotz, followed by Mulder, postulated a zeugma, and Mulder fancied that *feres* might be understood. I find this excessively difficult.

## 2. 479–80

attonitae tectorum e limine summo  
aspectant matres.

I can make no meaningful connexion between *limine* and *summo*,<sup>17</sup> and conclude that the one or the other is wrong. If *summo* is right, we should accept the variant reading *culmine*; if *limine*, the right adjective is *primo*.

## 2. 505–09

hic fera quondam  
pallentes erecta genas suffusaque tabo  
lumina, concretis infando sanguine plumis  
reliquias amplexa uirum semesaque nudis  
pectoribus stetit ossa premens uisuque trementi  
conlustrat campos . . .

A gruesome picture of the Sphinx standing, but not at full height (cf. 515), over the mangled remains of its victims. Despite Lactantius' "erectas genas habens," *erecta* jars, and *infecta* might perhaps be considered. Then there is *nudis* / *pectoribus*, which Mozley absurdly takes as referring to the Sphinx (when are Sphinxes ever portrayed as wearing clothes?). More to the point would be *crudis* / *uisceribus*.

## 2. 541–43

per tamen Olenii tegimen suis atraque saetis  
terga super laeuos umeros uicina cruori  
effugit et uiduo iugulum ferit inrita ligno.

I find it hard to believe that a spear can pass over the left shoulder without drawing blood, and at the same time strike the neck. Surely the spear *iugulum terit*? It merely brushes the neck in its passage.

## 2. 559–61

saxum ingens, quod uix plena ceruice gementes  
uertere humo et muris ualeant inferre iuenci,  
rupibus auellit.

*et muris ualeant* is Hill's proposal for the manuscripts' *murisque ualent*, but Kooten's *ualeant murisque* is more economical. The point of *muris*, however, escapes me entirely: does it really matter what the boulder might be used for? Perhaps *ualeant armisque* (or *umerisque*) *aufferre*?

<sup>17</sup> But Mulder could, understanding *summum limen* to mean "summum tabulatum," comparing *Theb.* 4. 89 where Argia watches Polynices from the top of a tower. If the mothers here were on their rooftops, the right noun is *culmine*.

## 2. 564–66

stupet obuia leto  
 turba superstantem atque emissi turbine montis  
 obruitur.

*ac demissi?*

## 2. 580–83

mox in plana libens, nudo ne pectore tela  
 inciderent, saltu praiceps defertur et orbem,  
 quem procul oppresso uidit Therone uolutum,  
 corripuit, . . .

*libens* Mozley translates as “of his own will,” which is just plain silly, while Lactantius’ “ne uideretur ab hostibus loco, in quo steterat, pulsus” introduces a touch of delicacy which would hardly occur to a man fighting for his life. I should prefer something like *cauens*.

## 2. 590–93

impediunt numero seque ipsa uicissim  
 arma premunt, nec uis conatibus ulla, sed ipsae  
 in socios errare manus et corpora turba  
 inuolui prolapsa sua.

*ipsos*, not *ipsae*, is required for the proper emphasis.

## 2. 618–19

tunc audax iaculis et capti pelle leonis  
 pinea nodosae quassabat robora clauae . . .

If Chromis is wearing a lion's skin, like a regular Hercules, the poor beast has evidently been more than “captured.” Surely *caesi*?

## 2. 707–09

quercus erat tenerae iam longum oblita iuuentae  
 aggere camporum medio, quam plurimus ambit  
 frondibus incuruis et crudo robore cortex.

*crudus* suggests immaturity, but the tree is an old one.<sup>18</sup> *nec crudo* therefore?

## 2. 715–721

diua ferox, magni decus ingeniumque parentis,  
 bellipotens, cui torua genis horrore decoro  
 cassis, et asperso crudescit sanguine Gorgon,

<sup>18</sup> I do not see that Mulder's adduction of Virg. *Aen.* 6. 304 *iam senior sed cruda deo uiridisque senectus* is at all relevant.



nec magis ardentis Mauoris hastataque pugnae  
impulerit Bellona tubas, huic adnue sacro,  
seu Pandionio nostras inuisere caedes  
monte uenis, siue Aonia deuertis Itone . . .

720

Tydeus is finally victorious, and this is his prayer to Pallas, in whose honour he has constructed a *tropaion*. If she has come to witness his *caedes*, she has come rather too late, as Postgate saw, but his proposal *noctes* is rightly faulted by Hill. Tydeus' praiseworthy action in thus honouring the goddess, however, would be good grounds for a divine visitation, and he himself as victor is eminently deserving of praise also. *laudes*, therefore, would seem to suit the case.

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## Later Latin Poetry: Some Principles of Interpretation

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The study of later Latin poetry focuses with peculiar sharpness problems important for the understanding of the whole of Latin literature, most of which arise from the unexamined preconceptions and expectations we bring to this task, that is to say, from what scholars like to call "common sense." A dangerous ally of common sense is nature. In scholarly exegesis, since scholars are so rarely common men (and even less so authors), common sense must necessarily play a limited part; and the appeal to so malleable a term as what is "natural" should be automatically suspect. None of this is unfamiliar to the sceptical reader of Bentley's note on Horace's *volpecula* (*Epp.* 1. 7. 29), or to the student of Housman's Lucan.

The most important qualification for the Latinist is neither common sense nor a feel for nature nor even an indifference to boredom, but what Keats called "negative capability," which we may here interpret as the ability to keep quiet and let the author do the talking. Our perception of "Rome" over the centuries has become encrusted with notions of *gravitas*, *auctoritas*, *dignitas*, settled order (*pacique imponere morem*); its language has become famous for its lapidary terseness, making modern English, for example, seem verbose and undisciplined. This has been an effective weapon in the hands of our teachers, and later, anxious to prove we learned our lesson well, we are only too eager to find the confirmation of these ideas in the literature. In the larger sphere, the ready ease with which the Roman Church has assumed the mantle of its imperial predecessor and too often used the weight of authority (*mos maiorum*) to stifle free enquiry has assisted in this ossification.

But this elevation and petrification of our concept of the Romans has dangerous consequences even for the theologian, and *a fortiori* for the student of the Classics. In fact Latin (*sit venia verbo*) is not necessarily terse (Claudian? Prudentius?), and its love-affair with the subjunctive, increasingly passionate in the post-Augustan authors, is not the token of a nation primarily concerned with simple clarity, or with saying what it means (the *Thebaid*?). Similarly, the history of Rome is not that of a long Victorian Age, but too often the bloody record of power-grabbing at whatever cost in suffering. But these things are true of Rome in all periods. There never was a Golden Age of selfless surrender of *res privata* to the *res publica*, of

austere simplicity of language (Livius' *Odisia*?). If we still admire the Roman achievement, it will not be because we swallow tall tales like this.

In the effort to right the balance, an important truth not sufficiently grasped is that *literature is literary, that is, essentially selective, genre-determined, partial*. A great deal of talk is heard these days about neo-Realism, that is, about the "reflection of real life" in the Latin poets. What this actually means is that scholars who paid lip service when John Sullivan was young and under the influence of his ideas to concepts of modern literary criticism are now sliding back into old ways, treating poems as documents, as autobiography and so on. But the gap between literature and reality (*veritas*, whatever *veritas* means) remains. Here—and this is the first of the "principles of interpretation" to which my title refers—the study of Byzantine literature has much to teach. It is a literature and civilization to be viewed essentially as a continuation of Roman, since the Byzantines were after all Ῥωμαῖοι ("Rhom" to the Turks). The aesthetic, for example, revealed in Procopius' double handling of the reign of Justinian, but also Nonnus' carnivalization of the epic, is relevant to the reader of Ovid or Tacitus. Already Norden points out<sup>1</sup> that a number of Tacitus' mordant epigrams have curious parallels in Plutarch. He suggests that there may have been a common Latin source. But did Plutarch know enough Latin? Suppose he and Tacitus were drawing on an account written in (Asianizing<sup>2</sup>) Greek? In any case, would it not be an excellent introduction to Tacitus' distortions to read something from Procopius, both from the *History of the Wars* and from the *Anecdota*?

But the difference of *color* caused by the switch in Procopius from the epideictic to the satirical mode is not a matter of concern to the student of prose alone. How often, for example, has the assumption been made that Juvenal is describing "real life"? But suppose he were using a genre that selected and edited its own material, and filtered out evidence to the contrary?

These later productions therefore enlarge tendencies already present in Latin literature—and incidentally give the lie to any easy theory that Byzantium is more or less an extension of Hellas. It seems extraordinary in our time that university presses, contradicting T. Mommsen,<sup>3</sup> would still be producing or planning histories of Greco-Roman literature which treat Byzantium as outside their sphere, and in particular as outside the sphere of the Latinist. *O curas hominum! o quantum est in rebus inane!*

<sup>1</sup> *Antike Kunstprosa* (fifth ed., repr. Stuttgart 1958), I, pp. 340 ff. (citing Mommsen). Dio Chrysostom independently echoes Juvenal's *panem et circenses* (*Or.* 32. 31, τὸν πολλὸν ἄρτον καὶ θεῖαν ἴππων, of the Alexandrians).

<sup>2</sup> *Sententiosum et argutum, Brutus* §325.

<sup>3</sup> "Despite its appeal as a largely untilled field of philology, what Mommsen saw in the Byzantine world was the essential continuity of Roman law and administration; that is to say precisely those aspects of Roman civilization that he understood better than anyone else" (Brian Croke).

T. P. Wiseman has recently and rightly re-emphasized<sup>4</sup> that Roman society was brutal and horrifying in its everyday impact on the unprotected. But that is not the whole story, as the subsequent history of Europe and its fight to claim the legacy of the Caesars shows. Christians have enjoyed exaggerating the faults of paganism, just as Gibbon enjoyed standing this argument on its head, and blaming Christianity for the vices it introduced. But "decadence" would not have survived so long in the scholar's briefcase were it not more than a useful tool for defending or attacking the record of the Christian church. In fact, it supplies a handy scissors for the weary student eager to find a colorful excuse for cutting short the reading list. But as a critical concept, it obscures the primacy in the Roman aesthetic canon of the satiric, a point already made by Quintilian in his *satira quidem tota nostra est*, the most far-reaching single literary judgment, for the Latinist at least, preserved from antiquity. The Romans enjoyed in every age the comic, the improper, the grotesque, and Republican literature offers the proof, in Plautus, Lucilius, even Cicero and Catullus (with his "indictment of Rome" at the end of poem 64). Later satire is not somehow privileged more than these earlier authors. If we do not believe that the system that defeated Hannibal was decadent—after all, the "Golden Age" of Lucretius and Virgil was yet to come—we must not believe that either about the system that would produce the five good emperors, the Christian saints and martyrs, including the Fathers—and Byzantium.

"Decadence" must go. It is a methodologically inadmissible term (*ein methodologisch unbrauchbarer Termin*)—my second principle. In pleading in this brief essay on a potentially long, controversial and even incendiary (if one thinks of Urban VIII) theme for a more honest and searching look at later Latin, I would like to emphasize three related points: the religiosity of Roman poetry, its continuity, and its theatricality. If I begin *hustaton proton*, that is because in its way theatricality subsumes, though without exhausting, the other two features on this list. It is, I venture to suggest, the most neglected topic in our entire study of Roman literature.

In a poem saluting Charlemagne, an anonymous author quoting the *Aeneid* describes him as establishing a theatre at his new Rome, Aachen.<sup>5</sup> This has nothing to do with any real-life building program of the Emperor (any more than there was a theatre at Dido's Carthage), and everything to do with his claim to *renovatio imperii*. But this was not a Greek (Attic) theatre. At Rome, the imperial theatre (taking that term in its widest sense) was immensely influential, but much more primitive. It was the locus at which the people and its ruler(s) met and even, in some sort of extempore repartee, exchanged views about political issues.<sup>6</sup> This theatrical and religious *παρρησία* extended to all those gatherings at which plebs and

<sup>4</sup> *Catullus and his World* (Cambridge 1985), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>5</sup> P. Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Age* (London 1985), no. 25, vv. 104–05.

<sup>6</sup> T. Bollinger, *Theatralis Licentia* (Winterthur 1969).

princes met face to face: to the Amphitheatre, to the Circus. Naevius' *Libera lingua loquemur ludis Liberalibus* sets the tone for a tradition still persisting in Cassiodorus (*Var.* 1. 27. 5, 509 A.D.). Emperors even met their deaths on these occasions.

The truth therefore grasped by the Anonymus about Rome (but not by our literary histories) is something we may earlier find enshrined in a fragment (7, Leo) of Plautus: *circus noster eccum adest*, no doubt said by a character slyly glancing round at his audience. Rome was both circus and theatre. Gibbon, referring to Byzantium, spoke of the "splendid theatre" of the Roman government.<sup>7</sup> But Ennius already saw Romulus' coronation as taking place in the the Circus (*Ann.* 78–83, Sk.), and it was in the Milanese Circus that Aldolod, eager to establish his authenticity, was crowned in the fifth century A.D.<sup>8</sup> At Kiev, the eleventh-century cathedral still shows circus scenes in the passage leading from the royal palace to the church. Equally, Pompey the Great built Rome's first permanent theatre on the steps of the temple of Venus with more in mind than a disinterested love of the arts, as Lucan realized (1. 133; 7. 9). Even the young and ambitious Cicero trod the boards in a sort of music-hall turn with his quaestorship on his arm ("just me and my gal"),<sup>9</sup> and in another mood (*Sest.* 54. 116) he bitterly assailed Clodius and his sister Clodia for precisely their theatricality, just as he assailed Mark Antony in the Second *Philippic*. Byzantine consular diptychs in one way, and the Nica riots in another, make us conscious of the longevity of all these ideas and tensions. But, on the other side, Armenian hagiography depicts saints on the stage,<sup>10</sup> and in 1633 Lelio Guidiccioni saw Ss. Peter and Paul as actors, even as gladiators and charioteers, and here he was in quite an old and sacred tradition.

Ennius on Romulus may, for example, be compared with the following passage from Guidiccioni (*Ara Maxima Vaticana* [Rome 1633], p. 11):

Salve o Saule, Heros Tharsensis; vox tua digno,  
 Quippe triumphalis, fuerat sacranda Theatro.  
 Talis adest Campo species, ubi meta petita est  
 Ambobus; Roma ambobus diversa Theatrum  
 Exhibet; in pugnam tales prodistis & ambo  
 Carceribus; Veluti cum proripuerit Quadrigae  
 Incita multijugo sese in certamina cursu.

<sup>7</sup> *Decline and Fall*, Everyman Edition, ed. O. Smeaton, I, p. 522.

<sup>8</sup> Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Lombard.* 4. 30, adduced by J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (London 1986), p. 619

<sup>9</sup> *Ut me quaesturamque meam quasi in aliquo terrarum orbis theatro versari existimarem*, *Verrine* 5 §35.

<sup>10</sup> Dickran Kouymjian, "The Eastern Case: The Classical Tradition in Armenian Art and the *Scaenae Frons*," in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, edd. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham 1981), pp. 155 ff.

Hail, o Saul, hero of Tarsus! Your voice, as one of triumph, should have been dedicated in some worthy theatre. Such was the sight of the Campus, when the goal was sought by both (i.e. by Paul and Peter). Rome in its variety offers to both a theatre: into the fray such also you both came forth from your prisoning gates, as when chariots hurl themselves with all their speeding horses into the swift contest.

*In scaena numquam cantavit Orestes.* When therefore Juvenal (8. 220) attacks Nero for his theatrical proclivities, we should realize that perhaps the sensitive emperor/artist was simply more aware of the bias of his own civilization. The Flavian Amphitheatre was built by the frugal Vespasian, whose son Domitian was in so many ways Rome's first Byzantine emperor. He was also a Circus emperor, as Martial's poems make abundantly clear. This implies certain things: the mastery of beasts in a bigger and better world that O. Weinreich has explained.<sup>11</sup> But equally the status of saving—but eventually mocked, dethroned and then resurrected—god. Nero certainly, appearing on contorniati of the fourth century A.D. in a guise going back to motifs of Syracusan coinage of the fifth century B.C., is a fine example of all this.

Statius documents the carnival god in Domitian (*Silvae* 1. 1 and 6), horseman larger than life, giver of all good things. The Romans were (and are) a profoundly theatrical people, and Apulcius (10. 30–34) shows that the theatre increasingly continued to influence formal literature. Like Statius, Lucan wrote *fabulae salticae* (pantomimes), but if we compare the apparition of Roma to Caesar (*Phars.* 1. 186) with that in Claudian (*Prob. Olybr.* 75 ff.) the kinship with the *pyrrhiche* as described by Apulcius in the later poet is evident. In both later authors, the goddess has her attendants. In both a divine messenger conveys a heavenly plan to mortals. In both spectacle is paramount, and Claudian's encomiastic *longueur* serves the purpose of allowing the scene to deploy itself, if in no other theatre, at least in that of the reader's own mind. How much in the *ecphraseis* of all Latin poetry would the effect be enhanced if we could only bear in mind a Kabuki model, something already noted by L. Illig<sup>12</sup> in Pindar's first *Nemean*.

These are wonderful examples of the *principle of continuity*. Yet in our studies of later Latin literature the contrary (and mistaken) principle of discontinuity is often disguised as progress towards maturity—and then its inevitable and satisfyingly gloomy foil, decadence, a theme not so much perhaps canonized for the modern student by *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* as by Cecil B. de Mille. But discontinuity prevents us from attending to persistent themes and motifs,<sup>13</sup> and because of this partiality it prevents us from understanding even the classical and pre-classical authors.

<sup>11</sup> *Studien zu Martial* (Stuttgart 1928), pp. 30 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Zur Form der pindarischen Erzählung* (Berlin 1932), pp. 20 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Some of these are noted by H. Bardon, *La littérature latine inconnue* II (Paris 1956), pp. 305 ff.

When in Ennius a trumpeter is cut down, the poet remarks (485–86, Sk.) that, though the head had toppled, “the sound ran on hoarsely through the bronze.” Virgil altered what looks like the lead-in to this passage (483–84, Sk. = *Aen.* 10. 396) to give us fingers still flickering in death. In Lucan, this would be grisly “rhetoric.” And in Ennius or Virgil? Why not simply admit with Plutarch (*de Curios.* 520C) that Ennius, Virgil and Lucan, as good Romans, enjoyed what M. Bakhtin has called the “grotesque body”?

In the same way, we perhaps understand better what Horace (*Sat.* 2. 1. 84 *iudice ... Caesare*) and possibly the new Gallus are saying about Caesar (if the reference is to him in *iudice te*, fr. 4. 4, Buechner, *Frag. poet. lat.*, p. 130) when we realise that the notion of the emperor as the supreme author and judge of authors is later a commonplace. Again the Anonymus is relevant (64–75):

Rex, rector, venerandus apex, augustus, opimus,  
 Arbiter insignis, iudex, miserator egenum,  
 Pacificus, largus, solers hilarisque, venustus.  
 Grammaticae doctor constat praelucidus artis,  
 Nullo unquam fuerat tam clarus tempore lector;  
 Rhetorica insignis vegetat praeceptor in arte:  
 Summus apex regum, summus quoque in orbe sophista,  
 Exstat et orator, facundo fame pollens;  
 Inclita nam superat praeclari dicta Catonis,  
 Vincit et eloquii magnum dulcedine Marcum  
 Atque suis dictis facundus cedit Homerus  
 Et priscos superat dialectica in arte magistros.

King, ruler, reverend Head, awesome, rich, noble intermediary, judge, merciful to the poor, peace-loving, generous, his cheerful skill graced with loveliness! Brilliant teacher of the grammarian's art! Reader unparalleled in history, lively instructor in rhetoric, chief of kings, chiefest professor in the world, orator of eloquent fame, better than old Cato's saws, better than Cicero in his sweet utterance, winner over eloquent Homer, over the old masters of logic.

Students of “real life” will perhaps be surprised to learn that in real life the king could not write. The characteristic *superat* (*vincit*), already found in Plautus, and its equivalent *cedit* (Cicero's *Cedant arma togae*, Propertius' *cedite, Romani scriptores*) will be noted.

Some of this eulogy of Charlemagne is as old as the opening of Bacchylides 5 on Hiero:

Εὔμοιρε Συρακοσίων  
 ἰπποδινῆτων στραταγέ,  
 γνώσῃ μὲν ἰοστεφάνων



Μοισᾶν γλυκύδωρον ἄγαλμα, τῶν γε νῦν<sup>14</sup>  
 αἶ τις ἐπιχθονίων  
 ὀρθῶς φρένα δ' εὐθύδικον  
 ἀτρέμ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν  
 δεῦρ' ἄγ' ἄθρησον νόφ.

General of Syracuse and its wheeling cavalry, blest by fate! You will greet the sweet gift of the violet-crowned Muses—if anyone can of mortals now alive—with true judgment. Give gentle rest from its cares to your righteous heart, and direct hither your mind's gaze.

With ἄθρησον in turn may be compared Virgil's *hanc quoque, Maecenas, aspice partem* (*Geo.* 4. 2).

In a prose epilogue (*nescit quod bene cessit relinquere*) Guidiccioni says of Urban VIII (*Ara Maxima Vaticana*, pp. 37–38):

Plane sic res est, B<eatissime> P<ater> (a Te enim principium, tibi desinit). Te Principum maximum, Principem litteratorum habemus. Ut summus non esses hominum Princeps, dignus eras litterarum principatu. Nunc, Orbem Christianum moderaris imperio, mortalium mentes instruis ingenio. . . . Sed tamen tua ista celsitas, quae magno est litteris compendio splendoris, & lucri, nonnulli est litteratis intertrimento. Eccui monitori, ac Iudici, utilius quam tibi, sisteret unusquisque labores suos? quo frequentius sua scripta deferret, unde salubrius referret? Fores tuae, undantes cohortibus stipatorum, stipandae pariter fuerant turba doctorum. . . .

This is the simple truth, most Blessed Father—for from you I took my beginning, and with you I end. You are the greatest of our Princes, and the Prince of our men of letters. Even if you were not the greatest Prince among men, you would deserve the principedom of letters. As it is, you rule the world of Christians with your authority, and guide men's minds with your genius. . . . But that high estate of yours, great as is the distinction and gain it confers upon letters, brings to men of letters some loss. To what Adviser and Judge more advantageously than to you would each submit the fruits of his labors? Whither would he more often bring his writings, and from where would he bear them away more healthfully? Your doors, flooded by companies of your attendants, should likewise have been attended by the throng of scholars. . . .

In all this, an essential principle conceded by scholars with understandable reluctance is that *the best interpreters of the poetic tradition are poets*. This interpretation is not necessarily, and perhaps not normally, made in formal treatises, and indeed some formal treatises written by practising authors may for various reasons, including the failure of nerve, be an imperfect guide to what those authors actually do. Lucan, whose poem

<sup>14</sup> The characteristic difference from the Roman sensibility here is explained by Fraenkel on *Ag.* 532 (p. 268 of his commentary).

contains a reminiscence of the *Metamorphoses*, has been ranged, for example, with the authors of the historical epic condemned by Callimachus, and even the title of his poem has been changed to accommodate this theory. But the importance of Lucan is that he Callimacheanized the historical epic, using Virgil's techniques of verbal repetition and response to create a musically balanced and ultimately ambiguous portrait of Caesar (Pompey is a gallant irrelevance, like Turnus) and his critic Cato. At the end, Cato would have committed suicide, and the question whether there could be an acceptable Caesarism would have been left hanging in every man's conscience: *sed par quod semper habemus, libertas et Caesar erit.* (The gladiatorial metaphor is noteworthy.) But Stoicism did not favor political quietism, or recommend suicide as a first response. And what if Nero were the ideal philosopher-king? The theme of Nero as the new Augustus and favorite of Apollo, so evident in the *Einsiedeln Eclogues*, has been completely underplayed in the assessment of Lucan's poetic purpose. Livy (who however continued to enjoy Augustus' approval) debated whether the birth of Caesar was a blessing or a curse for Rome. Lucan, in the wake of the new Julius, Claudius, and his alleged excesses against Roman constitutional propriety, is to be thought of as doing the same.

A great scholar, Eduard Norden, propagated the notion that part of Ovid's literary guilt lay in his separation of Roman poetry from its natural Greek soil. But if we accept the principle of continuity, we shall also accept a *continuing dialogue with Alexandria*, something which the most diverse poets,<sup>15</sup> in their repeated echoing of the Preface to the *Aetia*, attest. But there is also some echoing of Theocritus, usually thought, on the basis of his remarks in *Idyll 7* (45-48), to have been on Callimachus' side in the battle of the books. Three passages (Theocr. 16. 48-51; Prop. 3. 1. 25-28; Corippus *Iohannis 1, praef.* 5-10), separated in time by centuries, may be compared:

τίς δ' ἂν ἀριστῆας Λυκίων ποτέ, τίς κομόωντας  
 Πριαμίδας ἢ θῆλυν ἀπὸ χροιάς Κύκνον ἔγνω,  
 εἰ μὴ φυλόπιδας προτέρων ἕμνησαν ἄοιδοί;  
 οὐδ' Ὀδυσσεύς . . .

Who would ever have known the Lycian chiefs, the long-haired sons of Priam or Cycnus with his girlish complexion, had not poets celebrated the battles of old? Nor would Odysseus <have won fame> . . .

Nam quis equo pulsas abiegnō nosceret arces,  
 fluminaque Haemonio comminus isse viro,

<sup>15</sup> Including Shakespeare, who prefaces his *Venus and Adonis* with Ovid's *Vilia miretur vulgus. mihi flavus Apollo / pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua* (*Am.* 1. 15. 35-36), a fine specimen of what has elsewhere been called the "Alexandrian code." This code is not a secret document. Like the British "Highway Code" issued to all drivers, it publicly advertises responsible choices.

Idaeum Simoenta Iovis cum prole Scamandro,  
Hectora per campos ter maculasse rotas?

Who would have known of the citadel beaten down by the horse of pine, the river that fought with Achilles, of Trojan Simois, of Scamander, son of Jove, of Hector thrice staining the chariot wheels as he was dragged over the field?

Omnia nota facit longaevo littera mundo,  
dum memorat veterum proelia cuncta ducum.  
quis magnum Aeneam, saevum quis nosset Achillem,  
Hectora quis fortem, quis Diomedis equos,  
quis Palamedeas acies, quis nosset Ulixem,  
littera ni priscum commemoraret opus?

The written record makes all known to the long history of the world, recalling all the battles of the chiefs of old. Who would have known of mighty Aeneas, of cruel Achilles, of brave Hector, of Diomedes' horses, of Palamedes' battles, of Ulysses, did not the record recall these deeds of yore?

In his turn, Theocritus was dependent on the choral lyric, and the sceptic might dismiss all this as the mere development of a topos. But why is the topos structured so similarly (ἔγνω, *nosceret, nosset*)? Why did Corippus resort to Propertius' elegiacs, but to Theocritus' language (φυλόπιδας προτέρων = *veterum proelia*), and even heroes ('Οδυσσεύς / Ulixes)?<sup>16</sup>

One great principle of the Alexandrian poetic was the avoidance of the trite and expected: ἀντὸς ἐπιφράσσαιτο, τάμοι δ' ἄπο μῆκος ἀοιδῆι (Callimachus, fr. 57. 1, Pf.). Accordingly, *brevitas* was of concern to Roman poets again separated by hundreds of years:

Nam me visus homo pulcer per amoena salicta  
et ripas *raptare* locosque novos.  
(Ennius, *Ann.* 38–39, Sk.)

*rapiatur* Proserpina curru  
imploratque deas . . .  
(Claudian, *De Rapt. Pros.* 2. 204–05)

This is all we get from either poet of the initial sexual encounter of god and maiden.<sup>17</sup> But a longer examination of both passages would show them as pieces of theatre.

This still living exchange with Callimachus, or at least with the general principles of his school, illustrates another important point telling against the tendency to treat post-Augustan poetry as if it were somehow separable from the study of Greek. This has obscured the evident dialogue

<sup>16</sup> I should perhaps add that I do not know the answers to these questions, but at least they should be asked.

<sup>17</sup> J. B. Hall has an excellent note (p. 222 of his edition of the *De Raptu* [Cambridge 1969]) citing the "puerile" complaint of Bonnet.

which Martial conducts, for example, with Callimachus. But equally, it obscures the value to be set on Martial's reading of the mixed—Roman and Greek—poetic tradition which confronted him as he approached his own task.

The question of length and the Alexandrian poet, for example, is greatly illumined by considering Martial, not as in a debate with contemporary poetic theory of the epigram—or not only in such a debate—but in a wider literary-historical context. Catullus, Marsus, Albinovanus Pedo and Gaetulicus, adduced by Martial among his models, all seem, though masters of brevity, to be authors of more than brief poems. In particular, although Marsus, according to Quintilian (6. 3. 104), defined brevity as the soul of wit, he wrote an epic. Either he held irreconcilable positions, or there was a push within Alexandrianism towards the longer poem, provided always that it met the standards of art. This polar tug had perhaps already been felt by Varro of Atax and Furius Bibaculus, and certainly by Catullus.

Martial, the poet who so often emphasizes his own "brevitas," purports to fend off the criticisms of readers who believed that his poems were too long. There are already two examples of this in the second book:

Ter centena quidem poteras epigrammata ferre,  
 sed quis te ferret perlegeretque, liber?  
 at nunc succincti quae sint bona disce libelli.  
 hoc primum est, brevior quod mihi charta perit;  
 deinde, quod haec una peragit librarius hora,  
 nec tantum nugis serviet ille meis;  
 tertia res haec est, quod si cui forte legeris,  
 sis licet usque malus, non odiosus eris.  
 te conviva leget mixto quincunce, sed ante  
 incipiat positus quam tepuisse calix.  
 esse tibi tanta cautus brevitate videris?  
 ei mihi, quam multis sic quoque longus eris! (2. 1)

You could have contained three hundred epigrams, but at what cost in patience and readers, my book! Let me explain the advantages of conciseness. The first is a saving in paper. Then there is the time: a copyist gets through this in a single hour, and will not slave only over my rubbish. The third point is that, if you find a reader, you may be bad all through, but you won't be tiresome. The party-goer will read you when the five measures are mixed, but before the drink he has set down grows lukewarm. You may think you are well guarded by brevity such as this. Alas, how many even so will deem you long!

But, even so, Cosconius was not satisfied (2. 77):

Cosconi, qui longa putas epigrammata nostra,  
 utilis unguendis axibus esse potes.  
 hac tu credideris longum ratione colosson,  
 et puerum Bruti dixeris esse brevem.  
 disce quod ignoras: Marsi doctique Pedonis

saepe duplex unum pagina tractat opus.  
non sunt longa quibus nihil est quod demere possis,  
sed tu, Cosconi, disticha longa facis.

Cosconius, you think my epigrams are long. You may be good for axle grease. With genius like yours you probably believe that the Colossus is tall and Brutus' Boy short. Let me tell you a secret. Sometimes two pages are needed by Marsus and witty Pedo for a single poem. Poems are not long when there is nothing in them superfluous. But you, Cosconius, make even couplets long.

It is notable that Martial assails him in Alexandrian terms ultimately perhaps derived from Callimachus' riposte to Creophylus (*epigr.* 6, Pf.), and perhaps connected with the writing of the *Hecale*:

τοῦ Σαμίου πόνος εἰμὶ δόμῳ ποτὲ θεῖον αἰοιδόν  
δεξαμένου, κλείω δ' Εὐρυτον ὄσσ' ἔπαθεν  
καὶ ξανθὴν Ἴόλειαν, Ὀμήρειον δὲ καλεῦμαι  
γράμμα· Κρεωφύλω, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα.

I am the labor of the Samian who once welcomed the divine bard in his house, and I celebrate the sufferings of Eurytus and fair Iole, and I am called a work of Homer. Dear Zeus, this is Creophylus' definition of "big" (μέγα).

Compare the scholium on *Hymn* 2. 106 (Pfeiffer II, p. 53):

ἐγκαλεῖ διὰ τούτων τοὺς σκάπτοντας αὐτὸν μὴ δύνασθαι  
ποιῆσαι μέγα ποίημα, ὅθεν ἠναγκάσθη ποιῆσαι τὴν Ἐκάλην.

In these lines he attacks those who made fun of him for not being able to write a poem that was "big" (μέγα). This forced him to write the *Hecale*.

Callimachus was exercised over the proper definition of length.<sup>18</sup> This Alexandrian debate still engages Martial.

In a later book, in answer to *Tucca*, this theme is resumed:

'Hexametris epigramma facis' scio dicere Tuccam.  
Tucca, solet fieri, denique, Tucca, licet.  
'Sed tamen hoc longum est.' solet hoc quoque, Tucca, licetque:  
si breviora probas, disticha sola legas.  
conveniat nobis ut fas epigrammata longa  
sit transire tibi, scribere, Tucca, mihi. (6. 65)

"Your epigram takes up whole heroic lines"—I know this is what *Tucca* remarks. *Tucca*, it is normal, and allowed. "But that is lengthy." Yes, *Tucca*, but also normal and allowed. If you only like shorter poems, only read the couplets. Let us agree that it is all right for you to skip the long epigrams, and for me, *Tucca*, to compose them.

<sup>18</sup> See further my article "Callimachus and the Epic" in *Serta Turyniana* (Urbana 1974), pp. 342 ff.

The theme recurs two books later:

Disticha qui scribit, puto, vult brevitate placere.  
quid prodest brevitās, dici mihi, si liber est? (8. 29)

An author writing couplets, I suppose, wants to satisfy by being short. But what is the point of shortness that fills up a book?

*Brevitas* implies therefore, not only short individual poems, but short collections. A *libellus* may be acceptable, but not a *liber*, though later (11. 24. 12) even *libri* become acceptable.

But there can be too many *libelli*:

Obstat, care Pudens, nostris sua turba libellis  
lectoremque frequens lassat et implet opus.  
rara iuvant: primis sic maior gratia pomis,  
hibernae pretium sic meruere rosae;  
sic spoliatricem commendat fastus amicam,  
ianua nec juvenem semper aperta tenet.  
saepius in libro numeratur Persius uno  
quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide.  
tu quoque, de nostris releges quemcumque libellis,  
esse puta solum: sic tibi pluris erit. (4. 29)

Their very number, dear Pudens, harms my books, and my constant publications exhaust and sate my readers. "Few and far between" is the formula for success. So the early fruits are in higher regard, winter roses better valued. Her very aloofness enhances the charms of a grasping girlfriend, while an ever-open door cannot hold a lover. For all his one book, Persius counts for more than lightweight Marsus with his whole "Tale of the Amazons." And you, in your turn, imagine that whatever book of mine you decide to read again is the only one: so it will have more merit in your eyes.

A great deal in this polemic smacks of traditional Alexandrian doctrine: the opposition between the long epic and the paradoxically more meritorious short poem; the implications of the abuse of Cosconius as "good for axle grease" (= *pinguis*, *παχύς*); the hint that *brevitas* and its opposite are not to be determined entirely by mechanical criteria.

But it has been argued that there is also evidence of a more recent controversy. In the early Empire, it is asserted, a doctrine had been developed that the epigram must not exceed a narrow compass, and Martial is allegedly under attack from proponents of this post-Callimachean and post-Catullan theory—even post-Augustan, if we take his references to Pedo and Marsus at face value.<sup>19</sup> Whatever the truth of this, in poem 4. 29. 7–8

<sup>19</sup> O. Weinreich, *Die Distichen des Catull* (Tübingen 1926), pp. 4–7; P. A. Howell, *A Commentary on Book I of the Epigrams of Martial* (London 1980), pp. 8–9.

(adduced above), where there is an allusion to Persius' single book, Martial is quoting from Antipater of Sidon on Erinna (*A.P.* 7. 713):

Παυροεπῆς Ἥριννα καὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος αἰοδαῖς  
 ἀλλ' ἔλαχεν Μούσης τοῦτο τὸ βαιὸν ἔπος.  
 τοιγάρτοι μνήμης οὐκ ἤμβροτεν οὐδὲ μελαίνης  
 νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκιερῇ κωλύεται πτέρυγι·  
 αἱ δ' ἀναρίθμητοι νεαρῶν σωρηδὼν αἰοιδῶν  
 μυριάδες λήθη, ξεῖνε, μαραίνομεθα.  
 λωίτερος κύκνου μικρὸς θρόος ἢ ἐ κολοιῶν  
 κρωγμὸς ἐν εἰαριναῖς κιδνάμενος νεφέλαις.

Erinna wrote few verses, and her songs are not verbose, but the little she does say is the gift of the Muse. And so she is remembered, and dark night does not imprison her beneath its shadowy wing, while we countless swarms of modern poets are wasted in our heaps, my friend, by oblivion. Better the tiny call of the swan, than the crowing of rooks scattered in the clouds at springtime.

The Greek lemmatist paraphrases the sense of this epigram in this way:<sup>20</sup>

Ἄντιπάτρου εἰς Ἥρινναν τὴν Λεσβίδα ποιήτριαν ἣς οἱ τριακόσιοι στίχοι παραβάλλονται Ὀμήρω.

By Antipater on Erinna the Lesbian poetess, whose 300 verses are compared to Homer.

Evidently the comparison was not to her discredit. The poem is in fact deeply in debt to Callimachus (cf. especially *Aetia*-preface 11–16), and is a simplifying expansion of his belief that length is irrelevant to good poems. It had already been paraphrased and applied to himself by Lucretius (4. 180–83 = 909 ff.).

Lucretius is able to cite Antipater in his defence because he feels that his didactic poem does satisfy Alexandrian criteria. Six books in ultimately Aratean vein are apparently not *nulli versus*. Martial's quotation is really on the other side, since he is apologizing for his prolixity. His comic suggestion for dealing with his fertility is not in fact convincing, because he had hardly written at the same length as either Erinna or Lucretius, and they thought they had not offended. But he still apparently felt a certain literary unease.

This was not, or not wholly, because of a new theory worked out by critics in his own day about the permissible length of the epigram. Why is Martial's dialogue in that case with earlier predecessors, reaching back into the Alexandrian Museum itself? If we confine our enquiry to the post-

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965) I, p. 30. In v. 2 of the epigram they print Μούσας, interpreting it however (rightly) as genitive singular.

Augustans, where were these attacks on Martial coming from, and why does he pay them the compliment of repeated refutation?

The answer is that Martial *encourages* the notion that he has written at length. Perhaps there was some contemporary theory about the epigram, as obscure as the authors cited from the *Greek Anthology* to substantiate it. But Martial exaggerates the importance of these polemics because he wants to be known as a poet of more than negligible trifles. The Callimachean challenge was towards the large-scale, provided the large-scale could meet the demands of art.<sup>21</sup> Like Lucretius, Catullus had answered this challenge well enough. So apparently had Marsus and Pedo. In order to keep in step, Martial has to pretend that he is not a poet of *brevitas* after all. He needs critics to tell him this, so that in the Alexandrian battle of the books he can claim to have been wounded while fighting for the right side. Whatever the validity of the charge in itself, at least it proves that he felt the Callimachean urge towards more than the single shining jewels of poets like Asclepiades and Posidippus.

It is because of his desire to establish his complete satisfaction—but as a Roman poet—of the Alexandrian demand, even though he quite obviously had not written at length in any real sense, that Martial had an ambiguous attitude towards the Alexandrian master. In one way, he admired him:

Dum tu lenta nimis diuque quaeris  
 quis primus tibi quisve sit secundus,  
*Graium* quos epigramma comparavit,  
 palmam Callimachus, Thalia, de se  
 facundo dedit ipse Brutiano.  
 qui si Cecropio satur lepore  
 Romanae sale luserit Minervae,  
 illi me facias, precor, secundum. (4. 23)

You were too slow and long, Muse, in deciding whom to rank first and second in the contest of (Greek?) epigrams, so Callimachus of his own accord passed over himself and gave the prize to eloquent Brutianus. But if ever Brutianus is glutted with Athenian charm and decides to sport with Roman Minerva's wit, I implore you to make me second to him.

But, if this Callimachus is granted *lepos*, he is by the same token deprived of *sal*. What can that mean? *Romanae . . . Minervae* offers an essential clue. The sober Quintilian's fulsome language reminds us that Domitian was under the spell of this goddess.<sup>22</sup> He believed that she was his mother. On his coins at least, he wore her breastplate (and see also Martial

<sup>21</sup> This is why Leonidas of Tarentum hails Aratus as καμὸν ἔργον μέγα (*A.P.* 9. 25. 5: Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, no. Cf).

<sup>22</sup> *J.O.* 10. 1. 91–92: cf. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich 1902), p. 205, note 7; H. Bengtson, *Die Flavii* (Munich 1979), pp. 221–24. Wissowa is offended by the claim that Domitian was the son of a Virgin, but what was contemporary Christianity saying? These religious ideas were in the air.



7. 1). He founded literary competitions to honor her. Martial's poetry differs from that of Callimachus, because, in a much more engaged way, it serves a social function in contemporary Roman, imperial society:

fer vates, Auguste, tuos: nos gloria dulcis,  
 nos tua cura prior deliciaeque sumus.  
 non quercus te sola decet nec laurea Phoebi:  
 fiat et ex hedera civica nostra tibi. (8. 82. 5–8)

Augustus, bear with your own bards: we are your welcome fame, your first responsibility, your favorites. It is not only the oak that befits you or Phoebus' laurel. Let our citizens' crown also be created for you from ivy.

The emperor (just like Charlemagne later) is both ruler and man of letters; not only the savior of his fellow-citizens (*quercus*) or the triumphant general (*laurea Phoebi*), but also the wearer of the poet's ivy, which is yet *civica*, the mark of citizenship and social concern. The *corona civica* indicated that its wearer had saved the life of another citizen, and so the Messianic expectation of the genre is well in evidence.

As *Auguste* and *vates* indicate, these are Augustan motifs.<sup>23</sup> Since Martial has been able to establish in this way a satisfactory *point d'appui* for his poetry, he has no need to feel inferior because he has not proceeded to "long" poems in any sense that posterity has found convincing. The deficiency is really made up by his social concerns. At the start of Book 10 therefore he can claim "length" with perfect assurance:

Si nimius videor seraque coronide longus  
 esse liber, legito pauca: libellus ero.  
 terque quaterque mihi finitur carmine parvo  
 pagina: fac tibi me quam cupis esse brevem. (10. 1)

If you think I am too much of a book, long because my colophon is postponed, just read a few pieces, and I will become a little book. Often enough in me a page ends with a short poem. Make me as short as you like.

But now he has switched to the other side. He has written a long book, which it is a question of allowing the reader to shorten, should he so wish. This solution, already adumbrated in 6. 65, enables him in an epigram that follows to draw a sharp (and self-flattering) distinction between his poetry and that of Callimachus (10. 4):

Qui legis Oedipoden caligantemque Thyesten,  
 Colchidas et Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis?

<sup>23</sup> Augustus was the supreme *vates*: Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition*, (Madison 1986) 192. Cf. *vates rege vatis habenas*, said by the repentant Ovid to Germanicus, *Fasti* 1. 25. In this tradition, Urban VIII was both Augustus and Virgil (Guidiccioni, pp. 29–30).

quid tibi raptus Hylas,<sup>24</sup> quid Parthenopaeus et Attis,  
 quid tibi dormitor proderit Endymion?  
 exutusve puer pennis labentibus? aut qui  
 odit amatrices Hermaphroditus aquas?  
 quid te vana iuvant miserae ludibria chartae?  
 hoc lege, quod possit dicere vita 'Meum est.'  
 non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque  
 invenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit.  
 sed non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores  
 nec te scire: legas Aetia Callimachi.

You read of Oedipus and Thyestes in his [daytime] darkness, of girls like Medea and Scylla: but all this is romantic twaddle. What good will Hylas and his Rape, Parthenopaeus and Attis, or Rip van Endymion do for you? Or young Icarus who lost his gliding wings? Or Hermaphroditus, no longer so fond of passionate springs? What is this delight you take in these mockeries of the unhappy paper [on which they are written]? Read something of which Life can say: "This is mine." No Centaurs, Gorgons or Harpies await you here. My page smacks of man. But, Mamurra, you don't want to discover your own character, nor to know yourself. All right, read Callimachus' "Aetia."

"Mamurra" here indicates a dialogue with Catullus. The *Aetia* of Callimachus may be rejected because they are, from Martial's perspective, unnecessary to the poet of social resonance. But it was from the *Aetia* that Catullus had translated the *Coma Berenices*, perhaps earlier (5. 30. 4) and more respectfully rejected as inappropriate to the season. The difference between Catullus' attitude to Callimachus and that of Martial is that Catullus, living when society was facing collapse—

socer generque, perdidistis omnia

Father-in-law, son-in-law, you've ruined everything.

—injected his social concern into the structure of his poetry. Martial, in his time, can feel an extra-literary context. For the Catullan venom he substituted a fancied influence on the great ones of his age, even on the court. Here he resembles the Augustan elegists and what has been called their "deformation" of the iambic impulse.

Later in Book 10, Martial is even bolder about length. Now, instead of permitting his reader to pick and choose, he scolds him:

Consumpta est uno si lemmate pagina, transis,  
 et breviora tibi, non meliora placent.  
 dives et ex omni posita est instructa macello  
 cena tibi, sed te mattea sola iuvat.  
 non opus est nobis nimium lectore guloso;  
 hunc volo, non fiat qui sine pane satur. (10. 59)

<sup>24</sup> "What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba / That he should weep for her?"

If a single selection takes a whole page, you skip. You prefer the shorter, not the better. A rich supper is set before you, drawn from every stall in the meat-market, but all you want is a dainty dish. I don't need a reader who is too much of a gourmet. I like a man who needs bread to fill him.

In this poem, the ideal of *brevitas* is rejected, along with the Callimachean insistence on plain fare. But whether this epigram or any of Martial's poetry deserves to be called long is another question. The poet would call it "long" because it echoes far and high, because length is to be determined by other means than the mere counting of verses.

He needs therefore a social dimension, and interestingly the loss of this context inspires a later Preface (12). *Theatra* is telling:

Accipe ergo rationem, in qua hoc maximum et primum est, quod civitatis aures quibus adsueveram quaero, et videor mihi in alieno foro litigare; si quid est enim quod in libellis meis placeat, dictavit auditor: illam iudiciorum subtilitatem, illud materiarum ingenium, bibliothecas, *theatra*, convictus, in quibus studere se voluptates non sentiunt, ad summam omnium illa quae delicati reliquimus desideramus quasi destituti.

Let me offer an explanation. The most important and first point is that I need my usual audience of citizens. I have the impression that I am pleading at a foreign bar. Yet any appeal made by my books was inspired by my readers. I miss that refined taste, that inspiration of my themes, the libraries, the theatres, social gatherings, where pleasures do not feel themselves to be at school; in a word, what I abandoned because I was spoiled I now long for like someone despoiled.

With this may be compared Catullus' anguished declaration of faith:

hoc fit, quod Romae vivimus: illa domus,  
illa mihi sedes, illic mea carpitur aetas;  
huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur . . . (68. 34-36)

The reason is that I live in Rome. That is my home, that is my place, there my life is spent. Only one box [of books] out of many is my legacy here.

Perhaps the death of Domitian, like the end of the Republic, shattered poetic pretensions. But both Martial and Catullus remained Romans, and shared some things that transcended illusions.

The theatre communicates by speech, and so does later Latin poetry (*personat et noto Pythia vate domus*, Claudian, *Bell. Goth., praef.* 5). The student will have been warned of the "evil effects of the *recitatio*," its concentration on immediate effect, its sacrifice of the whole to the parts. He will expect the worst.

But, quite apart from the evidence for the *recitatio* long before Asinius Pollio (e.g. Cicero, *Brutus* §191), all this is in flat contradiction of Aristotle's theory of composition (*Poetics* 1455 a 29: cf. μμήσεις δράμα-

τῆς, 1448 b 35). It actually hinders us from listening to the poems for what is there.

The real importance of orality in fact has been completely bedevilled by the "Homeric question." Because of this essentially anthropological rather than literary enquiry, oral or primary epic is distinguished from secondary epic—a fateful simplification. Once the primitive and heroic age of primary epic is over, scholars easily assume that all men of letters must work in the same way. The poet and the professor alike meet in the Museum, at the typewriter.

This is quite false, as any recital out loud of Callimachus and Apollonius will show. We read of Virgil's *vox et os et hypocrisis* (*Vit. Verg. Don.* 28). The poet is not, like the academic, attempting to communicate a truth that he perceives clearly, for that kind of truth gains its limpidity at the cost of shallowness. Because of his gift he has access to the noumenal world, and all attempts to describe that in the language of phenomena must necessarily fail. In his dilemma the poet typically calls on other artistic media for help; on painting, for example, but particularly on music.

What the poet says therefore is conditioned by *how* he says it, by what the Formalists call "sound gesture." The medium is, if not the message, certainly its key. This is obvious to the reader of Catullus and Virgil. It has been less so to the reader of Lucan, whose poem has been assimilated to the historical epic so praised by Konrat Ziegler and so dignified beyond its deserts by R. Häußler.<sup>25</sup> But the verbal repetitions in the poem<sup>26</sup> point towards quite a different tradition, as indeed we might expect from the emulator of Virgil and Ovid.

A final great defect in modern preparation that must affect the appreciation of the post-classical poets is the ignorance of religion, although Polybius had already noted (6. 56. 6 ff.) that the Romans were the most god-fearing of men. Scholars like to point out to hapless students that it is too late to write Latin out of the Western experience. But it is also too late to cancel Latin (Roman) religion. The unbeliever finds it either an unintelligible impediment to gratification, or, in an act of over-compensation, sits stiffly in his pew determined at all costs to preserve the gravity of the occasion. *Favete linguis* is indeed important. But ultimately the Roman god does not depend on human acknowledgment. Like the force of gravity,<sup>27</sup> he is there as part of the way things are. Because of this, he does not require rigid conformity to a puritanical code of etiquette. It is

<sup>25</sup> *Das historische Epos von Lucan bis Silius und seine Theorie* (Heidelberg 1978).

<sup>26</sup> They form the basis of the study by O. Schönberger, *Untersuchungen zur Wiederholungstechnik Lucans* (2. Auflage, Munich 1968), although Schönberger should have understood that the polyphonic (dialectical) style thus set up cannot produce the univocal effect he desiderates on p. 3 of his work.

<sup>27</sup> Hebrew וָיָגֵב, "weight," "glory." The Romantic likes to think of gods as insubstantial ghosts, but the man of religion knows better.

permissible to laugh, to exaggerate, even to be rude. This has its importance for that offshoot of Roman satire, Augustan elegy, which was not the channel of underground resentment against the emperor, but blended exaltation of the king of the carnival with ritual mockery of his claims in a perfectly understood combination. But it also helps with the understanding of Martial. The Golden Age, when it comes, brings with it a Messiah. And if the emperor is that Messiah?

Some neglected religious concepts pointing to the essentially comic view of the world in the Roman mentality may be briefly listed:

Now is best. It subsumes (consumes) the past and future. Romans, imbued with the ethic of eternal victory, are always entitled to claim that they have surpassed their predecessors.

The gods are bigger as well as heavier. Man feels mixed emotions as he encounters the divine.

Laughter is sacred, and the token of new birth and resurrection. To laugh at something is not to destroy it, but to acknowledge its status and claim.

Playing is sacred.

When the golden age of peace is restored, every tear will be wiped away, and there will be feasting and abundance. All contradictions will not so much be reconciled as be possible at the same time.

Then servants will be the masters.

Paradise is threatened, but the threat will not be the end of the story.

The strange mixture of ideas which characterizes Roman thought is found in a passage of Statius' *Silvae*, which should be examined for more than their rhetoric. In the second poem of the second book, the poet praises the Sorrentine villa of Pollius Felix. Some characteristic themes are not slow to appear: the idyllic renewal of contact with the world of the gods, the peace among the warring elements of nature, what Bakhtin calls *le monde à l'envers*, so that what was wilderness is now tamed. By a typical (comic) Roman *contaminatio*, Pollius is Amphion and Orpheus in one.

Evidently the estate is a kind of earthly Eden (רַגַּל יָרַח, Sirach 40. 27):

Sis felix, tellus,<sup>28</sup> dominis ambobus in annos  
 Mygdonii Pylisque senis nec nobile mutes  
 servitium: nec te cultu Tirynthia vincat  
 aula Dicaearchique sinus; nec saepius istis  
 blanda Therapnaei placeant vineta Galaesi. (2. 2. 107 ff.)

Be happy, earth, for your two masters throughout years that match those of Tithonus and Nestor, and never alter your glorious servitude. Let not

<sup>28</sup> *Feliciter sù genio loci* is found on an inscription in the Museum at Malton (the legionary fortress of Derwentio) in North Yorkshire. From such humble kinships spring imposing poems.

Herculaneum or Puteoli outstrip your fruitfulness; nor more often than yours may the sweet vineyards along Tarentine Galaesus give pleasure.

—but not one to be enjoyed by Statius himself (121–32):

Vive Midae gazis et Lydo ditior auro,  
Troica et Euphratae supra diademata felix,<sup>29</sup>  
quem non ambigui fasces, non mobile vulgus,  
non leges, non castra tenent; qui pectore magno  
spemque metumque domas voto sublimior omni,  
exemptus fatis indignantemque repellens  
fortunam; dubio quem non in turbine rerum  
deprendet suprema dies, sed abire paratum  
et plenum vita. nos, vilis turba, caducis  
deservire bonis semperque optare parati,  
spargimur in casus: celsa tu mentis ab arce  
despicias errantis humanaque gaudia rides.

Live on, with wealth greater than the treasures of Midas, than Croesus' gold, happy beyond the crowns of Priam and Parthia. No giddy emblems of office, no fickle electorate, no laws or campaigns distract you. With greatness of soul you keep in check both hope and fear, superior to every prayer, untouchable by the fates, spurning shocked fortune. Your last day will not catch you unawares amid the world's confusions. You will be ready to depart, having had your fill of life. We are the cheap multitude, always ready to spend ourselves in slavery to fading goods, always wanting more; we scatter to our fates. You, Pollius, from your intellect's lofty refuge look down on us as we stray, and smile at human joys.

The passage is replete with allusions, not least to the second book of Virgil's *Georgics* (490 ff.) and to Horace (*Odes* 1. 1. 7; *Epp.* 2. 2. 213–16). It is the genre however that enforces this contrast between the struggling (“poor”) poet and the serene patron.<sup>30</sup> *Rides* is important for the understanding of the atmosphere evoked.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> G. L. Dirichlet, *De veterum macarismis* (Giessen 1914) notes (p. 69) that this *makarismos* is applied to Pollius Felix as an Epicurean, but he also compares it to a *topos* going back to Empedocles (fr. 132, Diels = 95 Wright) and Menander (fr. 416, Koerte: τούτων εὐτυχέστατον λέγω κτλ.) on the σύγκρισις of the active and contemplative lives. Epicurus' ambiguous attitude to primitive simplicity—he wanted it, but he also wanted “progress”—is reflected in Lucretius 5. See B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und Sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*, Spudasmata 16 (Hildesheim 1967), p. 151. R. G. M. Nisbet, “Felicitas at Surrentum (Statius, *Silvae* II. 2),” *JRS* 68 (1978) 1–11, also argues that Pollius was an Epicurean, and that *felix* alludes to the Epicurean *ataraxia*. At the end of Catullus 68 (v. 155), such an allusion in *vivite felices* would fit well with the suggestion that the “Allius” of the poem is the Epicurean Manlius Torquatus. But though these elements may be present in all three poets, they are not the whole story. Roman Epicureanism is alloyed with a satirical and comic admixture even in Lucretius. Catullus' reference to Themis is Hesiodic, not Epicurean. Statius too writes in this Roman vein.

<sup>30</sup> Compare *illa cantat, nos tacemus* etc. in the *Pervigilium Veneris*. In the *Cambridge Songs*, preserved in an 11th-century manuscript in the University Library there, we read, following a

Thetis uses similar language in Book 1 of the *Achilleid* (384–88) when, having left Achilles on Scyros, she now apostrophizes the island. Once again, the typical situation is that the person or personification addressed is raised to some ideal status. The person addressing or petitioning is left with a burden of responsibility. Thetis was not in the end able to protect her son.

It is from these passages of Statius, the ardent student of the *Aeneid*, that we might proceed to elucidate Virgil's own preoccupation with the Golden Age and its contradictions (*Eclogue* 4. 6; 8. 41; *Geo.* 2. 173, 458 ff.; *Aeneid* 6. 793 ff.; 7. 45 ff., 202 ff.; 8. 319). One thinks of things like *pauca tamen priscae suberunt vestigia fraudis, amor successit habendi*, and all that side of Virgil so sensitively caught by Eduard Fraenkel in his lecture on the "Carattere della Poesia Augustea."<sup>32</sup> Whether these contradictions were all reconciled in Augustus (*Aen.* 6. 792) is not a question to be answered easily. Suppose Aeneas sailed for Utopia and found himself instead in a Cretan labyrinth? That really would make his poem akin to the *Thebaid*, and prove once again the accuracy of the poetic reading of poetic texts—and their religiosity, continuity and theatricality.

Sed haec non huius temporis nec loci. Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

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description of spring: *quod oculis dum video / et auribus dum audio, / heu pro tantis gaudiis / tantis inflor suspiriis* ("Levis exsurgit zephyrus," vv. 13–16). Gray's *Elegy* is not too far away.

<sup>31</sup> Among parallels may be noted: to *errantis, palantis*: Lucr., *Rer. Nat.* 2. 10; Ovid, *Met.* 15. 150; to *rides, ridet*, *Rer. Nat.* 3. 22; *rise*, Boccaccio, *Teseida* 11. 3. 1 (death of Arcita). Nisbet (*loc. cit.*, p. 2, note 16) adds Horace, *Sat.* 2. 6. 16; *Odes* 2. 6. 21 ff.; *Ciris* 14.

<sup>32</sup> *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* (Rome 1964) II, pp. 209 ff. The particular allusion is to p. 225, on *rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet* (*Aen.* 8. 730).





## Des droits et des devoirs du poète satirique à l'âge d'argent de la latinité

JEAN GÉRARD

Les *Satires* de Juvénal sont l'une des oeuvres maîtresses de la littérature de l'âge d'argent et la postérité les a reconnues comme le meilleur représentant du genre avant même celles d'Horace. Elles ont cependant suscité des critiques: leur mise en oeuvre rhétorique, vigoureuse, excessive, a fait douter de leur prise sur le réel et même de la sincérité de l'auteur dont les déclarations liminaires ont paru simplistes et contradictoires; la composition a été jugée faible, voire incohérente, l'inspiration superficielle et vite essoufflée; l'esprit qui anime le poète satirique serait donc artificiel par nature et par essence littéraire.<sup>1</sup> C'est sur cette question fondamentale que nous voulons revenir en essayant de déterminer, jusque dans leur évolution interne, les motivations de Juvénal, d'apprécier la conception qu'il a eue de son métier d'écrivain. Pour ce faire, il importe de découvrir comment il conçoit les devoirs qui s'imposent à lui en tant qu'auteur satirique et de préciser les justifications qu'il donne de son droit à la satire.

Il convient d'abord de rappeler que tous les poètes satiriques se sont fait obligation de justifier leur entreprise dans des satires-programmes liées par une évidente parenté de conception: chacun affirme sa détermination à pratiquer le genre satirique, réfute les objections qui l'incitent à la prudence, fixe l'objet et la forme de son inspiration. Horace, Perse et Juvénal se réclament naturellement de Lucilius, l'initiateur du genre, évoquant les questions essentielles abordées par leurs prédécesseurs; la principale concerne les dangers auxquels s'expose le poète, issus des craintes et des haines provoquées par la dénonciation des vices tout autant que par la nomination

Les références sont données sous le seul nom de l'auteur suivi de l'année d'édition en cas de publications multiples; pour les titres, consulter la liste bibliographique.

<sup>1</sup> Sur la réputation posthume des *Satires*, cf. Hightet (1955) 206-32, et la discussion approfondie des opinions exprimées par Dryden sur la valeur respective des oeuvres d'Horace et de Juvénal (*Discourse concerning the original and progresse of Satire*) par N. Rudd (1966) 258-63. Les critiques dont nous présentons la synthèse proviennent d'études déjà anciennes, consacrées surtout à l'influence de la déclamation sur l'invention, la composition et le style des *Satires* (cf. J. de Decker, O. Ribbeck, A. Widal). Le point sur la question par E. J. Kenney (1963) et J. Adamietz (1972) 3-5.

des personnes.<sup>2</sup> L'étude de ces rapprochements fournit une première analyse des motivations du poète satirique.

Horace, Perse et Juvénal refusent de pratiquer tout autre genre littéraire, spécialement l'épopée. C'est une motivation négative qui relève des circonstances et des goûts personnels. Horace reconnaît qu'il n'a pas le don de la grande poésie (*Sat.* 2, 1, 10-15), mais cite avec honneur les contemporains qui l'illustrent (*Sat.* 1, 10, 36-45); comme il ne peut s'empêcher d'écrire des vers, il ne lui reste que la satire (*ibid.* 46 sq.) et l'exemple de Lucilius (*Sat.* 2, 1, 28-34). Perse condamne une littérature qui est la proie de l'amateurisme et de la mode; sans illusion sur le succès de son oeuvre, il écrira malgré tout des satires pour révéler et corriger l'aberration qui frappe les Romains (1, 2 sq., 118-23). Il n'est pas question pour Juvénal de choisir le genre satirique parce qu'il est plus conforme à ses dons ou par réaction contre une mode. Certes il repousse l'épopée qui traite de sujets éculés et verse dans l'outrance et le pathétique, il condamne la manie d'écrire qui s'est emparée de tous, mais il fera comme tout le monde pour exercer un véritable droit de réponse, se venger des poètes sans génie qui lui ont infligé l'insipide lecture de leurs oeuvres; contrairement à Perse, il accepte le style et les procédés de composition usuels et se réclame de l'enseignement qu'il a reçu en la matière au même titre que les autres. C'est le sentiment d'un devoir dont il ressent l'impérieuse nécessité qui le détermine à se lancer dans la satire. Il exprime cette motivation essentielle dans la première conclusion partielle de la longue tirade qui occupe la moitié de la première satire (1, 22-80). Après avoir évoqué une série de scandales dont les auteurs bafouent les bonnes moeurs et narguent la société, il conclut: devant cela, "il est difficile de ne pas écrire des satires, car qui est assez résigné aux iniquités de Rome, assez bronzé pour se contenir?" (1, 30 sq.).

L'originalité de cette motivation devient évidente si on la compare à celles que donnent Horace et Perse. Tous deux se réclament des poètes de l'Ancienne Comédie qui "désignaient avec grande liberté tout homme méritant qu'on le dépeigne parce qu'il était fripon, voleur, adultère, coupe-

<sup>2</sup> Sur la satire 1 et ses rapports avec les "programmes" d'Horace et de Perse, cf. W. S. Anderson (1962), E. J. Kenney (1962), E. Pasoli (1972).

jarret ou mal famé pour toute autre raison.<sup>33</sup> Tous deux ont conscience d'accomplir un devoir moral et pédagogique, voire une mission philosophique. C'est ce qu'explique Horace à Trébatius quand il lui expose les raisons de son engagement littéraire; il y a été préparé par l'éducation reçue de son père qui lui apprenait à observer les hommes afin de le mettre en garde contre leurs défauts (*Sat.* 2, 1, 28–34.–1, 4, 105–29). La démarche de Perse est semblable: dans la perversion du goût littéraire de ses contemporains, il voit le signe évident de leur dégradation morale; il se doit donc de les réformer suivant sa propre philosophie.<sup>4</sup>

La détermination de Juvénal est toute différente: devant le spectacle de l'*urbis iniqua* (1, 30), il se présente en redresseur de torts, si ce n'est en justicier. Notons l'expression parallèle utilisée par Perse, *urbis turbida* (1, 5): elle met l'accent sur le désarroi moral dont la mode littéraire est la plus voyante manifestation, la traduction quelque peu argotique "déboussolée" rendrait assez bien l'adjectif latin. On pourrait cependant objecter que les premiers personnages nommés ne sont pas tout à fait des exemples d'injustice, des originaux tout au plus (1, 22–28). Il n'en va plus de même dans la suite de la tirade qui s'achève au vers 80; c'est un défilé d'escrocs, de personnages sans honneur et sans scrupules, de voleurs, d'assassins et de meurtriers. Elle est ponctuée d'exclamations disant la colère (1, 45), la nécessité du recours à la satire (1, 51), l'indignation, juste inspiratrice du poète satirique (1, 79–80); le mot *crimen* vient en conclusion définir le moyen ordinairement utilisé pour acquérir richesse et pouvoir et il réapparaît dans les derniers vers de la satire comme imprimé dans la conscience des coupables (1, 166 sq.). Aucune considération morale ou philosophique, seulement une vigoureuse synthèse de faits, de délits reconnus, attribués à tel ou tel, comme un acte d'accusation dressé contre une partie de la société. Juvénal éprouve sans conteste le sentiment dynamique d'avoir à assumer un devoir de justice, plus spécialement de justice sociale. La façon dont il imagine l'action de Lucilius confirme cette interprétation: il le voit, plein

<sup>3</sup> Hor. *Sat.* 1, 4, 1–5

*Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae  
atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca uirorum est,  
siquis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,  
quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui  
famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.*

à rapprocher de Perse, 1, 123–25

*... Audaci quicumque adflatae Cratino  
iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,  
aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis;*

<sup>4</sup> F. Bellandi définit justement les motivations de Perse comme le "projet d'évangélisation stoïcienne" (p. 25) d'un poète qu'inspire "il diritto-dovere di apparire sulla scena letteraria come un guastafeste, intenzionato a reagire bruscamente, senza pudori o scrupoli di alcun genere, al linguaggio molle, affettato, falsamente raffinato della poesia del suo tempo" (p. 53).

d'ardeur et le glaive levé, menaçant les accusés qui suent d'angoisse au souvenir de leurs crimes; la justice poursuivant le crime est le symbole de la satire telle que la conçoit Juvénal (1, 165-67).

Ses prédécesseurs se représentaient l'inventeur de la satire de façon plus pondérée. Le Lucilius de Perse ne manque ni de vigueur, ni d'agressivité: il a déchiré la ville (*secuit urbem*—1, 114); disons qu'il avait la dent dure, ce qui ne l'a pas empêché de se la casser sur Lupus et Mucius (1, 115). Mais ce n'est pas un justicier. Quant au Lucilius d'Horace, c'est un sympathique vieillard plein de sagesse et de discrétion, appliqué à tenir le journal de sa vie (*Sat.* 2, 1, 30-34); tout au plus met-il quelque vigueur à arracher l'enveloppe sous laquelle chacun parade brillamment (*Sat.* 2, 1, 62-70); s'il est allé jusqu'à blesser Métellus et couvrir Lupus de vers infamants, c'est au nom de la vertu et de la liberté accordée aux poètes de l'Ancienne Comédie. Homme aimable, spirituel et de bonne compagnie (*Sat.* 1, 4, 1-9), il a administré à ses contemporains une friction de gros sel (*sale multo/urbem defricuit*—1, 10, 3 sq.) pour les débarbouiller de leurs défauts. Chaque poète porte en lui une image du grand ancêtre à la mesure de sa propre inspiration.

Seul, Juvénal s'avoue motivé par le sens de la justice; il manifeste le désir de frapper fort pour punir des coupables. Son entreprise n'a, dès l'abord, pas de point commun avec un enseignement de morale: les hommes sont accusés dans leurs moeurs, dans leur comportement, pas dans leur nature et quand le poète demande "*Haec ego non agitem?*" (1. 52), il n'entend pas, sous ce démonstratif, les vices de l'âme humaine, mais les faits qu'il vient d'énoncer; les éditeurs ont raison de traduire, "Je ne pourchasserais pas de si criants abus?"

Pourtant, la tirade une fois achevée par les deux vers célèbres (1, 79-80)

*Si natura negat, facit indignatio uersum  
qualemcumque potest, quales ego uel Cluuienus.*

Juvénal déclare que rien n'a changé depuis le Déluge et que tout va se retrouver dans son livre. Quel tout? D'abord l'ensemble des actions humaines (*quidquid agunt homines*—1, 85), puis l'ensemble des sentiments qui font agir les hommes (*uotum, timor, ira, uoluptas, gaudia, discursus*—1, 85 sq.), enfin les *uitia* dont la marée déferle (*Et quando uberior uitiorum copia?*—1, 86), et parmi eux *auaritia*, le vice le plus fréquemment pris à partie par ses prédécesseurs et dont il donne une illustration animée dans une scène de jeu tout à fait hyperbolique. Juvénal se tourne-t-il vers la satire psychologique et morale? Il ne le semble pas, car immédiatement commence le "jeu de la sportule." Cette véritable comédie de moeurs décrit la bousculade et les tricheries des clients venus saluer leur patron, les scandales qui se révèlent à cette occasion: un affranchi oriental ridiculise les patriciens, les magistrats s'abaissent pour de l'argent, les avanies du patron désespèrent les humbles clients. On ne retrouve pas les exclamations indignées qui ponctuaient la tirade précédente comme pour crier justice. Le récit n'en suggère pas moins la condamnation des pratiques qu'il décrit et met

l'accent sur un problème de société: les usages de la clientèle sont pervertis dans leur essence, les structures traditionnelles sont bouleversées. Certes l'appétit du gain, la "majesté des richesses," donnent lieu à de brèves réflexions moralisantes (1, 112–16), mais ce qui ressort avant tout ce sont les faits et les actes. Il n'y a pas changement d'esprit dans la motivation satirique, seule est modifiée la mise en oeuvre littéraire et la tonalité de l'expression. L'ironie teintée d'humour noir prend la place de l'indignation: la scène s'achève avec quelques pochades qui font ressortir ce qu'il y a de dérisoire dans les occupations journalières des clients, leur amère déconvenue et leur réaction de joie vengeresse à l'annonce du décès du patron (1, 117–120, 132–34, 144–46). Il apparaît donc que ce qui incite Juvénal à pratiquer la satire ce n'est pas seulement un certain sentiment intime de la justice qui lui impose le devoir de réagir violemment, mais aussi une perception aiguë des modes de fonctionnement de la réalité sociale dont il révèle les déviations et les perversions. Cela rend peut-être compte de l'inclusion de cette scène de la sportule dans la première satire, dont elle rompt le mouvement et où elle se distingue par l'importance matérielle qu'elle prend et par son style dramatique. Ni Horace, ni Perse n'ont donné tant d'importance à ce thème de la *salutatio*; ils constatent simplement que le poète satirique risque de recevoir un accueil glacial quand il se présentera à la porte des grands qu'il fréquente et qui le protègent (Hor. *Sat.* 2, 1, 61 sq.—Pers. 1, 108 sq.). Le développement juvénalien n'en apparaît que plus riche, sans doute parce qu'il s'inspire de l'expérience personnelle; client lui-même, Juvénal n'a pas à se demander s'il sera bien accueilli, il dit ce qui ne va pas dans une institution qui le concerne. Ce qui prouve que le droit à la satire ressort du droit moral et civique d'un homme qui s'implique dans la société et dans la vie contemporaines.

Toutefois il ne suffit pas de fonder son droit à la satire sur l'intime conviction d'avoir à assumer certains devoirs, même et surtout s'il s'agit d'un devoir de justice et d'un devoir civique. Encore faut-il avoir la possibilité de s'exprimer. Juvénal aborde ce problème à la fin de sa satire-programme, comme l'avaient fait Horace et Perse, en faisant écho à ce qu'ils avaient écrit. Avec Perse, il proclame son droit imprescriptible à la parole. Avec Horace, il envisage les poursuites légales qu'il peut encourir, non sans ironie.<sup>5</sup> Il

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Perse 1, 119 et Juvénal 1, 153 sq. Horace 2, 1, 80–83 et Juvénal 1, 158–61:

- "Qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, uehatur pensilibus plumis atque illinc despiciat nos?"
- "Cum ueniet contra, digito compesce labellum: accusator erit qui uerbum dixerit 'hic est' . . ."

La réponse de l'interlocuteur ne manque pas d'ironie, si l'on se rappelle que "*Hic est*," censé ici être utilisé pour montrer le coupable qui passe, sert ordinairement à désigner le poète célèbre reconnu dans la rue (cf. Perse 1, 28; Martial, 1, 1, 1; 5, 13, 3; 9, 97, 3–4); au lieu de souligner la notoriété, l'expression vaudra une mise en accusation. *Accusator* fait nettement référence aux

fait état d'un péril supplémentaire: la vengeance radicale d'un puissant du jour, un Tigellin qui l'enverrait brûler dans l'arène; sans doute l'y incite la connaissance qu'il a d'un passé relativement récent; les temps ont changé depuis Horace, et sa situation sociale n'est pas comparable à celle de Perse ou de Lucilius.<sup>6</sup> Enfin, devant l'insistance de son interlocuteur, il conclut de façon abrupte et surprenante, donnant l'impression de renoncer subitement à sa détermination première et de renier les devoirs dont il voulait prendre la charge:

... *Experiar quid concedatur in illos*  
*quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina!*  
(1, 170 sq.)

Cette déclaration n'est sans doute pas sérieuse; elle sonne plutôt comme une plaisanterie, au lecteur d'en comprendre la portée. Nous croyons que Juvénal veut annoncer un subtil jeu d'allusions et de références, les hommes et les événements du passé évoquant des questions d'actualité, nous nous sommes appliqué à le démontrer.<sup>7</sup> Il peut aussi vouloir signifier que sa motivation satirique relève d'une autre forme du devoir de justice dont nous avons parlé, ou plus exactement d'une autre application de ce devoir. Prendre pour cible les morts et les événements qu'ils ont vécus, à l'époque où Juvénal se met à écrire, ce peut être une façon d'inciter à une réflexion critique sur l'histoire de Rome et sur son destin. Juvénal révélerait ainsi une motivation politique toute naturelle chez un homme conscient de sa dignité de citoyen romain.

L'énoncé du programme satirique confirme cette hypothèse: dès le début, Juvénal s'en prend aux scandales récents causés par la concussion et la délation, quelques années seulement avant ou après la mort de Domitien. Il nomme Marius Priscus, jugé *de repetundis* en 99 et Baebius Massa, condamné pour la même raison en 93 et connu comme délateur, de même que Mettius Carus; il fait allusion à Publicius Certus, qui provoqua la mort d'Helvidius Priscus le Jeune en 93 et qui passa en jugement devant le Sénat en 97.<sup>8</sup> Parmi les tout premiers personnages cités figure le favori de

poursuites légales dont Trébatius évoque la menace devant Horace. Sur la réalité de ces accusations, cf. N. Rudd (1986) 56 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Juvénal renvoie à un exemple néronien (1, 155-57), non sans intention: on sait le rôle symbolique qu'il fait jouer par la suite à Néron. Dans les chapitres d'introduction à la *Vie d'Agricola*, Tacite confirme l'existence de telles condamnations: Arulenus Rusticus et Herennius Senecio furent victimes de Domitien et leurs livres brûlés; il s'agissait d'oeuvres d'opposition politique (cf. J. Gérard [1976] 24, n. 1; 37, n. 3). Sur les mesures prises contre les frondeurs sous l'empire, cf. J.-P. Cèbe 168 et n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. J. Gérard (1976) 24-54.

<sup>8</sup> Les vers 1, 33-35 nous semblent concerner Publicius Certus pour deux raisons:

1° ce délateur accuse un grand, son ami; Certus et Helvidius sont tous deux patriciens et sénateurs;

Domitien, Crispinus, qui réapparaîtra ultérieurement comme le symbole de l'extravagante ascension sociale des affranchis impériaux. Ce programme reçoit sa pleine réalisation dans les satires 4 et 8. Par le biais de l'anecdote du "turbot de Domitien" et des conseils prodigués à Ponticus, Juvénal développe des réflexions sur l'exercice du pouvoir, sur la valeur de l'exemple venu d'en haut, sur l'équilibre social et politique de Rome; il dénonce le dérèglement des institutions, l'abaissement du Sénat, les manifestations de crainte et de servilité devant l'arbitraire impérial.<sup>9</sup> Il fait ce que n'osait pas faire l'un des conseillers de Domitien, Vibius Crispus, qui aurait pu donner d'utiles avis "s'il eût été permis de condamner la cruauté," mais qui "n'était pas citoyen assez hardi pour libérer son âme en ses discours et sacrifier sa vie à la vérité" (4, 85 sq., 90 sq.). Ces mots définissent parfaitement le devoir essentiel du poète satirique; en les écrivant, Juvénal transpose sur un mort la motivation qui le pousse à pratiquer la satire; il le fait dans un cadre historique, ce qui peut éclairer le sens de la déclaration qu'il lance comme un défi dans les derniers vers de sa satire-programme. Certes il use d'un droit facile à prendre, puisque les intéressés sont morts, mais il n'est pas inconséquent de le réclamer. Juvénal pouvait-il agir autrement sans prendre des risques majeurs? En revanche, une grande partie de son oeuvre prouve que cette détermination est sérieuse, considérée comme l'accomplissement d'un devoir de participation aux choses de l'Etat qui incombe normalement à un Romain *ingenuus*. De nombreuses références au passé, quelquefois dispersées, mais toujours cohérentes dans leur esprit, attestent que Juvénal remplit une mission de morale historique qui n'est pas sans rapport avec le devoir de justice qui le presse d'écrire une satire sociale. Ayant déjà largement traité de la question, nous ne rappellerons ici que les traits les plus significatifs pour notre propos.

La réflexion politique de Juvénal s'organise suivant deux lignes directrices: la personnalité du *princeps*, la responsabilité du patriciat. Par des allusions à César et à Auguste, par des renvois explicites aux actes de Caligula et de Néron, Juvénal s'en prend à l'arbitraire du pouvoir dont Domitien est la parfaite image, un arbitraire d'autant moins tolérable qu'il s'accompagne d'un manque de dignité de la part de l'empereur dont les vices en viennent à faire loi; Claude, Othon, Néron, Messaline et Domitien en donnent une éclatante démonstration. C'est pourquoi Juvénal insiste sur la constante historique qui fait retrouver Néron en Domitien, le "Néron

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<sup>2</sup> il est prêt à se saisir de ce qui reste d'une noblesse à demi dévorée: en plein Sénat, Certus a en effet porté la main sur Helvidius qui est le dernier représentant des *nobiles* d'opposition stoïcienne appartenant à la famille de Thrasea Paetus. Cf. J. Gérard (1976) 28-32; 37-47.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. Gérard (1976), Ch. VIII, Les composantes de la réflexion politique dans les *Satires* de Juvénal, pp. 286-94.

chauve."<sup>10</sup> Quant aux *nobiles*, les membres des grandes familles et les sénateurs en particulier, ils se soumettent par crainte ou par intérêt, s'avalissent par faiblesse, bientôt par goût, se ruinent par ambition ou par lâcheté. Juvénal accumule les exemples,—les conseillers de Domitien, Catilina, les fils de Brutus, Rubellius Blandus, Latéranus, Damasippe qui se fit mime, Gracchus qui se fit rétiaire etc. . .—, afin d'accréditer l'idée que la perversion des moeurs dont l'exemple vient du sommet, accélère la décadence politique; il lui paraît nécessaire de provoquer une prise de conscience et une réaction, par la critique et par la leçon. On sait comment il s'en acquitte dans la huitième satire, en proposant à Ponticus une réflexion sur la véritable noblesse, inspirée de l'idéal stoïcien. Même en faisant la part de l'imitation littéraire et des habitudes de la déclamation, il faut reconnaître que les objurgations adressées à son jeune ami et les apostrophes lancées aux hommes du passé témoignent de l'urgence d'un devoir dont l'écrivain se montre tout à fait conscient. L'engagement politique de Juvénal, annoncé à mots couverts dans la première satire, est indéniable; il s'exprime d'ailleurs en bien d'autres endroits. Par exemple, par l'évocation des plébéiens illustres qui contribuèrent à fonder la puissance de Rome: Cicéron est opposé, d'une part à Catilina, le noble rebelle, d'autre part à Octave, dont la gloire fut souillée de sang (8, 231–44); la louange du temps passé tourne volontairement à l'apologie des hommes issus de la plèbe, la classe dont Juvénal est issu. La conscience qu'il a de ses origines oriente sa pensée politique; c'est, là encore, une motivation. Il est donc de son devoir de manifester à l'occasion les regrets qu'il éprouve à constater la perte définitive de l'autorité politique de la classe qui est la sienne, et la confiance qu'il garde

<sup>10</sup> Juvénal cite à peu près tous les anciens maîtres de Rome; il n'omet que Vitellius, Vespasien, Titus et naturellement Nerva. Mis à part Galba, qu'il semble louer, ce qu'il dit de chacun d'eux contribue à faire un portrait-robot du "mauvais empereur," ayant pour objet essentiel de mettre en lumière les excès auxquels conduit le pouvoir personnel. Il se rencontre avec Tacite à propos de César et d'Octave, des origines de l'empire: tous deux ont la même vue pessimiste de l'histoire du principat. Cf. J. Gérard (1976), Ch. X, Juvénal et l'empereur, 1. Les satires et la personne de l'empereur, pp. 316–35. Sur les *nobiles*, *ibid.* Ch. IX, Juvénal et le rôle politique du patriciat, pp. 294–315.



en son jugement, malgré tout.<sup>11</sup> Cela l'incite aussi à considérer la réclamation sociale qu'il fait entendre sous son aspect civique. Ainsi dans la satire 5: la description de la triste situation des clients est à la fois, une leçon faite à Trébius qui les représente, une critique des mauvais procédés des patrons, une réflexion sur la dégénérescence d'une institution sociale provoquée par la perte du sens civique chez les uns comme chez les autres, patrons et clients. Aussi le poète demande-t-il à Virron de donner à ses clients ses repas *ciuilitèr*, "en bon citoyen" (5, 112), car la façon dont il les traite est une insulte à leur dignité sociale. Trébius n'est pas moins coupable: il ne devrait pas s'imaginer être un homme libre, puisqu'il n'a même pas le droit de protester comme peut le faire quiconque porte les *tria nomina*, preuve indiscutable de la citoyenneté, et le temps n'est pas loin où il se mettra de lui-même dans la situation d'un esclave (5, 126 sq., 171-73). Le sens du devoir social qui incite Juvénal à protester contre les injustices est indissociable du sens du devoir civique qui l'incite à réfléchir sur le destin politique de Rome. Là se trouve l'originalité de la justification du choix du poète affirmant son droit à la satire; il signifie clairement qu'il entend assumer son devoir d'homme de lettres comme *ciuis Romanus atque uir bonus*. Ainsi définie, cette détermination assure une parfaite unité de conception entre les neuf premières satires.

Cependant de telles motivations laissent peu de place à la prise en charge du devoir d'enseignement moral qui fait partie fondamentalement du genre.<sup>12</sup> Rappelons qu'il faut attendre 80 vers, dans la satire-programme, pour voir se développer une réflexion sur les *uitia*. Juvénal s'en prend, avant toute chose, aux comportements et à leurs fâcheuses conséquences, sans chercher à mettre en lumière l'origine psychologique et morale des perversions qu'il décrit dans les actes. Nous soulignerons que, sur ce sujet, la conclusion de la tirade centrale (1, 22-80) reste discrète et allusive: avant de proclamer que c'est l'indignation qui fait les vers satiriques, Juvénal oppose la probité,—on la loue, mais elle grelotte—, au crime qui donne la

<sup>11</sup> Juvénal dénonce la perte des droits politiques de la plèbe romaine, qu'il appelle la *turba Remi*, et sa soumission, conséquence de la politique des congiaires, des *alimenta*, des *frumentationes* (J. Gérard (1976) 162, 201-05). On trouve même dans les *Satires* une réflexion très sévère sur la situation de la *plebs urbana* à laquelle s'intègre Juvénal et dont les membres perdent pouvoir et dignité à cause de la montée d'une nouvelle idéologie qui fait des *diuitiae*, —et non plus du *census*—, la mesure et la justification de *potestas* et de *dignitas*. Cf. J. Gérard (1985). En revanche, Juvénal semble croire encore à la sagesse de la plèbe (confondue alors avec *populus romanus*) par la façon dont il introduit l'allusion à la machination inventée par Subrius Flavius pour donner l'empire à Sénèque après la mort de Néron (8, 211 sq.)

*Libera si dentur populi suffragia, quis tam  
perditus ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni?*

Sur cette question, cf. J. Gérard (1976) 291. Sur l'opposition entre plébéiens et patriciens, cf. la conclusion de la satire 8, 231-75 et J. Hellegouarch, E. Flores, A. Levi.

<sup>12</sup> Sur le sens du devoir moral dans la satire romaine avant Juvénal, cf. M. von Albrecht, 154, 162-68 et F. Bellandi, 33-36; rapprochements Perse-Juvénal, 46 et n. 47; rapprochements Perse-Horace, 58 et n. 67.

richesse, puis, en écho à la formule qui marque la détermination d'Horace à pratiquer la satire (*uerum nequeo dormire*, *Sat.* 2, 1, 7), il pose la question (1, 77 sq.):

*Quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor auarae,  
quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?*

Le *uitium* responsable des faits incriminés est tout juste évoqué par l'adjectif qui qualifie la bru trop complaisante, *auarae*.

Ce n'est qu'au vers 85 qu'est abordée directement la question de l'influence des *uitia* (le mot lui-même apparaît pour la première fois au vers 87) et qu'est nettement établi le rapport entre l'action (*quidquid agunt homines*) et ce qui la détermine (*uotum, timor, ira, uoluptas, gaudia, discursus*). Nous avons dit comment Juvénal traite alors de l'*auaritia*, donnant toute l'importance à une longue illustration de satire sociale, la "scène de la sportule," à peine interrompue par une brève considération sur la majesté et la quasi divinité des richesses, *funesta pecunia* (cf. *supra* p. 268). La référence au vice, agent de perversion des mœurs, réapparaît seulement à la fin de la satire et n'y occupe que deux vers et demi (1, 147-49). Dans ces conditions, il est difficile de dire que Juvénal se présente comme un moraliste; dans les sept premières satires au moins l'intention moralisante n'est guère évidente; le poète y est surtout soucieux d'évoquer des faits et de décrire des situations.

Les préoccupations morales s'affirment cependant dans la satire 8 avec la leçon faite à Ponticus. Juvénal change en quelque sorte de personnalité; il se présente comme un conseiller plus âgé, mais de moindre condition, désireux d'inculquer à son jeune et noble ami de fermes principes. Il se met à moraliser de façon directe, accumulant les préceptes et les *sententiae* qui apparaissent pour la première fois aussi nombreuses dans la même pièce sous les formes lapidaires qui les ont fait passer à la postérité.<sup>13</sup> Sans disparaître tout à fait, les éclats de la colère et de l'indignation s'estompent; le sérieux et la gravité dominant, par exemple quand le poète adresse au représentant dégénéré de la noblesse, Rubellius Blandus, une sévère

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 8, 20

... nobilitas sola est atque unica uirtus.

8, 83-84

summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori  
et propter uitam uiuendi perdere causas.

8, 140 sq.

Omne animi uitium tanto conspectius in se  
crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.

Dans les satires précédentes, les sentences morales sont plus rares et plus enrobées dans le contexte satirique. Citons, pour exemple, celle que J. J. Rousseau avait prise pour devise, *Vitam inpendere uero*. Elle provient d'un découpage effectué dans l'un des vers définissant le caractère de Vibius Crispus, 4, 90 sq.:

... nec ciuis erat qui libera posset  
uerba animi proferre et uitam inpendere uero.

admonestation à comparaître devant le tribunal de la postérité (8, 39 sq., 68–70). Juvénal se laisse même emporter par un mouvement d'enthousiasme quand il salue les modèles historiques d'une haute vertu nobiliaire, rendant ainsi manifeste qu'il se sent investi d'une mission d'éducation de première importance.<sup>14</sup> Là se laisse discerner une modification dans la motivation satirique, qui ne cessera de s'affirmer à partir de la dixième satire. Les six dernières pièces du recueil, sans compter la seizième, incomplète, ont toutes un objet moral et se distinguent des neuf premières par un changement de ton très prononcé. Certes les scènes anecdotiques et les réalités concrètes, les *exempla*, y tiennent toujours une place importante, mais ces illustrations sont plus nettement au service de la réflexion morale que dans les satires du premier groupe et elles sont accompagnées de leçons pleinement développées d'intention morale et philosophique. Juvénal fait en quelque sorte aveu du nouveau cours de son inspiration au début de la satire 10, quand il appelle son lecteur à prendre en considération les attitudes des deux philosophes, Démocrite et Héraclite. Ce n'est plus le temps de l'indignation et de la colère, mais celui du rire ou des larmes, également celui de la moquerie et de l'ironie, dont le passage donne un exemple remarquable avec la description qui tourne en ridicule la cérémonie de la *pompa circensis* et le préteur qui la conduit.<sup>15</sup> Cette manière est mieux accordée au désir désormais avoué d'inciter à la réflexion morale. Juvénal s'y applique de deux façons.

D'abord par des réflexions incidentes, faites au cours du développement des *exempla*: elles font part des leçons tirées de l'expérience et le poète s'y présente en moraliste pragmatique; ce qu'il dit nettement à Calvinus (13, 120–23) :

*Accipe quae contra ualeat solacia ferre  
et qui nec cynicos nec stoica dogmata legit  
a cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum  
suspiciit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.*

Nombreux sont les constats et les préceptes de ce genre:

*Non propter uitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,  
sed uitio caeci propter patrimonia uiuunt.*  
(12, 50 sq.)

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 8, 24–30. Le salut à Getulicus, à Silanus et à tout citoyen rare et éminent est précédé d'une objurgation inspirée de la morale stoïcienne, jusque dans le détail de l'expression. Cf. J. Gérard (1964) 155 et (1976) 288–90.

<sup>15</sup> Le ton général des *Satires* n'est pas constant. L'indignation marque de ses éclats les livres 1 et 2; elle s'atténue au livre 3 pour ne plus se manifester que passagèrement dans les livres 4 et 5. L'ironie n'est pas absente des deux premiers livres (cf. R. Marache [1964] et E. de Saint-Denis), mais devient un mode d'expression privilégié à partir du livre 3. Cette évolution est remarquablement analysée dans le récent ouvrage de S. H. Braund; sur la transition assurée par le livre 3 entre les deux groupes (livres 1 et 2; 4 et 5) et sur la signification de la satire, voir pp. 178–86.

... *Flagrantior aequo*  
*non debet dolor esse uiri nec uulnere maior.*<sup>16</sup>  
 (13, 11 sq.)

Juvénal ne s'interdit cependant pas des emprunts aux philosophies constituées, non sans malice en certains cas. Ainsi, dans la diatribe contre le luxe excessif de la table qui ouvre la satire 11, il n'hésite pas à renvoyer au "Connais-toi toi-même" ceux qui dilapident leur patrimoine afin de satisfaire leur gourmandise: ils devraient mieux connaître leur mesure et ne pas désirer un mulet quand ils n'ont qu'un goujon dans leur porte-monnaie (11, 27-30, 35-38). L'intention humoristique est indéniable, d'autant que l'énoncé du précepte s'accompagne d'une certaine solennité et d'un clin d'oeil à des thèmes chers au poète satirique: "il faut le graver dans son coeur, le méditer constamment, soit qu'on cherche femme, soit qu'on veuille entrer dans le sacré Sénat."

Il apparaît plus clairement encore que Juvénal s'impose un devoir moral si l'on considère la façon dont il choisit désormais ses sujets, oriente ses développements et ses conclusions.

De la satire 11 à la satire 15, il s'adresse constamment à un destinataire nommément désigné et directement intéressé par le sujet traité, ce qui n'était le cas que trois fois dans les neuf premières satires. La dixième est elle-même une leçon de modestie et de vertu faite aux hommes en général, dont les vœux sont inconséquents. Les satires suivantes proposent respectivement une leçon de modération à Persicus (*Sat.* 11), de sincérité et de désintéressement à Corvinus (*Sat.* 12), d'égalité d'âme à Calvinus (*Sat.* 13), de responsabilité morale à Fuscinus (*Sat.* 14); la satire 15, adressée à Volusius Bithynicus et consacrée en majeure partie au récit pittoresque d'un fait divers égyptien illustrant les méfaits du fanatisme religieux, s'achève sur un vibrant éloge des deux qualités d'âme qui distinguent l'Homme dans la Création, la compassion et la sensibilité. Dans cet ensemble, l'évolution de la pratique satirique est très sensible. Le poète utilise toujours les *exempla* qui, par l'anecdote plus ou moins vivement menée, illustrent les idées de fond, mais ils sont comme dépouillés de la vivacité, pour ne pas dire de l'acrimonie, qui les caractérisait au moins dans les six premières satires. Bien plus, Juvénal donne l'impression d'éprouver le besoin de se mettre lui-même en scène, dans le cours de ses occupations habituelles et dans une relation plus intime avec l'interlocuteur qu'il s'est choisi. C'est ainsi qu'à la diatribe d'un ton relativement mesuré contre le luxe de la table et les Romains qui s'y ruinent, succède l'évocation quasi idyllique du simple repas auquel il convie Persicus (*Sat.* 11); la description du sacrifice qu'il fait personnellement en l'honneur de son ami Catulle, encadre le récit dramatique du naufrage dont celui-ci s'est heureusement tiré, avant qu'on ne lise, dans la

<sup>16</sup> Ces formules abondent à partir de la satire 11. En voici le relevé, que nous espérons exhaustif: 11, 2 sq., 54 sq., 208. -12, 50 sq. -13, 1-3, 11 sq., 100, 109 sq., 134, 209 sq., 236, 240 sq. -14, 1-3, 31-33, 40 sq., 107 sq., 109, 139 sq., 173-77, 207, 304, 315 sq.

satire 12, les quelque 35 vers d'une tirade contre les captateurs de testaments. Plus visiblement encore dans les satires 13 et 14, Juvénal veut donner de lui-même l'image d'un conseiller attentif, ayant à coeur de faire partager à ses amis sa philosophie tirée de sa propre expérience. Il se montre ici tout à fait conscient d'avoir à assumer, à l'égard de Calvinus et de Fuscinus, un devoir moral et pédagogique dont il ne sous-estime pas l'importance. Il se produit même comme un retournement de situation du point de vue psychologique. C'est maintenant Juvénal qui recommande la connaissance de soi, qui incite Calvinus à reprendre son sang-froid, à contrôler ses réactions, à maîtriser ses mouvements de colère et son indignation, à renoncer à la vengeance . . . tout ce qu'il se déclarait incapable de faire lui-même quand il énonçait son programme satirique. Ajoutons que Calvinus a été victime d'un indélicat ou d'un escroc, a subi l'une des injustices qui déchaînaient naguère l'indignation et la colère de Juvénal. Aurait-il lui-même tiré profit de l'expérience de la vie et, les années passant, appris à se modérer, comme il l'écrit? (13, 19-22)

*Magna quidem sacris quae dat praecepta libellis,  
uictrix fortunae sapientia, ducimus autem  
hoc quoque felices qui ferre incommoda uitae  
nec iactare iugum uita didicere magistra.*

On ne peut donc refuser à Juvénal une motivation philosophique qui n'était pas très évidente au moment où le poète choisit sa voie, bien qu'elle ait été assez discrètement exprimée dans la satire-programme.<sup>17</sup> La personnalité de Juvénal, tout au moins sa personnalité littéraire, s'est, avec le temps sans doute, profondément modifiée. Le terrible pourfendeur des injustices, l'honnête homme et le bon citoyen qui s'indignait de l'évolution sociale et politique de Rome s'est mué en un philosophe éduqué par l'expérience plus que par la doctrine, sérieux sinon austère, bienveillant sinon souriant. Il en arrive à faire preuve d'une élévation spirituelle qui témoigne de la conscience qu'il a prise de ses devoirs moraux. La conclusion de la satire 10 en apporte la preuve; c'est la première de ce style et de cette importance (20 vers; 346-66). Le poète y recommande de faire confiance aux dieux, — "l'homme leur est encore plus cher qu'il ne l'est à soi-même"—, et affirme que le seul voeu raisonnable, c'est de souhaiter acquérir une fermeté d'âme mettant celui qui la possède au-dessus de la Fortune. Cette déclaration d'inspiration stoïcienne, dans sa forme comme dans son esprit, est bien éloignée des fracassantes protestations liminaires. Prenons-la au sérieux: désormais Juvénal n'est plus un poète combattant, il prêche la sérénité acquise par l'équilibre, car "c'est par la vertu que passe l'unique sentier d'une vie tranquille." Transposé dans les activités quotidiennes, c'est l'homme âgé qui, dans la satire 11, invite son ami Persicus à un repas frugal

<sup>17</sup> Sur la première expression d'une motivation morale et philosophique, cf. *supra* pp. 4-5, 10-11. Sur la personnalité philosophique de Juvénal, cf. L. Friedländer, 36-42, G. Highet (1949), U. Knoche, 503.

et à aller prendre le soleil en sa compagnie pendant que les "jeunes" vont au Cirque. Il n'est pas indifférent que cette leçon soit donnée dans la pièce placée en tête du second groupe de satires ordinairement opposées aux neuf premières pour l'inspiration et pour le ton, et que ses deux derniers vers soient repris, volontairement semble-t-il, dans la conclusion de la satire 14 (315 sq.).

Voilà donc un changement radical par rapport aux premières motivations avouées, au point qu'on a pu croire à l'existence de deux poètes, un vrai et un faux Juvénal, ou accuser l'affaiblissement des facultés du poète vieillissant; ayant perdu son impétuosité et sa hargne juvéniles, il n'aurait plus su faire autrement que d'utiliser sans génie les procédés de la déclamation.<sup>18</sup> Ces explications sont périmées et nous croyons, avec beaucoup de critiques modernes, que l'art du poète satirique s'est transformé et qu'il faut s'efforcer de le comprendre dans son évolution. Celle-ci résulte de la façon dont l'écrivain, à chaque étape de sa vie, a conçu son engagement, ressenti les sentiments qui le poussent à écrire. C'est pourquoi Juvénal s'exprime à travers diverses *personae* satiriques dont l'existence vient d'être reconnue et qui ont donné lieu à de récentes études.<sup>19</sup> Il y a là comme un jeu où l'auteur se manifeste, tantôt masqué, quelquefois sous l'apparence de ses personnages, tantôt à visage découvert. On passe ainsi régulièrement du Lucilius justicier au vieillard philosophe, sans que jamais se rompe le fil qui relie ces apparences, puisque c'est celui du décours de la vie intime de l'écrivain accomplissant avec talent son devoir littéraire dans le déroulement de sa vie personnelle, une progression qui reste en étroit rapport avec la réalité et l'idéologie contemporaines.

En effet, à l'époque où Juvénal se met à écrire et publie ses premiers livres, certains de ses contemporains, et non des moindres, manifestent les mêmes réactions que lui, se déclarent inspirés des mêmes obligations, prêts à assumer les mêmes devoirs. On connaît les nombreuses similitudes relevées entre les oeuvres de Martial, Pline le Jeune, Tacite et les *Satires* de Juvénal; elles concernent aussi bien les sujets traités que les jugements formulés; elles sont le signe qu'un certain tour d'esprit s'imposait naturellement à ces écrivains en ce moment même de l'histoire de Rome, marqué par la mort de Domitien et la réforme morale et politique attendue de Trajan.<sup>20</sup> Il n'est pas inutile de retracer à grands traits ce qu'il en est.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. O. Ribbeck et les jugements très sévères formulés par L. Friedländer dans les introductions aux sept dernières satires: il parle de "travail d'écolier" (*Sat.* 10), de travail "informe, ennuyeux et maladroit" (*Sat.* 11), de faiblesse extrême (*Sat.* 12), d'indigence, de fadeur, de monotonie et de mauvais goût (*Sat.* 13) et trouve que, de toutes les satires, la 15<sup>ème</sup> donne le plus l'impression d'une "impuissance sénile".

<sup>19</sup> Sur les *personae* de Juvénal, cf. S. H. Braund, 183-98; G. Highet (1974), Martin M. Winkler.

<sup>20</sup> Sur les rapports Martial-Juvénal, cf. J. Gérard (1976) 150-56, 167-91, 214-20 et R. E. Colton, R. Helm, R. Marache (1961), N. Salanitro, H. L. Wilson. Sur les rapports Pline le

Les scandales de l'*urbs iniqua* ont fourni à Martial matière à nombre d'épigrammes qui ont leur correspondant dans les *Satires*, qu'il s'agisse des personnes, —Crispinus ou Domitien lui-même encensé d'abord, puis vitupéré après sa mort—, ou des faits, arrivisme des affranchis, situation des clients, problèmes plus particuliers des chevaliers ruinés expulsés des rangs réservés ou des patriciens acharnés à tirer profit des relations de clientèle au détriment de leur dignité. Epigrammes et satires constituent un ensemble de documents sur la revendication sociale au Ier siècle.<sup>21</sup> Martial n'a pu éviter ces thèmes véritablement satiriques, mais son ambition avouée est avant tout de distraire et de faire rire, il s'en tient à son devoir d'amuseur. Juvénal et Pline le Jeune sont moralement plus proches l'un de l'autre par leurs motivations politiques; ils décrivent et jugent de la même façon la personnalité de Domitien et l'influence qu'elle avait exercé sur les classes dirigeantes, le Sénat en particulier, les problèmes de la délation, bref une actualité historique qui devait inciter à la réflexion les citoyens romains.<sup>22</sup> Ils sont apparemment animés du sentiment d'avoir à remplir le même devoir. Cela est évident pour le *Panégyrique de Trajan*: dans l'accomplissement solennel d'un devoir officiel, Pline se montre tel que Juvénal pouvait le souhaiter de la part d'un responsable politique, à propos de Vibius Crispus (cf. *supra* p. 271). Cela devient plus net encore s'agissant des problèmes qu'ont posés les délateurs avant et après la mort de Domitien. On sait comment Juvénal aborde ce thème avec celui de la concussion (cf. *supra* p. 270); sans le nommer, mais sous couvert d'une expression significative, il s'en prend à Publicius Certus que Pline accuse devant le Sénat en 97 parce qu'il a le devoir moral de venger la mort de son ami Helvidius Priscus le Jeune.<sup>23</sup> C'est, dans la satire-programme, la première indication du devoir politique dont Juvénal estime avoir à prendre la charge; en dénonçant le délateur d'un grand, son ami, tout prêt à se saisir de ce qui reste d'une noblesse à demi dévorée (1, 33-35), il paraît animé par les motivations que

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Jeune-Juvénal, cf. J. Gérard (1976) 32-54, 317-32 et N. Scivoletto. Sur les rapports Tacite-Juvénal, cf. J. Gérard (1964) *passim* et (1976) 332-35 et R. Syme.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. J. Gérard (1976) 144 sq., 151-55, 159-63, 167-83 et E. Flores, A. Levi, R. Marache (1961). Nous n'avons retenu, pour exemple, que les sujets donnant lieu à rapprochements sur une actualité véritable.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. J. Gérard (1976): sur Domitien, pp. 317-26; sur le Sénat, pp. 296-302; sur les problèmes de la délation, pp. 33-48. La valeur des rapprochements concernant la délation n'a pas toujours été bien reconnue par la critique moderne. C'est ainsi qu'E. Courtney, dans son commentaire des *Satires* (p. 82), estime que Juvénal omet de reconnaître les réalités contemporaines quand il cite comme toujours actif le délateur d'un grand son ami (1, 33-35), alors que Trajan a exilé les délateurs et supprimé la pratique de la délation. C'est méconnaître, d'une part la référence à une actualité récente, l'affaire de Publicius Certus (cf. *supra* p. 270), d'autre part le fait qu'un délateur célèbre, Marcus Aquilius Regulus, toujours en vie, persévère dans des pratiques immorales (il capte des testaments) et se montre assez redoutable pour que Pline doive compter avec lui, tout en le déclarant "inexpugnable" (cf. J. Gérard [1976] 33-36).

<sup>23</sup> Sur les échos de cette affaire dans la satire 1, cf. J. Gérard (1976) 37-47.

clairement à l'adresse de son correspondant C. Ummidius Quadratus: poursuivre les coupables, venger les innocents, agir non point tant par devoir personnel qu'au nom des droits de la morale publique.<sup>24</sup> Les démarches sont identiques et il se trouve que le même symbole les illustre. Pline, en effet, raconte qu'après sa condamnation par le Sénat à une peine assez légère, Certus tombe malade et meurt; dans ses cauchemars, il aurait vu son accusateur se dresser devant lui en brandissant un glaive.<sup>25</sup> Pline le Jeune dans l'attitude de la justice poursuivant le crime: on reconnaît l'image que Juvénal donne du poète satirique en la personne de Lucilius.

On peut multiplier les rapprochements de ce genre. Comme Juvénal, Pline dénonce les procédés malhonnêtes et criminels qu'emploient certains pour amasser une fortune démesurée, ou bien, à l'opposé, se fait l'apôtre du renouveau moral et d'un idéal stoïcien de la fonction publique.<sup>26</sup> Comme Juvénal, Tacite dresse l'inventaire des exactions, des impiétés, des meurtres qui marquent la période étudiée dans les *Histoires*; il insiste sur les effets de la délation, les bouleversements sociaux, la déstabilisation politique de Rome et spécialement la dégénérescence de la dignité sénatoriale.<sup>27</sup> Il se fait un devoir moral d'introduire aux temps présents par la satire d'un passé proche, ce qui est proprement la démarche de Juvénal, d'où une extraordinaire parenté de jugement qui se manifeste sur bien des sujets,<sup>28</sup> mais qui prend aussi l'allure d'une discussion. Nous l'avons montré à propos de la satire 8 et des références à Silanus, Gétulicus, Rubellius Blandus et Plautius Latéranus. Juvénal se déclare en faveur des morts tapageuses inutiles à l'Etat et condamne les grands qui, n'ayant pas le courage de Thraséa Paetus, n'osèrent rien faire ni rien dire contre la tyrannie néronienne et furent victimes de leur *inertia*. Tacite reconnaît leur responsabilité, mais de façon si nuancée qu'il semble leur chercher une excuse. L'historien issu du patriciat n'a donc pas la même notion du devoir moral et politique que le plébéien Juvénal.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Pline, *Epist.* 9, 13, 2-3 :

*Occiso Domitiano statui mecum ac deliberaui magnam pulchramque materiam insectandi nocentes, miseros uindicandi, se proferendi. Porro inter multa scelera multorum nullum atrocius uidebatur, quam quod in senatu senator senatori, praetorius consulari, reo iudex manus intulisset. Fuerat aliqui mihi cum Helvidio amicitia . . . Sed non ita me iura priuata ut publicum fas et indignitas facti et exempli ratio incitabat.*

<sup>25</sup> Pline, *Epist.* 9, 13, 22 et 25.

<sup>26</sup> Pline, *Epist.* 2, 20, 12-14. Cf. J. Gérard (1976) 289 sq., 312-15.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 2, 2-3. J. Gérard (1964) 106 et n. 15. Edition de Tacite, *Histoires*, livre 1, par P. Wuilleumier, H. Le Bonniec, J. Hellegouarc'h, Paris, C. U. F., (1987) XXV-XXVI.

<sup>28</sup> Sur les sujets communs: l'ambition et l'appétit du gain, la corruption des gouverneurs et la situation des provinces, la politique des jeux et des spectacles, cf. J. Gérard (1964) 107-08. Sur la parenté de jugement, *ibid.* 106 et n. 15, 16; 108-09. Plus spécialement sur la notion de *libertas* et la vision pessimiste de l'histoire du principat, J. Gérard (1976) 333-35.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. J. Gérard (1964) 155-58 et n. 33.



Les premières motivations satiriques de Juvénal, les plus impressionnantes aussi, celles qui ont nourri les neuf premières satires, ont donc leur origine dans ce qu'on peut appeler "l'esprit du temps," dans une idéologie formée à l'épreuve des faits. Elle parvient à s'exprimer pleinement à l'aube de l'âge d'argent, "aux premiers jours de la liberté retrouvée" (Pl. *Epist.* 9, 13, 4), "grâce au rare bonheur d'une époque où l'on peut penser ce que l'on veut et dire ce que l'on pense" (Tac. *H.* 1, 1, 4).<sup>30</sup> C'est le moment où chacun peut assumer ses devoirs d'honnête homme et de bon citoyen, Juvénal comme les autres. Mieux que les autres. Car le sentiment de jouir de cette liberté est nécessaire à la satire dont le droit naît spontanément de l'actualité quand s'imposent aux esprits les obligations morales issues de l'expérience. Rien d'étonnant si, dans ces conditions, Juvénal, forçant le ton, fonde la satire de l'indignation, qui s'applique beaucoup plus aux faits qu'aux idées.

Et puis, le temps passant, à mesure que se modifient les situations, sociale, politique, personnelle peut-être, les conditions matérielles de la création, le sentiment qu'on a de ces obligations évolue ainsi que le sens du devoir littéraire. Nous avons essayé de suivre l'itinéraire spirituel de Juvénal. Le protestataire, le redresseur de torts se mue en conseiller quelque peu philosophe, mais toujours intéressé par les problèmes dont il a d'abord passionnément traité; voilà que se découvre enfin un directeur de conscience qui, par interlocuteurs interposés (amis réels ou supposés, peu importe), propose à ses lecteurs des leçons tirées d'un fonds personnel d'expérience morale et philosophique.

Certes cette lecture des satires fait abstraction des procédés de mise en oeuvre déclamatoire, le faux brillant d'une rhétorique, dit-on souvent, responsables d'outrances, de platitudes, d'incohérences et de redites. Mais à suivre le fil des intentions, des motivations, des devoirs reconnus comme des droits, on découvre que les conceptions juvénales ne sont pas aussi

<sup>30</sup> Cf. également Tac. *Agr.* 3, 1-2:

*Nunc demum redit animus; sed quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerua Caesar res olim dissociabilis miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cotidie felicitatem temporum Nerua Traianus, nec spem modo ac uotum securitas publica, sed ipsius uoti fiduciam ac robur adsumperit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala . . . Quid si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saeuitia principis interciderunt, pauci et, ut sic dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media uita tot annis, quibus iuuenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium uenimus ?*

N. Rudd (1986) 72-75, a excellement défini ce mouvement des esprits, qui fut celui de Juvénal, dans le cadre historique qui fut le sien, au moment où la propagande impériale insistait sur les vertus de *Libertas*.

décousues, aussi artificielles ni aussi pauvres qu'on a voulu l'écrire.<sup>31</sup> Jugée de l'intérieur, dans l'effort qui l'a fait naître, l'oeuvre retrouve de la cohérence. Cela vient de ce que Juvénal a eu le talent de se tenir fermement à son devoir d'écrivain, de l'accomplir à la mesure de sa propre actualité. C'est dans le cours de l'histoire et dans la vie même qu'il a rencontré ces deux devoirs opposés, l'un négatif, celui de la critique, l'autre positif, celui de l'enseignement.<sup>32</sup> Mais de l'un à l'autre, il n'y a pas franche rupture: les préoccupations morales, voire philosophiques, se font jour bien avant les satires qu'on qualifie parfois trop péjorativement de satires de la vieillesse, tandis que dans ces dernières se déroule toujours la même vision critique d'un monde déformé et figé par la déclamation. Que celle-ci ait revêtu ces deux formes d'inspiration d'un costume vif, coloré, mais disparate comme un habit d'Arlequin, n'enlève rien à la tenue de l'ensemble. Nous y verrions plutôt l'apparition d'un art baroque qui témoigne de la modification des goûts et qui éloigne l'art de l'âge d'argent du classicisme de l'âge d'or augustéen.

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 18.

<sup>32</sup> U. Knoche, 502-03, suggère cette interprétation des deux aspects de l'oeuvre de Juvénal en quelques pages d'une grande densité.

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On Housman's *Juvenal*

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The assessment of famous editions is more difficult than is sometimes supposed. Snap judgements can be made about other works of scholarship in a library or a bookshop, but to criticise a textual critic it is desirable to have wrestled with the problems oneself, as well as to know the state of opinion before he came on the scene. That is a tall order with Housman's Manilius, so that with a few distinguished exceptions eulogies derive from Housman himself, but *Juvenal* at least is relatively familiar and intelligible. The present sketch is the sequel to my article in the *Skutsch Festschrift*, *BICS* Supplement 51 (1988) 86 ff., where a number of proposals are made on the text of *Juvenal*. Apart from Housman himself, I have used particularly the texts of Jahn, Knoche, Clausen, and now J. R. C. Martyn (Amsterdam 1987), as well as the commentary by Courtney (note also his text of 1984).

Housman's first text of *Juvenal* appeared in 1905 in the second volume of Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*; it had a greatly abbreviated apparatus but was otherwise virtually identical with the separate edition. This was published in the same year "editorum in usum" by Housman's friend Grant Richards; the second edition (Cambridge 1931) has some twenty additional pages of introduction but only minimal changes elsewhere. For Housman's articles and reviews on *Juvenal*, I refer to the index of his *Classical Papers* (edited by J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, Cambridge 1972). One may note especially his expositions of the Oxford fragment (pp. 481 ff., 539 ff., 621 f.), which presumably led to the invitation from Postgate, and his mauling of S. G. Owen (pp. 602 ff., 617 f., 964 ff.), whose rival Oxford text of 1903 he ignores in his own editions.

Housman's first service to *Juvenal* was his clear-headed and clearly expressed account of the manuscript position. On the one hand there was *P*, the ninth-century Pithoeanus, with a few congeners, on the other hand the vulgate tradition, from which with uncanny flair he singled out seven witnesses (his  $\Psi$ , roughly equivalent to Clausen's  $\Phi$ ). Jahn and Buecheler, against whom he was reacting, had followed *P* except where it offered manifest nonsense, and sometimes even then. In a typically forceful passage (p. xi) Housman points out that if  $\Psi$  were derived from *P* it should never be used, but seeing that it is independent, its readings must be

considered on their merits; and he listed 26 places where *P* had been wrongly preferred (p. xviii). Some of his expressions might seem to undervalue manuscript authority, as when he recommends an open mind about the relative merits of *P* and  $\Psi$  (p. xiv); after all, when an editor is about to issue his edition, he has gone beyond that preliminary agnosticism. But in practice he recognised the superiority of *P*, and was ready to prefer it when there was little to choose (p. xv).

When Housman mocked *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte* (p. xxviii) as "a longer and nobler name than fudge" (Lucan, p. xiii), he was thinking of attempts to conjure up ancient editors ("Nicaeus and his merry men") from the bald assertions of *subscriptions*; and here at least his scepticism was justified.<sup>1</sup> But though he could analyse acutely the relationships of manuscripts from given data, he was not much interested in looking at them within their historical context: hence some of the deficiencies of his stemma of Propertius, where it is now realised that he was wrong against Postgate.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the tradition of Juvenal suited him well: he understood the essential set-up, which was quite straightforward, and what was needed was not stemmatological refinement but the discrimination of the critic. Yet even with Juvenal a little more might have been said about the history of the tradition.<sup>3</sup> W. M. Lindsay in his cool review asserts that only one ancient MS survived the dark ages (*CR* 19 [1905] 463); when Housman talks of two ancient editions, he was surely right against the manuscript expert, but he does not really argue the matter. Something more is needed about the character and date of the interpolations, which are already imitated in poets like Dracontius. And when the reader is invited to consider corruption, it is never made clear enough what letter-forms and abbreviations are envisaged.

"No amount . . . of palaeography will teach a man one scrap of textual criticism"<sup>4</sup>; and a textual critic need not be and seldom is an expert palaeographer. Housman used palaeographic arguments, sometimes to excess, to support solutions that he had reached by reason, but he never believed in altering a letter or two to see what happens.<sup>5</sup> Like Porson, he seems to have derived little enjoyment from collating; his gastronomic tours of France did not lead him to the Pithocanus at Montpellier, and he did not

<sup>1</sup> J. E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (Salem, N. H. 1981) 211 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. L. Butrica, *The Manuscript Tradition of Propertius*, *Phoenix* Suppl. Vol. 17 (Toronto 1984) 6 ff.; G. P. Goold, *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 28 ff. (who cites Housman's offensive criticisms of Postgate).

<sup>3</sup> See now E. Courtney, *BICS* 13 (1966) 38 ff., R. J. Tarrant in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford 1983) 200 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A. E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 18 (1922) 68 = *Selected Prose*, ed. J. Carter (Cambridge 1961) 131 = *Collected Poems and Selected Prose*, ed. C. Ricks (London 1988) 325.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142 (Carter) = p. 333 (Ricks). See also Manilius V, pp. xxiv f., E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text* (Berkeley 1974) 122 f.

himself exhaust even the famous Oxoniensis, in which E. O. Winstedt as an undergraduate had discovered 36 unique lines. He relied for his reports of readings on printed sources or inspection by acquaintances; he acknowledges particular indebtedness to the collations of Mr. Hosius, though he is ready enough to insult him elsewhere. When his  $\Psi$  group speaks with divided voices, one is left without a clear view of the preponderance of the tradition, but too much information may be more misleading than too little. As Housman retorted to an early work by Knoche: "He complains that Leo and I use too few MSS and despise most of those which Mr. Hosius collated and which Jahn professed to collate. We despise them because we find them despicable" (*Classical Papers*, 1106).

However superficial Housman's recension may seem, later industry has made remarkably little difference. In 1909 C. E. Stuart called attention to Parisinus 8072 (*R* in later editions), a further congener of *P*, and Housman in his second preface records interesting readings in three places (1. 70, 2. 34, 2. 45); the most striking of these is the first, where he had printed *quae molle Calenum l porrectura viro miscet sitiiente rubetam*. Here Plathner's *rubeta*, which he had not recorded, is now supported not only by *R* but by the first hand of *P* itself; it is certainly right (Housman in his second edition simply says "perhaps"), for *viro* must be dative after *porrectura*. In the same year A. Ratti, the future Pope Pius XI, discovered in the Ambrosian Library a palimpsest containing scraps of the fourteenth satire<sup>6</sup>; Housman in his second preface mentions a few notable readings (p. lv), none of which was both new and true. In 1935 C. H. Roberts published a papyrus from Antinoopolis, which showed errors going back to antiquity (*JEA* 21 [1935] 199 ff.). Its most interesting novelty was a mark indicating doubt at 7. 192 *adpositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae*, which had been deleted by Prinz and Jahn (1868) without a word from Housman; in fact the best solution is that of M. D. Reeve, *felix et [sapiens et nobilis et generosus / adpositam] nigrae lunam subtexit alutae* (*CR N. S.* 21 [1971] 328).

The scrutiny of minor manuscripts since Housman has produced still less of consequence, and even the better new readings are so thinly supported that they are likely to be conjectures or accidents (for details see Knoche and Martyn). 2. 38 *ad quem subridens* (against *atque ita subridens*) may simply be derived from Virg. *Aen.* 10. 742. 5. 105 *pinguis torpente cloaca* (of a fish in the sewers) had been proposed by Rutgers, and is worth considering against *torrente*; yet the Elder Pliny talks of torrents in the *cloacae* (36. 105). At 8. 38 *sic* had been proposed by Junius and endorsed by Housman;

<sup>6</sup> *Classical Papers*, p. 815 "It was a fine August morning which placed in Monsignore Ratti's hand the envelope containing this fragment, and he gives us leave to imagine the trepidation with which he opened it and the joy with which he discovered that the parchment was in two pieces instead of one. When a scholar is so literary as all this, it would be strange if he were quite accurate . . ."

at 8. 229 *seu personam* is questionable (see Courtney). A more interesting case is 8. 240 ff., a passage that has been plagued by bad conjectures:

tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi  
 nominis ac tituli quantum †in Leucade, quantum  
 Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo  
 caedibus adsiduis gladio.

Here a stray manuscript plausibly reads *sub Leucade*, a phrase that already appears in the scholiast's note; see also Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* 5. 493 f. *cum fuso sub Leucade Caesar / Antonio* (cited by P. G. McC. Brown, *Hermes* 114 [1986] 498 ff.).

In his apparatus criticus Housman helpfully signalled his own conjectures with an asterisk; there are some 30 such asterisks. We may begin with 6. 157 f. (on a precious ring):

hunc dedit olim  
 barbarus incestae, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori.

For the inanely repeated *dedit hunc*, which disassociates *incestae* from *sorori*, Housman printed *gestare* (lost after *-cestae*), citing Virg. *Aen.* 12. 211 *patribusque dedit gestare Latinis*. This was the kind of proposal that makes "the hair stand up on many uninstructed heads" (Manilius V, p. xxxiv), but it was characteristic of its author (posit the loss of an easily lost word followed by interpolation to restore the metre); Housman rightly insists that the plausibility of a conjecture does not depend on the number of letters changed. I have described *gestare* as the best emendation that has ever been made in Juvenal (*JRS* 52 [1962] 233), and this view has been endorsed by Professor Courtney in his commentary.

Others of Housman's conjectures are almost as brilliant; like Bentley, he was at his best when things were difficult. See 3. 216 ff. on the presents given to a rich man who has lost his possessions in a fire:

hic nuda et candida signa  
 hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti,  
 haec Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum,  
 hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,  
 hic modium argenti.

Here *haec* disrupts the series of *hic . . . hic*, and the demonstratives seem one too many for the flow of the passage. Theoretically one might consider a long word in place of *haec Asianorum*, such as *phaecasiatorum* (derived by C. Valesius from the widely attested *phaecasianorum*); but "slipped gods" has no obvious meaning, and plural *ornamenta* is unattractive in opposition to *aliquid praeclarum*. Housman proposed *hic aliquid praedarum*,



*Euphranoris et Polycliti / aera, Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum.*<sup>7</sup> The enjambment produced by *aera* is persuasive, and *ornamenta* now fits well. If this is accepted, *praedarum* must follow (since cited by Knoche from a minor manuscript without authority); Courtney reads *hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti / aera*; but that compromise impairs the balance.

Juvenal tells us that the young, unlike the old, do not all look the same (10. 196 f.):

plurima sunt iuvenum discrimina, pulchrior ille  
hoc atque ille alio, multum hic robustior illo.

The second *ille* is omitted by *P* and a few other MSS; it clearly gets in the way. Housman proposed *ore alio*, "with another face" (see his second edition, p. liii = *Classical Papers*, pp. 878 f.); but he comments in his apparatus "*alia conici possunt velut voltuque alio; minus bonum videtur aliusque alio.*" The decisive argument is provided by the scholiast's comment *quidam pulcher est, alter eloquens* (cited not by Housman but by Courtney); this looks like a misguided explanation of *ore alio*, and is hard to explain any other way. Martyn's *eloquio*, "stronger in eloquence than him," produces an impossible confusion of ablatives.

At 10. 311 ff. we are told of the fate that awaits a good-looking young man:

fiet adulter  
publicus et poenas metuet quascumque mariti  
exigere irati debent, nec erit felicior astro  
Martis . . .

Line 313 appears thus in  $\Psi$  (with a variant *exire*), which is a foot too long; *P* reads the metrical but meaningless *mariti / irati debet*. Housman proposed *lex irae debet*, pointing to 314 ff. *exigit autem / interdum ille dolor plus quam lex ulla dolori / concessit*. Nothing else that has been suggested fits in so well with the following context.

Other of Housman's conjectures are plausible even if less striking. At 4. 128 *erectas in terga sudas*, the turbot's fins are described as an omen of war; Housman comments "*in terga erigi non possunt, cum sint in tergo,*" and proposes *per terga*. E. W. Bower, followed by Courtney, interprets "spines running up the back," comparing *erigere aciem in collem* (*CR N. S.* 8 [1958] 9); but when *erectas* is applied to stakes, it ought to have a more literal meaning. At 9. 60 *meliusne hic* Housman's difficulty about *hic* has not been met, nor his *melius nunc* clearly bettered (though note Castiglioni's *dic*). At 15. 89 ff. Juvenal describes how everybody in an Egyptian village took part in a cannibal feast:

nam, scelere in tanto ne quaeras et dubites an

<sup>7</sup> Housman's proposal is commended by J. Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 61 (Urbana, Il. 1972) 66.

prima voluptatem gula senserit, ultimus autem  
 qui stetit, absumpto iam toto corpore ductis  
 per terram digitis aliquid de sanguine gustat.

In 90 Housman's *ante* may seem dull, but it is difficult to refute; the word was later recorded by Knoche from a London MS without authority.

It is not the purpose of this paper to analyse the Oxford fragment of the sixth satire, where Housman hoisted his asterisk five times. At 2 *obscenum, et tremula promittit omnia dextra* he restored the metre by transposing *et* to precede *omnia*; but von Winterfeld's *promittens* gives a more natural word-order. At 8 f. *longe migrare iubetur / psillus ab eupholio* he ingeniously conjectured *psellus* and *euphono*. At 11 *munimenta umeri pulsataque arma tridentem* he proposed in the apparatus *pulsata hastamque tridentem*, but one might prefer a long word agreeing with *tridentem*. At 12 f. *pars ultima ludi / accipit as animas aliosque in carcere nervos*, his *has* and *aliosque* are obviously right. He sorted out the punctuation of 27 *quem rides? alii hunc mimum! sponsio fiat*. Beyond this he elucidated indecencies that were unintelligible to everybody else.

Housman had no hesitations about the authenticity of the passage: he notes at the end with the braggadocio of an earlier age "Buechelero . . . et Friedlaendero . . . Iuvenalis editoribus huius aetatis celeberrimis eisdemque interpolationum patientissimis, hi XXXIV versus, quia ipsi eos non expediebant, subditivi visi sunt; quod ne ex hominum memoria excidat, quantum potero, perficiam." One may agree that once allowance is made for the obscurity of the subject and the uncertainty of the transmission, some of the passage sounds splendidly Juvenalian: note especially 15 f. *cum quibus Albanum Surrentinumque recuset / flava ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri*, 21 f. *oculos fuligine pascit / distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter* (a passage imitated by Tertullian, *Cult. Fem.* 2. 5. 2 *oculos fuligine porrigunt*, like other lines that are certainly by Juvenal). But Housman has not satisfied everybody that the situation described makes sense and is relevant to the context. In particular Axelson<sup>8</sup> has pointed to the difficulty of the closing lines: *novi / consilia et veteres quaecumque monetis amici* (O. 29 f.) is clumsy compared with the alternative *audio quid veteres olim moneatis amici* (346).

Housman improved the text of Manilius and Lucan by many repunctuations, and it is well known how by moving a comma he made sense of Catullus 64. 324 *Emathiae tutamen opis, carissime nato*. Similarly at Juv. 2. 37 everybody accepts his *ubi nunc, lex Iulia, dormis?*, where previous editors had swallowed *ubi nunc lex Iulia? dormis?* At 5. 32 he joins *cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico* to the following sentence (*cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus*), thus sustaining the

<sup>8</sup> B. Axelson, ΔΡΑΓΜΑ *Martino P. Nilsson . . . Dedicatum* (Lund 1939) 41 ff. = *Kleine Schriften* (Stockholm 1987) 173 ff.

contrast between the menu of the host and the guests. At 6. 454 ff. he points to the absurdity of *ignotosque mihi tenet antiquaria versus, / nec curanda viris opicae castigat amicae / verba: soloecismum liceat fecisse marito*; here he punctuates after *viris* and reads *castiget* with a stray manuscript, but admits merit in the minor variant *haec curanda viris*? In the fourteenth satire he rightly placed 23–4 between 14 and 15 (I say nothing of his rearrangement of 6. 116–21, where no proposal seems entirely satisfactory).

Some of Housman's repunctuations were less plausible: the involuted hyperbata that he delighted to detect in other Roman poets do not suit Juvenal. At 4. 11 f. he punctuates *caecus adulator dirusque, a ponte, satelles, / dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes* (that is to say, he takes a *ponte* with *mendicaret*); but he puts forward this fantastic notion with unaccustomed diffidence. Perhaps Juvenal means that Catullus has come from a beggar's mat by the Tiber, and is sinister enough to ply his trade even at Aricia (where the virtuoso performers may have congregated). At 8. 142 f. Housman punctuates *quo mihi te, solitum falsas signare tabellas, / in templis quae fecit avus*, but his comma after *tabellas* is undesirable (see Courtney); legal documents could be signed in temples, and this provides a better parallel to what follows (*quo si nocturnus adulter / tempora Santonico velas adopena cucullo?*). At 13. 150 ff. Housman reads:

haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus qui  
radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam  
Neptuni, qui bratteolam de Castore ducat;  
an dubitet, solitus, totum conflare Tonantem?

But he rightly doubts his own commas round *solitus*, and considers deleting the line as an interpolation (without noticing that J. D. Lewis had said that the line would be better away); other proposals are *solitum est* (Munro), *solus* (*codd. dett.*, Leo), and *solidum* (D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *CR N. S.* 9 [1959] 201). There is a further difficulty at 15. 131 ff.:

mollissima corda  
humano generi dare se natura fatetur,  
quae lacrimas dedit; haec nostri pars optima sensus.  
plorare ergo iubet causam dicentis amici  
squaloremque rei.

Housman pointed out the unnaturalness of taking *squalorem* with *amici* as well as with *rei*; he therefore joined *sensus* to the following sentence as the first object of *plorare* (interpreting "emotions"). A strong pause occurs in this place elsewhere in the satire (72, 147, 159), and *ergo* can come third word in the sentence (Housman cites 15. 171); but this may be less natural when it is second word in the line. As an alternative, Housman suggested genitive *census* ("endowment"); for other proposals see Courtney.

Housman made some suggestions for lacunae that he did not signal with his asterisk. At 1. 155 ff. his insertion must be on the right lines:

pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa  
 qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,  
 <quorum informe unco trahitur post fata cadaver>  
 et latum media sulcum deducit arena.

Here it is often said that the subject of *deducit* is *taeda*, derived as Latin allows from the ablative of 155; but the burning of a single individual would not produce a trail of light, and a furrow in the sand must be more literal. Housman is less convincing when he proposes a lacuna after 1. 131. From 95 to 126 Juvenal has dealt with the *sportula*; then from 127 to 131 he gives a meagre and irrelevant summary of the client's day; then at 132 we are told *vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes*. Rather than assume a lacuna, it seems best to delete the five irrelevant lines with Jahn (as reported by Knoche); as they are lively in themselves, they presumably originate from a genuine satiric source. Housman's suggestion of a lost line after 2. 169 is much more plausible. A less convincing case is 8. 159 ff.:

obvius adsiduo Syrophoenix udus amomo  
 currit, Idymaeae Syrophoenix incola portae  
 hospitis adfectu dominum regemque salutat.

Housman admits that after the subject has been repeated by epanalepsis, the verb *salutat* is not wanted; he suggests that a line may have fallen out after 160. Leo's *salutans* had independently occurred to him (second edition, p. li), but this plausible idea is not recorded in the apparatus.

Something has fallen out at 3. 109, where *P* reads *praeterea sanctum nihil ab inguine tutum*, and various stop-gaps have been tried by manuscripts and editors. Housman himself printed *nihil aut tibi ab inguine*, but Juvenal does not elide at the trochaic caesura of the fourth foot. He made a more interesting supplement at 3. 203 ff. (describing the poor man's modest furniture):

lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex  
 ornamentum abaci, nec non et parvulus infra  
 cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron.

Here the scholiast refers to marble statuettes; on the other hand marble is too grand for the sideboard, and in any case now irrelevant. C. Valesius proposed *sub eo de marmore* (which gives a weak demonstrative), Housman much more convincingly *sub eodem e marmore*. As an alternative I have toyed with *rupto de marmore*, to underline the tawdry appearance of the man's ornaments.

Housman's text brackets 17 lines as interpolations, but he was responsible for none of these deletions himself: see 3. 113, 3. 281, 5. 66, 6. 188, 8. 124, 8. 258, 9. 119, 11. 99, 11. 161, 11. 165-66, 12. 50-51,

13. 90, 13. 166, 14. 208–09 (as well as 6. 126, which is poorly attested, and 6. 346–48, which have to go if the Oxford fragment is accepted). At 7. 50 ff. he considers:

nam si discedas, [laqueo tenet ambitiosi  
consuetudo mali], tenet insanabile multos  
scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit;

but to say no more, after the general *discedas* there is an anticlimax at *multos* (at *BICS* Suppl. 51 [1988] 99 f. I argue that something has been displaced by line 51). He rightly suspects 8. 134 *de quocumque voles proavum tibi sumito libro*, but does not notice that Ribbeck had questioned the line. He plausibly casts doubt on 8. 223 (“*facietiarum lepori officere mihi videtur*”), 13. 153 (see above), and 14. 119 (which had already been questioned by Duff).

Housman often makes conjectures where it would be better to posit an interpolation. There is a striking instance at 6. 63 ff. (on the reactions of women to the dancer Bathyllus):

chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo  
Tuccia vesicae non imperat, Apula gannit,  
sicut in amplexu, subito et miserabile longum;  
attendit Thymele: Thymele tunc rustica discit.

Here Housman transposed *gannit* and *longum*, awarding himself two asterisks, but Guyet's deletion of 65 seems certain; the conjecture was not known to me when I made it independently in *JRS* 52 (1962) 235. The impossible *miserabile longum* is removed more economically than by Housman; the proper names are put in a pointed relationship (add this to the instances collected at *BICS* Suppl. 51 [1988] 45); and *sicut in amplexu* gives the plodding explanation of *gannit* that is characteristic of a gloss.

Juvenal says that famous ancestors are of no avail if you behave disgracefully in front of their statues (8. 1 ff.):

stemmata quid faciunt, quid prodest, Pontice, longo  
sanguine censi, pictos ostendere vultus  
maiorum et stantis in curribus Aemilianos  
et Curios iam dimidios umerosque minorem  
Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem,  
quis fructus generis tabula iactare capaci  
Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga  
fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros  
si coram Lepidis male vivitur?

7

In 7 Housman proposed *pontifices* for *Corvinum* (ineptly repeated from 5) and accepted Withof's *posse ac* for the meaningless *posthac*; but it is simpler to omit 7 with Ψ, and better still to delete 6–8 with Guyet and Jachmann (for the arguments see Courtney). It may seem inconsequential to say “what avails it to boast of the Curii when you live badly in front of the Aemilii?”

(cf. Courtney, p. 384); but for such a distribution of examples see Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* 1. 7. 10.

At 8. 108 ff. Juvenal describes how extortionate governors loot even the most trifling possessions:

nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum,  
 et pater armenti capto eripietur agello,  
 ipsi deinde Lares, si quod spectabile signum,  
 si quis in aedicula deus unicus; haec etenim sunt  
 pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima. despicias tu  
 forsitan imbellis Rhodios unctamque Corinthon:  
 despicias merito.

Housman rightly objected to the *inanis strepitus verborum* at *haec etenim sunt / pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima*; he proposed *quis sunt haec maxima, despicias tu / forsitan. imbellis Rhodios unctamque Corinthon / despicias merito*. That disrupts the natural sequence *despicias . . . Corinthon: despicias merito* (as does Manso's deletion of 111 *si quis . . .* 112 *despicias tu*). It seems best to delete *haec etenim . . . haec maxima* and to restore the metre by something like *deus unus* (thus Heinecke and Heinrich).

At 8. 199 ff. the degenerate nobleman becomes a *retiarius*, who is worse than other kinds of gladiator:

et illic

dedecus urbis habes, nec murmillonis in armis  
 nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina;  
 damnat enim tales habitus, sed damnat et odit,  
 nec galea faciem abscondit: movet ecce tridentem.

Line 202 is absurdly repetitive (while *sed* is meaningless); if it is deleted (thus Ruperti), the pieces of equipment are set against each other in Juvenal's usual manner. But Housman incredibly transposes *sed damnat et odit* and *movet ecce tridentem*, thereby destroying the climax.

At 11. 167 f. Housman proposed *nervi* in the apparatus for *Veneris*, and *ramitis* in the text for *divitis* (p. xxx "the conjecture of which I expect to hear most evil"); but it may be enough to delete with Jachmann the irrelevant 168 f. *maior tamen ista voluptas / alterius sexus* (NGG [1943] 216 ff.). At 15. 97 f. *huius enim quod nunc agitur miserabile debet / exemplum esse cibi sicut modo dicta mihi gens* Housman proposed *si cui* for *sicut* (accepting the poorly attested *tibi* for *cibi*); but the lines are nonsense (see Courtney), and should be deleted with Guyet. Consider again 16. 17 f. (on the alleged advantages of military justice) *iustissima centurionum / cognitio est igitur de milite, nec mihi derit / ultio, si iustae defertur causa querellae*. Here Housman proposed *inquit* for the meaningless *igitur*; I believe that the simplest solution is to delete 118, assigning the thought to a centurion (*BICS* Suppl. 51 [1988] 109).

Sometimes where a difficulty had been solved by deletion, Housman turns a blind eye to the problem. There is an interesting case at 1. 81 ff. where Juvenal is saying that wickedness is now worse than ever before:

ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor  
 navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit  
 paulatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa  
 et maribus nudas ostendit Pyrrha puellas,  
 quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas  
 gaudia discursus nostri farrago libelli est.  
 et quando uberior vitiorum copia? 85

Lines 85–86 are untrue, disruptive, and produce a top-heavy sentence; they were rightly deleted by the neglected Scholte (with the familiar change to *ecquando* at 87). E. Harrison independently made the same proposal at the Cambridge Philological Society in 1920, but though his colleague Housman was present he did not express dissent either then or later (*CR* 51 [1937] 55).

Housman disregarded many other proposals for deletion, or mentioned them in the apparatus when he might have marked them in the text. I select some notable cases in a list that in no way aims at completeness<sup>9</sup>: 1. 14 (Dobree), 1. 137–38 (Ribbeck), 3. 104 (Jahn), 3. 242 (Pinzger), 4. 17 (Ribbeck), 4. 78 (Heinrich), 5. 63 (Ribbeck), 6. 138, 359, 395 (Scholte), 6. 530 (Paldamus), 7. 15 (Pinzger), 7. 93 (Markland), 7. 135 (cod. U), 9. 5 (Guyet), 10. 146 (Pinzger), 10. 323 (Heinrich), 10. 365–66 (Guyet), 13. 236 (Jahn), 15. 107 *nec enim . . .* 108 *putant* (Francke). Since Housman's edition deletions have been made by G. Jachmann (*NGG* [1943] 187 ff.), U. Knoche (who usually expelled the wrong lines), and M. D. Reeve (note especially *CR* N. S. 20 [1970] 135 f. for the excision of 10. 356 *orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*). I have made some further suggestions at *JRS* 52 (1962) 233 ff.; here I revive two points about Hannibal that have not attracted much attention. 10. 148 ff. *hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro / percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti, / rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos*. Line 150 gives an unconvincing asyndeton (not solved by Astbury's *rursum et ad*), a false suggestion that Hannibal's empire extended far south, and a cryptic reference to "other elephants"; a concurrence of oddities should always arouse suspicion. 10. 159 ff. *vincitur idem / nempe et in exilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus / mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis, / donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno*. Line 160 prosaically fills up a gap in the story, *nempe* is used elsewhere by the interpolator (3. 95, 13. 166), and *magnus* shows a misunderstanding of

<sup>9</sup> See also E. Courtney's interesting study, *BICS* 22 (1975) 147 ff. He considers 40 lines "pretty certainly spurious" (p. 160), but does not include a fair number of interpolations that I should regard as likely or at least possible.

*mirandus*: Hannibal was an object of astonishment not because he was a great man but because he was a client.

Housman argues forcibly in his introduction for the recognition of interpolations (pp. xxxi ff.), and he may have thought himself radical compared with Buecheler, who deleted one line, and Friedlaender, who deleted none at all (whereas Jahn had expelled 70). In practice he was untypically conservative, largely because of the prevailing state of opinion; and perhaps he preferred to show his ingenuity by verbal conjecture. In fact in an author like Juvenal, where there is a significant number of interpolations, nothing should be taken for granted; unsatisfactory lines can be deleted with much more confidence than in a text that has not been tampered with. Many of the interpolations tend to follow recurring patterns<sup>10</sup>; usually they are metrical explanations rather than glosses turned into verse. There are a fair number of marginal cases that may legitimately be questioned even where proof is impossible; it is absurd to think that doubts cannot be raised unless guilt can be proved. Textual critics are not simply concerned with grammatical absurdities, and in the great classical authors they look for something more felicitous than what satisfied a fourth-century schoolmaster. "Improving the author" it is called by a curious *petitio principii*, but Housman at least should have been free from that misconception.

Housman did well to use the scholia as a guide to the ancient text (p. xxviii "our purest source of knowledge"), but sometimes he may attach too much significance to imprecise or ambiguous comments.<sup>11</sup> At 4. 5 ff. Juvenal says that Crispinus's riches do not matter:

quid refert igitur quantis iumenta fatiget  
porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra  
iugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?  
nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem  
incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat  
sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.

8

For 8 *minime* Housman read *quam sit* on the basis of the scholia (joining the two sentences together); but there is no need to pursue his reasoning, as he virtually recanted in the second edition (p. xv). The simplest solution is to delete 8 with Jahn; the point is not the unhappiness of the wicked but the general contempt in which they are held. The interpolator failed to appreciate that *incestus* was the postponed subject of *fatiget*, *vectetur*, *emerit*, and so introduced a new line; for similar misunderstandings on his part see *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 97.

<sup>10</sup> I give some instances at *JRS* 52 (1962) 233 f.; see also E. Courtney, *BICS* 22 (1975) 161. For a more general treatment of the typology of interpolations see R. J. Tarrant, *TAPA* 117 (1987) 281 ff.

<sup>11</sup> E. Courtney, *BICS* 13 (1966) 41 ff.



At 9. 133 f., after mentioning the homosexuals who flock to Rome, Juvenal proceeds:

altera maior  
 spes superest: tu tantum erucis inprime dentem.  
 gratus eris, tu tantum erucis inprime dentem.

Thus the Pithoeanus, but the repetition is intolerable; the vulgate tradition omitted the last line. In 1889 (*Classical Papers*, 107 f.) Housman confidently proposed *derit amator* for *altera maior* (omitting the last line and making metrical adjustments before *derit*); he supplied one of his unconvincing palaeographical justifications (*derit* turns into *diter*, and "the difference between *diteramator* and *alteramaior* is not worth considering"). In his edition he takes seriously the scholiast's comment *multos inberbes habes tibi crescentes* (which previously he had waved aside); he now supplies *spes superest: turbae properat quae crescere molli / gratus eris*. But great obscurities will remain (see Courtney), notably the need to provide a transition to 135 *haec exempla para felicibus*.

Juvenal's slave, unlike the rich man's, will be home-born, so that you can order your drink in Latin (11. 147 f.):

non Phryx aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus  
 quisquam erit et magno; cum posces, posce Latine.

For *et magno* (Ψ) *P* reads *in magno* (which would have to mean "when you ask for a pint"); neither reading is convincing. Housman proposed and printed *qui steterit magno*, a conjecture that goes back at least to 1891 (cf. Manilius I, p. xxxvii); he cites the scholium *quales vendunt care manciparii*, but that may simply be an attempt to interpret the vulgate reading ("sought at a great price"). In fact the emphasis should not be on the price of the rich man's slaves but on their alien origin. G. Giangrande proposed *Inachio* (*Eranos* 63 [1965] 3 ff.); that does not seem a natural word for "Greek" in so prosaic a context (E. Courtney, *BICS* 13 [1966] 41), but there are attractions in some epithet that balances *Phryx, Lycius, Latine*.

Violent revenge on the trickster will bring you odium (13. 178 f.):

sed corpore trunco  
 invidiosa dabit minimus solacia sanguis.

Naturally Housman saw that *minimus* is meaningless (cf. Manilius I, p. lxvi); he proposed and printed *solum*, positing the loss of the word before *solacia*. He cited the scholiast *nihil inde lucri habebis nisi invidiosam defensionem*; but this may simply be a loose paraphrase. His alternative proposals *nimum* (with *invidiosa*) or *damni* seem more forceful, but one really expects an adjective or participle to balance *trunco*. Wakefield proposed *missus*, Martyn *nimius* (with a cod. det.), but I might have expected something livelier on the lines of *saliens*, "spurting." It is a case for the obelus.

At 14. 267 ff. Juvenal addresses the merchant who suffers at sea while conveying saffron from Cilicia:

Corycia semper qui puppe moraris  
atque habitas, coro semper tollendus et austro,  
perditus †ac vilis† sacci mercator olentis.

Housman saw that *P's ac vilis* does not go well with *perditus* (while *Ψ's a siculis* is obvious nonsense). He conjectured and printed *ac similis*, i. e. the merchant turns as yellow as his cargo; he cited the scholiast's *tu foetide*, but that may simply be a muddled gloss on *sacchi olentis*. In fact sea-sickness seems too temporary an affliction to characterise the man (especially in view of the repeated *semper*); Housman says that he is called *perditus* because he cries *perii* in a storm (Manilius I, p. xxxvi), but again one looks for a more permanent attribute. At *JRS* 52 (1962) 237 I proposed *perditus articulis* (he is arthritic from living in a damp ancient ship); cf. Persius 1. 23 *articulis quibus et dicas cute perditus "ohe"* (where *articulis* is Madvig's necessary conjecture for *auriculis*).

Some other asterisked proposals fail to convince, though they usually contribute to the argument. 6. 50 f. *paucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignae / quarum non timeat pater oscula*. Here Housman's *teretis vittas* is too mild to balance the following clause, and Giangrande's *Cereris victus* seems to give the required point (*Eranos* 13 [1965] 26 ff.); Housman himself had suggested something like *Cereris contingere munera dignae* (second edition, p. xlvi). 6. 194 ff. *quotiens lascivum intervenit illud / ζῶν καὶ ψυχῆ, modo sub lodice relictis / uteris in turba*: Housman saw that the endearments of octogenarian women cannot be described as "recently left under the blanket." He regarded as certain (p. xxx) his own *ferendis*, "only to be endured," and it is undoubtedly on the right lines (see Courtney); but I prefer my own *loquendis*, which may combine better with *uteris* (*BICS* Suppl. 51 [1988] 96 f.). At 9. 118 Housman rejects *cum . . . tunc* as a solecism, only to produce the questionable elision *tum est his*. 12. 12 ff. (*taurus*) *nec finitima nutritus in herba, / laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis / iret et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro (iret et grandi P)*. Housman pointed to the ambiguity of *sanguis iret* of the walking bull, and proposed *et grandi cervix iret ferienda ministro*; but the origin of the bull was shown by his colour rather than his blood. Castiglioni proposed *grandis* for *sanguis*, and I have considered *tergus*; that leaves Housman's problem about *a* with the gerundive (not elsewhere in Juvenal), especially as the scholiast glosses by dative *sacerdoti*. 13. 47 ff. (on the small number of gods in Saturn's day) *contentaque sidera paucis / numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori / pondere; nondum †aliquis sortitus triste profundi / imperium Sicula torvus cum coniuge Pluton*. Here the meaningless *aliquis* is omitted by *P* and is presumably an interpolation. Housman supplied *imi*, but a proper name would be more forceful; I have suggested *Erebi* (*BICS* Suppl. 51 [1988] 108). I refrain from discussing 14. 71, where

Housman ingeniously proposed *si facis ut civis sit idoneus*; I once doubted this (*JRS* 52 [1962] 237), as Courtney does for different reasons, but am now unable to make up my mind.

I turn now to those of Housman's conjectures that are confined to the apparatus. He points to the faulty tense at 2. 167 f. *nam si mora longior urbem / †indulsit pueris, non umquam derit amator* (the problem is not solved by Clausen's *indulget*, as the verb has jumped from 165 *indulsisse*); he suggests *praebuerit*, and I have tried *induerit* (*BICS* Suppl. 51 [1988] 91). 8. 47 ff. *tamen ima plebe Quiritem / facundum invenies, solet hic defendere causas / nobilis indocti; veniet de plebe togata / qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat*; here Housman suggests *pube togata* (to avoid a pointless contrast with *ima plebe*), but he does not mention *togatus* (Scriverius), which elegantly balances *Quiritem*.<sup>12</sup> At 10. 184 *huic quisquam vellet servire deorum?* he reasonably suggested *nollet* to sustain the irony. A more intractable place is 10. 326 f. *†erubuit nempe haec ceu fastidita repulso (repulsa Ψ) / nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit*; here Housman proposed *coepto* for *nempe haec*, but a line has probably fallen out (Markland, Courtney). At 12. 78 f. *non sic †igitur mirabere portus / quos natura dedit* (on the harbour at Ostia), Housman saw unlike some editors that *igitur* is meaningless in the context; his *similes* is too restrictive and his *illos* too dull, and I have tentatively considered *veteres*.

Housman does not cite nearly enough conjectures by others; here I record a few cases of particular interest. Jahn placed 3. 12–16 (on Egeria's grove) to follow 3. 20; this is a necessary transposition, but either something has been lost after 11 (Ribbeck), or 11 should be marked as a parenthesis (my own solution, *BICS* Suppl. 51 [1988] 92 f.). At 3. 260 f. *obtritum volgi perit omne cadaver / more animae Eremita* proposed the adverb *vulgo*, "indiscriminately"; *vulgus* would refer to the common people in general, not like *turba* to a particular crowd. 6. 44 *quem totiens textit perituri cista Latini*. In this bedroom farce Latinus, who owns the chest, should be the injured husband rather than the concealed lover; Palmer's *redituri* (cited by Owen) is worth reviving (cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1. 2. 127 *vir rure recurrat*, etc.). 8. 219 ff. (the matricide Orestes is favourably contrasted with Nero) *nullis aconita propinquis / miscuit, in scaena numquam cantavit Orestes, / Troica non scripsit*. Weidner's witty *Oresten* was ignored by Housman, and the conjecture had to be made again by C. P. Jones, *CR* N. S. 22 (1972) 313. At 10. 90 f. *visne salutari sicut Seianus, habere / tantundem* Lachmann proposed *avere* (cited by Jahn), which balances *salutari* much better. The verb is normally confined to the imperative, but for the infinitive cf. Mart. 9. 6. 4 *non vis, Afer, havere: vale*. 11. 96 f. *sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis / vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli*. Henninius proposed *vite*, a certain emendation that

<sup>12</sup> In the same passage P. G. McC. Brown plausibly deletes *solet hic defendere causas / nobilis indocti* (*CQ* N. S. 22 [1972] 374).

has been ignored; he cited the paraphrase at Hyginus, *Fab.* 274 *antiqui autem nostri in lectis tricliniaribus in fulcris capita asellorum vite alligata habuerunt.* 13. 43 ff. (the simple life of the gods in Saturn's time) *nec puer Iliacus formosa nec Herculis uxor / ad cyathos, et iam siccato nectare tergens / brachia Vulcanus Liparaea nigra taberna.* Housman records and ought to have accepted Schurtzfleisch's *siccato* (the nectar's sediment is strained as with wine); he mentions the scholiast's note *exsiccato faeculento aut liquefacto*, where the second word gives the clue.<sup>13</sup> I have recorded some other neglected conjectures, and put forward some new ones, at *JRS* 52 (1962) 233 ff. and *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 86 ff.

Where it is a question of weighing one reading against another, Housman's decisions are usually difficult to refute. But at 1. 2 he reads *rauci Theseide Cordi* (thus *P*), where  $\Psi$  offers *Codri*; *Codrus* is not only a type-name for a bad poet (from Virg. *Ecl.* 7. 22), but combines pointedly with *Theseide* to suggest the kings of early Athens. At 1. 125 f. a client receives the *sportula* on behalf of his wife, who is alleged to be resting in a closed litter: "*Galla mea est*", inquit, "*citius dimitte. moraris? / profer, Galla, caput. noli vexare, quiescet.*" The scholiast assigns *profer, Galla, caput* to the cashier (cf. p. xlv), and this leads better to *noli vexare*; it also seems best to accept  $\Psi$ 's *quiescit* rather than to derive an idiomatic future from *P*'s *quiescaet* ("don't disturb her because she is resting now" is more to the point than "if you disturb her, you'll find that she is resting"). At 7. 114 Housman follows *P* in calling the charioteer *russati . . . Lacernae*, but the cloak used in country drives (1. 62) was perhaps too cumbersome for a race;  $\Psi$ 's *Lacertae* ("Lizard"), is an excellent name for a quick mover (Courtney cites *ILS* 5293), and as lizards are usually green there is a pointed combination with *russati*. At 8. 4 f. (on a nobleman's battered statues) Housman reads *et Curios iam dimidios umeroque minorem / Corvinum*. Here "impaired as to the shoulders" (*umeros P*) is better than "diminished by a shoulder" (*umero* cod. det.): a statue does not lose a shoulder without losing an arm as well.

Even when he does not debate the text, Housman sometimes gives explanations that are open to challenge. I do not believe that 1. 28 *aestivum . . . aurum* refers to light-weight rings for summer wear (for the use of the adjective cf. 4. 108, also on Crispinus); or that 1. 144 *intestata senectus* means that old age among patrons is unattested (I delete 144 *subitae . . . 145 et*); or that 3. 4 f. *gratum litus amoeni / secessus* illustrates a genitive of quality<sup>14</sup> (I propose *limen*): for all these points I refer to the discussion at *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 86 ff. At 1. 47 *omne in praecipiti*

<sup>13</sup> Martyn attributes *exsiccato* to Schurtzfleisch and *siccato* to myself, an honour I never claimed; the proposal was already known to J. Jessen, *Philologus* 47. 1 (1888) 320, to whom it is assigned in Housman's edition of 1905.

<sup>14</sup> Housman cannot have found the passage straightforward: in 1900 he had actually considered taking *amoeni secessus* as a nominative plural (*Classical Papers*, 518)

*vitium stetit* Housman interprets "vice has come to its extreme limit" (*Classical Papers*, 613 f.); that does not convey the precarious position of vice, a thought that leads to the following *utere velis*, "use all your energies to attack it."<sup>15</sup> 7. 61 f. *aeris inops, quo nocte dieque / corpus eget*. Housman comments that the body needs food night and day rather than money, and mentions sympathetically Ribbeck's *quom*; but this spoils the paradox that we are using up resources even while we sleep.

No critique of Housman's *Juvenal* can ignore his extraordinary style of debate. His admirers sometimes imply that his opponents deserved all they got, but his gibes are scattered too widely for that defence to be tenable. He could be generous to the schoolmaster S. T. Collins, who at 16. 25 *quis tam procul absit ab urbe?* (of a defending pleader), irrefutably proposed *adsit* (p. lvii "we ought all to be ashamed that the correction was not made before"). He was indulgent to J. D. Duff's "unpretending school-edition" (p. xxix) and to the commentary of H. L. Wilson, who quoted his own work respectfully and made no claims of his own (*Classical Papers*, 611 ff.). But to professional rivals he was persistently offensive, and not just to Owen but to Buecheler and Leo (even Jahn among the dead); and the effect on rising scholars was inhibiting. He rebukes non-critics who at Propertius 3. 15. 14 read *molliaque immittens* (v. l. *immites*) *fixit in ora manus* (p. xii); that must be a reprisal against Phillimore, who in his 1901 edition had criticised Housman's boldness in conjecture. He denounces the author of the *Thesaurus* article who by relying on Buecheler's text had failed to pick up *aeluros* at Juv. 15. 7 (pp. lv f., repeating his Cambridge inaugural of twenty years before); his solemn rodomontade was absurdly disproportionate to its object<sup>16</sup> ("this is the felicity of the house of bondage" etc.), and caused lasting offence. This reversion to the manners of previous centuries was due not just to a love of truth, "the faintest of the passions," as he called it, though error grated on him more than on most; the explanation must surely lie in an underlying unhappiness<sup>17</sup> that found a more creditable outlet in his poetry. All this makes one sceptical of the claim that Housman was uniquely objective; less original scholars may find it easier "to suppress self-will," to use his own phrase (Manilius V, p. xxxv).

None of this dislodges Housman from his position: he continues to impress alike by his subtle and original poetry, now more justly valued,<sup>18</sup> the energy of his prose style (especially by academic standards), and his formidable intellectual and rhetorical powers. The *Juvenal* remains the most stimulating introduction to textual criticism that there is, and a classic

<sup>15</sup> F. O. Copley, *AJP* 62 (1941) 219 ff., D. A. Kidd, *CQ* 14 (1964) 103 ff.

<sup>16</sup> See especially Edmund Wilson, *The Triple Thinkers* (London 1938) 83 ff. = C. Ricks (ed.), *A. E. Housman: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs 1968) 14 ff.

<sup>17</sup> For a realistic view see R. P. Graves, *A. E. Housman, The Scholar-Poet* (Oxford 1981).

<sup>18</sup> See C. Ricks (above, note 16) 1 ff. (with other contributions to this collection), and (above, note 4) 7 ff.

demonstration of a particularly English mode of scholarship, impatient of theory, sparing of words, displaying no more learning than necessary, going for the vital spot, empirical, commonsensical, concrete, sardonic. Housman himself said that "a textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motion of the planets: he is much more like a dog hunting for fleas";<sup>19</sup> but the irony should not mislead. Though he himself had felicity of instinct (as every good editor must), he probably showed it less persistently than some other great critics.<sup>20</sup> It is his lucidity of mind and argumentative power that place him next to Bentley, and one can never disagree without being conscious that something may have been missed.

Housman's dominance is so great<sup>21</sup> that it is difficult to avoid the cult of personality, but eulogies concentrate on the most brilliant feats without looking at an edition as a whole. In textual criticism there are horses for courses, and Housman found Juvenal well-suited to his talents: the style was vigorous and incisive, but it did not strain normal Latin usage. Even so, his solutions were often unconvincing, and not just because the edition was undertaken in haste, "for the relief of a people sitting in darkness" (p. xxxvi); he had twenty-five years to change his mind before the second edition, though his manner of argument may not have made retraction easy. It is not that he was too acute for his author, the criticism that used to be orthodox; as he emphasised himself in his London "Introductory Lecture,"<sup>22</sup> the great classical writers had a standard of finish that is lacking in more recent literature. The truth of the matter is that in textual criticism, as in other scholarly activities, you win some and you lose some: new evidence is noticed, fresh arguments are devised, and no edition is sacrosanct. We should not surrender to Housman's authority, and assume that nothing remains to be done: there is no greater incentive for finding corruptions in a text than the fact that corruptions have already been found.

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<sup>19</sup> Carter (above, note 4) 132 = Ricks (above, note 4) 326.

<sup>20</sup> This point is made by G. P. Goold, *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 28.

<sup>21</sup> For two notable recent assessments of Housman as a scholar see C. O. Brink, *English Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge 1986) 168 ff., H. D. Jocelyn, *Philology and Education, Liverpool Classical Papers* 1 (Liverpool 1988) 22 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Carter (above, note 4) 9 ff. = Ricks (above, note 4) 265 f.

Man and Nature in Ausonius' *Moselle*

R. P. H. GREEN

Ausonius' *Moselle* is a remarkable poem, and fully deserves its position among the most read and most debated poems of the post-classical era.<sup>1</sup> A conscious masterpiece, of stylistic elevation and elaborate design, it is outstanding for its *inventio*, *eruditio* and *concinnatio*. It is the only poem of any length from antiquity which takes a river as its theme; the river is not, as is usual elsewhere, a purple patch (Hor. *AP* 17 f.) or a *digressio* (Quint. 4. 3. 12), but is the focus of attention throughout almost 500 lines, within which various aspects are vividly and minutely depicted. Though formally speaking it may be called an encomium, for the river is praised as well as described, it owes little to rhetorical prescription. It is significant that the Greek rhetorician Menander says nothing about the praise of rivers, though he too recommends it as part of a larger whole; even if he had dealt with it, it is clear from the general tenor of his prescriptions that he would

<sup>1</sup> There have been many important discussions of the *Moselle* in recent years, most of them relevant to this paper. These are, in chronological order: W. Görler, "Vergilzitate in Ausonius' *Mosella*," *Hermes* 97 (1969) 94–114; Ch.-M. Temes, "Paysage Réel et Coulisse Idyllique dans la 'Mosella' d'Ausone," *REL* 48 (1970) 376–97; D. Gagliardi, "La Poetica dell' 'Ecphrasis' e Ausonio," in his *Aspetti della Poesia Latina Tardoantica* (Palermo 1972) 65–89; H. Tränkle, "Zur Textkritik und Erklärung von Ausonius' *Mosella*," *MH* 31 (1974) 155–68; J. Fontaine, "Unité et Diversité du Mélange des Genres et des Tons chez quelques écrivains Latins de la fin du IVe siècle: Ausone, Ambroise, Ammien," in *Christianisme et Formes Littéraires de l'Antiquité Tardive en Occident* (Fondation Hardt, Entretiens 23, Geneva 1977) 425–72; E. J. Kenney, "The *Mosella* of Ausonius," *GR* 31 (1984) 190–202, drawing on the brief remarks of Z. Pavlovskis, *Man in an Artificial Landscape. The Marvels of Civilization in Imperial Roman Literature* (Leiden 1973) 33–39; M. Roberts, "The *Mosella* of Ausonius: An Interpretation," *TAPA* 114 (1984) 343–53; R. Martin, "La *Moselle* d'Ausone est-elle un poème politique?," *REL* 63 (1985) 237–53; D. Stutzinger, "... ambiguis fruitor veri falsique figuris. Maritime Landschaften in der spätantiken Kunst," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 30 (1987) 99–117. The article of Carole Newlands, "*Naturae Mirabor Opus: Ausonius' Challenge to Statius in the Mosella*," *TAPA* 118 (1988) 403–19, appeared after this article was completed. There are helpful brief commentaries by C. Hosius (Marburg 1894, reprinted 1967); W. John (Trier 1932, reprinted 1980) and Ch.-M. Temes (Paris 1972); Pastorino's commentary on the whole of Ausonius (Turin 1971) is fuller on the *Moselle* than it is on most other poems. My own edition and commentary of the works of Ausonius will appear shortly. An earlier version of this paper was given to the Liverpool Latin Seminar in 1977, but not published.

have advised speakers or writers to use such a work as a vehicle for the celebration of human beings. Ausonius' poem is not of course immune from the influence of rhetoric—there are, for example, many flattering comparisons and laudatory addresses—but the conception of the poem is unique. The often-quoted article<sup>2</sup> in which Hosius accumulated traces of rhetorical topics in the *Moselle* might appear to point in another direction, but the various parallels, which he did not interpret in terms of context and poetic purpose, can in fact be shown to confirm a different interpretation. In political terms, too, the poem is noteworthy. In 1931 Marx put forward the thesis, still influential, that Ausonius wrote under the stern eye of Valentinian and had to submit every line to him; anything unsuitable might have cost him his life.<sup>3</sup> In fact, given the political circumstances, the work is surprisingly free of political allusion and propaganda. The vision of the *Moselle* is markedly independent, as pointed out by Blakeney;<sup>4</sup> it is typical of Ausonius to write about an original topic in a form of his own choosing. One of the poem's most striking features is the way in which the natural world (a term which will be defined more closely) takes precedence over the human, and man is subordinated to the landscape in which he lives and works; this is the subject of the present paper.

The poem's opening lines, in which Ausonius imagines himself on a journey from Bingen to Neumagen, give little hint of what is to come. Ausonius begins, certainly, by crossing a river, the murky Nahe, but he then mentions the new fortifications around Bingen, and that leads him to describe the lingering effects of the battle of Bingen three hundred years earlier.<sup>5</sup> He continues his way along the Roman road through the wooded Hunsrück, passing a few isolated hamlets, and reaches the Moseltal at Neumagen.<sup>6</sup> This exordium is one of the best known features of the poem, and has in some ways perhaps attracted too much attention. Because of it the poem has been considered a *hodoeporikon*;<sup>7</sup> Roberts more wisely uses the word of this paragraph only. But even that overstates the case: the journey ends, or rather is allowed to slip from the reader's consciousness, at Neumagen. It would be wrong to imagine that as the poem progresses Ausonius moves from there towards Trier or Conz, where he was living in the imperial entourage. Nor does he take us on a systematic tour of this part of the river. Some of the sections of the poem are spatially or

<sup>2</sup> C. Hosius, "Die literarische Stellung von Ausons Mosellied," *Philologus* 81 (1926) 192–201.

<sup>3</sup> F. Marx, "Ausonius' Lied von der Mosel," *Rhein. Mus.* 80 (1931) 367–92, esp. 376 f.

<sup>4</sup> E. H. Blakeney, *The Mosella* (London 1933), Introduction, p. xviii.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tac. *H.* 4. 70. The date is often given as 71 A.D.; it is more likely to be 70. The date of the *Moselle* is 371 or thereabouts (R. P. H. Green, "The Éminence Grise of Ausonius' *Moselle*," *Respublica Litterarum* 1 [1978] 89–94).

<sup>6</sup> As Temes points out (*REL* 48 [1970] 378) Tabernae is not the modern Berncastel, which is on the river.

<sup>7</sup> Notably by L. Illuminati, *La Satira Odeporica Latina* (Milan 1938).



temporally linked, but for the most part they are presented as independent and discrete impressions. Others have treated the passage as biographical. Ausonius might indeed have made the journey (perhaps after inspecting the frontier, as Marx suggested [376]); if he did, he will have been too tired to have investigated its attractions there and then. But what is the point of presenting the beauties of the place where he lived in terms of a journey? The purpose of this passage, which, as Martin declared (250), there has been little attempt to explain, is in fact to set up a series of contrasts, between darkness (1, 14–15) and light (16 f.), war (2–4) and peace (11), wilderness (5–7) and civilisation (10–22), old and new (2); as Görler has demonstrated, many of these points are developed by means of a pervasive comparison with Vergil's Campania and Elysium. In essence the technique of the opening lines is that of Wordsworth's famous poem *On Daffodils*: "I wandered lonely as a cloud, that floats on high o'er vales and hills, when all at once I saw a crowd, A host, of golden daffodils." A parallel closer to our subject is the poem *de Rosis*, part of the *Appendix Vergiliana* and present in many appendices of Ausonius; he may well be its author.<sup>8</sup> As Ausonius takes in the Elysian brightness of the scene—an experience also available to today's visitor, in spite of the massive concrete bridge—the panorama, with its villas, vines and quietly gliding river,<sup>9</sup> reminds him of Bordeaux and the Garonne.

The first paragraph began with the Nahe and ended with the Moselle. The second begins with a wholehearted greeting to the river. Here, as John pointed out, there is a hint of the genre *epibaterion*, a poem or speech of thanksgiving on arriving at one's destination, of which the best extant example is Catullus' poem on Sirmio.<sup>10</sup> The apostrophe is also reminiscent of a hymn, as are certain other features of the poem. It is worth noting what and who praises the river. First, the fields, whether on aesthetic grounds or because it irrigates them when necessary, but does not flood; then the *coloni*, and then, by implication, the Belgae, who owe to it the protection and prestige of the imperial ramparts. The city of Trier is nowhere mentioned as such; indeed the *coloni* and Belgae will only make rare reappearances in the poem. After two lines praising its grassy banks, suitable for vines,<sup>11</sup> there is a summary of its general virtues as a watercourse, and its usefulness for communication and commerce; then the poet returns to the banks, which allow easy approach to the water's edge. At this point there is a sudden and remarkable interruption to the even flow of the poem, in the following lines (48–52):

<sup>8</sup> This was suggested by Aleander in the early sixteenth century. The work is not printed in Prete's edition.

<sup>9</sup> These correspond to lines 283–348; 152–99; and 23–54 respectively.

<sup>10</sup> See F. Cairns, "Venusta Sirmio: Catullus 31" in *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*, edd. T. Woodman and D. West (Cambridge 1974) 1–17.

<sup>11</sup> The poet alludes to Verg. *G.* 3. 144 and 2. 219.

i nunc et Phrygiis sola levia consere crustis  
 tendens marmoreum laqueata per atria campum;  
 ast ego despectis quae census opesque dederunt  
 naturae mirabor opus, non cara nepotum  
 laetaque iacturis ubi luxuriatur egestas.

The passage is not without difficulty;<sup>12</sup> a translation will indicate my interpretation. "Away with you; join up your polished pavements with their Phrygian veneers, and extend a marble plain through your panelled halls. But I, despising the gifts of wealth and riches, will marvel at the work of nature, not the world where the hard-won poverty of spendthrifts, happy in its losses, runs riot." In various respects, this is an extraordinary passage. To begin with, it disrupts the triple address, coming as it does in the last of three sentences beginning with *tu*. The vehemence of the interruption has misled editors into starting a new paragraph, but lines 53/4 return to the point, and a new episode begins in 55.<sup>13</sup> The phrase *i nunc* is all the more striking here because there has been no hint of a listener to whom the words might be addressed, and it would be absurd to imagine one.<sup>14</sup> This may happen in satire, where the influence of diatribe is still felt, but is surprising indeed in the epic-didactic style of this poem. Then in the middle of an apparently conventional contrast between luxury and simplicity there is the remarkable catachresis of *campus*, paralleled only in the work of Sidonius, an assiduous imitator.<sup>15</sup> The use of *sola* in this way is only a little commoner. The positive part of this outburst lies in the three simple and straightforward words *naturae mirabor opus*. The phrase *naturae . . . opus* is used as in Pliny *NH* 6. 30 and 14. 80;<sup>16</sup> *natura* is so used elsewhere in this poem and in *Ep.* 26. 17 (Prete) *nil mutum natura dedit*. Nature is obviously contrasted with luxury, but the contrast with the wilderness of the Hunsrück (so Pavlovskis 35) must be borne in mind; as often remarked, Ausonius does not like his nature too wild.<sup>17</sup> He was no romantic. Nor was he a primitivist; *natura* is not implicitly contrasted with *cultus*, as in Quint. 9. 4. 3. According to Kenney (195), *cultus* is what the poem is all about; this could be supported by referring to line 6, where no *humani . . . vestigia cultus* are visible in the Hunsrück, and line 18, where the word is used, albeit rather awkwardly, of Bordeaux. As Kenney understands it, the landscape is commended by Ausonius as "the product not of nature but of art—or rather what art, human hands and minds, has made

<sup>12</sup> See Tränkle 157 f. Here I adopt Heinsius' *cara*.

<sup>13</sup> As demonstrated by R. Mayer, *Agon* 2 (1968) 72.

<sup>14</sup> Examples were gathered by E. B. Lease, *AJP* 19 (1898) 59–69.

<sup>15</sup> *Sid. Ep.* 2. 2. 3 and 2. 10. 4 line 20.

<sup>16</sup> It is not suggested that the phrase is taken from Pliny, although Ausonius knew his work; it was doubtless common.

<sup>17</sup> R. Pichon, *Les Derniers Écrivains Profanes* (Paris 1906) 176; R. Browning in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* II, edd. E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (Cambridge 1982) 704.

of nature. This landscape has been ordered, controlled, domesticated, civilized, made fit for man to live in; not merely to exist but to live the good life as it was understood by Ausonius . . ." To this, and to Roberts' reference to the "negative evaluation of the products of culture as opposed to nature . . ." (348) we will return.

That Ausonius fulfills his programme of describing "nature" as opposed to human luxury needs little demonstration. The jewels of line 72 occur within a simile; what the Moselle offers is pebbles wonderfully arranged. So does the mirror of 231, if indeed it is an item of luxury. The fish of 75–149 are often seen from a gastronomic viewpoint, but are not noticeably up-market; only one rivals the famous mullets of yesteryear. The villas will be discussed later; suffice it to say here that apart from their foundations, their positions and their height we hear only of the porticos of one of them, and that in a rhetorical question which serves as an *occulatio* or *praeteritio*.<sup>18</sup> The presentation of nature, and of man within it, is more interesting. In the following analysis—which will not proceed section by section, easy though that would be in the light of the poem's clear structure—I distinguish four techniques, which may be summed up as ignoring humans; distancing humans; overwhelming (in the sense of dumbfounding and dwarfing) humans; and censuring humans.

There are numerous places in the poem where one would expect a direct reference, however brief, to human agency, where indeed Ausonius might have taken the opportunity to present a pen-picture or give information if he had seriously intended to portray the local inhabitants. But to a large extent humans are, as it were, written out of the script. They are present, and certain processes depend on them, but they are played down or eliminated. If this happened only occasionally, it might be dismissed as a trick of style; but it is frequent. In lines 39–44 Ausonius is describing how the river's flow is convenient for ships. Downstream, it flows quickly enough for oars to strike the water in quick succession: *ut celeres feriant vada concita remi*. The oars strike the water, the rowers are not mentioned. The river also seems to ebb like the sea, because of the vessels that pass upstream and as it were take the river with them; nowhere on the banks does the towrope slacken (41). The men (and perhaps animals) involved in towing are eliminated, with a single exception; sailors (*nautae*) have fixed the ropes to the ships' masts.<sup>19</sup> Five lines below it is pointed out that the river is edged not with rushes and mud but with smooth hard sand: *sicca in primores pergunt vestigia lymphas*. Footsteps, not people. When a gasping fish is later compared to a bellows (267–69), in one of the most notable of a notable series of similes, the operator is only hinted at (in *fabriles*) and the

<sup>18</sup> Cf. (Cicero) *ad Herenn.* 4. 37 and Martianus Capella 5. 523 for the terminology.

<sup>19</sup> See E. M. Wightman, *Trier and the Treveri* (London 1970) Plate 16b (opposite p. 161); L. Casson, *JRS* 55 (1965) 36–39.

lack of a personal subject causes problems in the description.<sup>20</sup> The last example comes from a description of the villas that bedeck the stream. Ausonius is here developing a conceit of Statius (*Silv.* 1. 3. 30 f.) and entertains the possibility of conversation and physical contact across the river. Statius used impersonal *datur*, but Ausonius expresses the point in his characteristic way: *blanda salutiferas permiscunt litora voces* (295). Unlike Statius, he prefers to keep the inhabitants of his villas out of sight. The villas themselves are described in a series of unusual verbs, remarked by Gagliardi (77 f.); note also the abstract *speculatio* as subject in 326. The buildings were not unoccupied shells, but we know very little about their inhabitants—with the possible exception of the poet himself, who may have lived in the villa at Conz.<sup>21</sup>

Discussion of the villas can lead into my next category—the “distancing” of humans—of which conspicuous examples are found in part of the section on villas (287–317) and the section devoted to the traffic on the river (200–39). We would like to know something of the builders of these villas, forerunners of medieval castle-builders; but although they receive more attention than the inhabitants, we are none the wiser. Ausonius begins by saying that these edifices would not be despised by the mythical Daedalus, by Philo who designed the arsenal at Athens, or by Ictinus who left his mark on the Parthenon. Then he actually makes the claim that certain architects—probably the remaining four Greek architects from Varro's *Imagines*—actually lived here, and took their inspiration from here. The exaggeration is breathtaking, and in ancient terms highly complimentary to the architects and builders; but they are completely hidden. When Ausonius describes the river traffic, many have taken him to be describing a festival, but references to small boats and sailors who transfer their weight from oar to oar and look over the side suggest ordinary activity rather than elaborate manoeuvres. As he does elsewhere, Ausonius is seeking to elevate a workaday theme. This section is conspicuous for its similes, which take up exactly half of it in the transmitted text. The longer of the two (208–19) concerns us here. The view enjoyed by Bacchus as he walks on Mount Gaurus and on Vesuvius is compared to the view that a wayfarer, or worker—there is a lacuna in the text<sup>22</sup>—sees from the slopes of the gorge of the Moselle. Bacchus might see Venus putting on a *naumachia* in Lake Avernus, a representation, perhaps, of Augustus' victories at Actium, Mylae or Naulochus. Apart from the allusion to Augustus—devoid of topical relevance—there is no mention here of humans. In the simile the ships are crewed by amoretti. All that we know of the real crews is that their *alacres . . . magistri* (204) jump about and their youthful crews “wander over the river's surface” (205).

<sup>20</sup> See Hosius on line 267.

<sup>21</sup> Wightman (above, note 19) 167.

<sup>22</sup> See Hosius and Pastorino (*nota critica*) ad loc.; the latter is surely correct.

The rest of the paragraph is devoted to the sailors, but they are *nautae* and no more. Indeed, the language is rather repetitious. These sailors are overwhelmed, in the sense that they are reduced to boggling at their reflections in the water when the sun is high. In the second simile they are compared to a young girl seeing a mirror for the first time. The point here is not simply her "playful delight" (Roberts, 347); she does not understand it (*ignorato*). Similarly nature surprises the young sailors. Since Ternes wrote his brief note on it, the phrase *ambiguus fruitur veri falsique figuris* has received much attention, and for reasons far from clear has been called the key to the poem by Fontaine (443). I suggest that Ausonius (who was fond of the Narcissus theme in epigrams) means simply that for his silly sailors the reflections really were "indeterminate," which is what the word means elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> Any doubt should be removed by consideration of the passage that precedes. Into his celebrated evocation of twilight (189-99) the poet placed a solitary sailor bobbing about in a dugout canoe. There is no need to make him a barbarian, as Marx did (381); but he is certainly out of place in his majestic surroundings. He is dwarfed by them, or at least so it seems to the beholder. He too is stupid; this is the meaning of *derisus* here (as in Varro, *Men.* 51 and Prud. *Per.* 10. 249), not "mocked" (Roberts). Perhaps the poet exploits Pliny's famous description of the Clitumnus (*Ep.* 8. 8. 4).

We come to what I call "censure." The first example has something in common with the stupidity theme already studied, but goes further. Until line 163—a third of the way through the poem<sup>24</sup>—humans are inconspicuous, and, as has been shown, frequently ignored. Here they become for once obtrusive, more so indeed than the sailors who follow them, who at least know their place and respect the greater majesty and inscrutability of nature. The *plebes* and *coloni* run about on the slopes in pursuit of their tasks "competing with stupid shouts"; a wayfarer below mocks them with cat-calls. The resultant echo is exquisitely reproduced in the verse: *cultoribus* in 167 recalls *clamoribus* two lines earlier, and the pause or bucolic diaeresis after both words intensifies the effect. Noise is very rare in the poem; there is a whip in 257 (a simile) and grating saws (on the Ruwer) in 363, but little else apart from the gentle murmur of the quiet river. Here the noise is emphasised by a deliberate echo of pastoral in line 168: *et rupes et silva tremens et concavus amnis*. *Rupes* is used elsewhere in the poem, but not the unexpected *silva*, because the vegetation consists of vines; the line, and the section, is rounded off by a purposeful adaptation of the conventional epithet *cavus*. By stylising the unwelcome sound in this way the poet draws attention to its disruptiveness.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Mos.* 129, *Bissula* 27 (Prete), Manilius 4. 795.

<sup>24</sup> The length of the poem, allowing for lacunae, was at least 485 lines, but surely less than 500. In any case the exact mathematics are not important.

In the second example the censure is very clear. The peace of the river, not even broken by the sheat-fish, is invaded by man, indeed a horde of men, with hostile intent. After this opening outburst (241–42), built out of various phrases of Statius, and a description of fishing methods, the focus changes. A single fish takes the bait and is cruelly whisked out of the water and left to expire in agony on the dry rock. In an amusing but significant sequel, a fish manages to propel itself back into the stream, and the silly angler jumps in after it. Though compared to Glaucus of Anthedon, he suffers not drowning or metamorphosis but only ignominy, as he, the plunderer, is left bobbing among his captives. The words *captivas* and *praedo* underline the reversal of the situation, but *praedo* does not imply *praeda*, as declared by Roberts (346). Ausonius' fish are too well-mannered and peace-loving. It is the lad's stupidity and immaturity that are emphasised (*impos damni* and *inconsultus* in 274; *stolido* in 275), though in the last lines (which *pace* Roberts refer back to him after the end of the Glaucus simile), he is described in language which recalls the vehement beginning of this section. He has his just deserts; not revenge (Roberts speaks of *lex talionis*), but reversal; and not "reversal of the unsatisfactory situation—the death of the fish—described in the preceding verses," because the fish did not die. Better perhaps poetic justice.

The passage just discussed is strikingly similar to an episode in 341 ff., which begins with *vidi ego*. Here the individual concerned is not put in a humiliating or invidious light, but is interesting for quite different reasons. Ausonius claims to have seen people dive straight out of the *balnea* of one of the lower villas into the river, disdaining the *frigidarium* in favour of the flowing water (*vivis . . . aquis*) of the cool stream. This is not stupidity; they enjoy it and it does them no harm whatever. This passage follows the impressionistic description of seven imposing villas. For Roberts its function is to "counteract the suggestion of excessive self-aggrandizement present hitherto by proposing a more positive model of the relationship between nature and human civilisation." The divers symbolise "an ideal equilibrium." In keeping with his general thesis that the central theme of the poem is the violation of boundaries, Roberts argues that the villas violate a vertical boundary, appealing to the military imagery of 323–26, which his translation rather exaggerates.<sup>25</sup> They do indeed jut out from the bank and rise toweringly into the sky, but do little more, as the poet makes clear, than take advantage of natural positions (*natura sublimis* in 321). The view they command is no more than what could be enjoyed by an energetic walker. There is much to commend Roberts' general thesis, at least in a weaker form, but I suggest that the point is that the villas are seen as equalling nature, as Ausonius implies in 328 *compensat celsi bona naturalia montis*. Man can only equal nature, at best. Other passages are relevant:

<sup>25</sup> So *captum* is "requisitioned"; *sinu*, which might tone down the metaphor, is omitted. On the other hand there is a military metaphor in *speculatio* (326).

the use of *campus* in 49, certainly, and perhaps the reference to the theatre in 156, which might recall Pliny's *amphitheatrum . . . quale sola rerum natura possit effingere* (Ep. 5. 6. 7). The jewels of 72 are perhaps not relevant, except in so far as they recall a Cynic motif; what Ausonius says is that "they assume the likeness of necklaces which imitate our own artificial creations" (*adsimulant nostros imitata monilia cultus*).<sup>26</sup> Perhaps the reference to *naturae . . . color* in 110 implies a contrast with mosaic, in which fish were often represented.

As has been seen, Kenney takes a very different view of *cultus*. He does not discuss the significance of the bathers but like Pavlovskis treats the passage about the baths as the climax of the descriptive part of the poem, and gives much weight to the concluding lines: *tantus cultorque nitorque allicit et nullum parit oblectatio luxum* (347–48). The presupposition that the section is a climax may be disputed, and likewise the significance of its closing sentence. Ausonius certainly has his own purposes when he lifts something from Statius; but the words just quoted could equally well be taken as a rather off-hand qualification in case there is any question about the reference to Baiae, which, unlike the reference to the Bosphorus with which the section began, might seem morally ambivalent. I say "off-hand" because of the awkwardness of *tantus . . . et nullum . . .*<sup>27</sup> and the almost conversational *quod si* which stands out here in such a refined style. It is far from certain that what is implied in the *laus villarum* should be allowed to colour the entire description of the river, though admittedly the villas are the leading element of the panorama at Neumagen. Rather it must be seen in the light of what is said or implied elsewhere about human hands and minds. They are not always so outstanding, and here they can only complement nature. The idea of controlling or dominating it (Stutzinger, with parallels from other descriptions of villas [111–12]) is not prominent in the poem as a whole.

The conclusion of the *Moselle* begins at 349; or at least it is there that the poet starts thinking of a conclusion (*qui tandem finis . . . ?*). According to Roberts' analysis the final third of the poem is devoted to the people of the Moselle and its fellow rivers, but it is not descriptive in the same way as what has preceded. A close analysis of the finale will bring this out, as well as showing important new variations of the theme under examination. After enumerating and briefly describing its eager tributaries, Ausonius declares that the Moselle would outshine even the Simois and Tiber if it had a worthy poet. He then turns, after a quick characterisation of the

<sup>26</sup> In this passage, where the thought is not "ganz einwandfrei" (Hosius), it would be tempting to read Helm's *assimulat* and translate "it" (the tide) "copies our own artificial creations, which are imitative jewellery," but the intransitive use of *imitata* would be difficult. It is not clear from the transmitted text that human luxury is here compared unfavourably with natural beauty, as Roberts maintains (348).

<sup>27</sup> Mommsen suggested *tantum*.

inhabitants of the area, to thoughts of the poem in which he will one day do justice to them all. He mentions farmers, lawyers, orators, and various magistrates, but the important point is that this passage is a *praeteritio* or indeed *recusatio* (cf. *Ep.* 10. 11 ff. Prete). *Laus virorum* must be deferred so that he can "consecrate" the Moselle to the Rhine. The short section that follows, poetically ambitious and of central importance, has sometimes been misunderstood. It is obviously topical, recalling Valentinian's victory at Solicinium and the associated triumph in Trier, which gives new power to the Moselle. But at the same time the standpoint is pre-historical, or, if the term is not absurd, pre-geological: the poet (here if anywhere a *vates* in the Augustan sense) urges the Rhine to make room for the Moselle (as indeed it does, becoming wider at Koblenz), and predicts that the river will be called *bicornis* and form a true frontier (predictions fulfilled in Vergil and Augustus respectively). The combination of viewpoints is not altogether successful; the aetiology cannot be related so neatly to a point in past time as it is in the *Aeneid*. The significance of this section for our purpose is that man and nature are combined; the union of the two rivers is helped by, and also symbolises, the union of the *Augusti*. There is then a further section about the poet—a formal *sphragis*—and his poetic ambition to describe the towns, buildings and *coloni*; the final section foretells the glory that will come to the Moselle as a result of the present poem. In all this there is a striking concentration on rivers. The poet forecasts that the Moselle's glory will be known and respected by all the rivers of Gaul; man's accolade, dismissed in a single line, will be instrumental in this, but is otherwise unimportant. It is true that Ausonius says more about humans in the finale than anywhere else, but the context of these statements is important. With the aforementioned exceptions of the *Augusti* man is mentioned in sections which are broken off, as if in irrelevant digressions (389 f., 414 f.). Rivers dominate the first, last and central parts of this carefully woven finale.

It is time to look for an explanation of the poet's distinctive stance. He minimises the role of humans not only in the landscape, but also in the reception of his poem. He makes some look silly and puts others in an invidious light. The rhetorical explanation, as we have seen, can be ruled out; this is not what the likes of Hermogenes or Menander envisaged. An explanation in terms of the literary tradition or his literary sources seems no less difficult. The Moseltal is not presented as a *locus amoenus*, a pleasure for exclusive enjoyment of one person or a few—compare the last line of Tiberianus' *amnis ibat*<sup>28</sup> which runs *ales amnis aura lucus flos et umbra iuverat*, of which three items at most can be found in Ausonius' poem. Nor does the picture, neat as it often is, anticipate the Gardens of Eden portrayed

<sup>28</sup> *Anthologia Latina* (Riese) 809. See also E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Eng. trans., Princeton 1953) 195–200; G. Schönbeck, *Der locus amoenus von Homer bis Horaz* (Heidelberg 1962).



by early Christian poets, or the medieval *hortus conclusus*. Recent attempts to see pattern and purpose in Ausonius' manifold evocations of classical authors have shed much light on the poem—Görler has emphasised Vergil, Kenney Statius, and Fontaine and Martin in rather different ways a variety of classical authors—but their suggestions do not help here. A religious explanation would be no more satisfactory. The poem is by no means devoid of religious reference, but much of it seems incidental or insignificant and less serious in tone than *Ordo* 157–60 (about Bordeaux). There is no deeper significance to the invocation of the Naiad in 82 or the description of the games of Satyrs, Pans and Oreads in 169 ff.; the first episode is serious enough, but the latter, as Professor Walsh has put it, is a sort of playful *entr'acte*. There is a numinous hint in *reverentia* in line 188, but until the very end the Moselle is not seen as a river-god or as the home of one. Notwithstanding these references, a Christian viewpoint would not be inconceivable; there is a hint of the attitude, germinally present in Christianity from the beginning, that “every prospect pleases, and only man is vile”<sup>29</sup>—Ausonius might in fact say “stupid”—but the poet gives no sign of such motivation.

Political explanations have enjoyed much favour among critics of the *Moselle*, whether in a drastic form as in Mar., or in the much reduced form now presented by Martin. In recent times the dominant theory has been that of Ternes, which is relevant here because if the poem is “idyllic” in his sense and not “real” it would be easier to appreciate Ausonius' point of view. After a study of the poem's topographical references and a thematic analysis of the remainder Ternes concluded that most of the sections are couched in very general terms as part of his externally imposed purpose to draw a veil over the sombre realities of life in this area. Ternes salvages the poet's credit by hurriedly assembling evidence of half-heartedness; this section, along with the topography, need not be pursued here. His picture of an area in manifest decay has been very influential, especially on Fontaine, who pointed to the invasion of 352 when the barbarians are said to have devastated a wide swathe of Roman territory, perhaps as far as Trier.<sup>30</sup> But was the Moseltal really as run down as Ternes suggests? The invasions of 276 were indeed severe; Ternes has evidence to show that half the villas of the area show signs of conflagration. This impressive statistic in fact relates to a large area, extending as far as Metz and Arlon. But in order to establish his point one would need to show substantial decay precisely in the area between Neumagen and Conz; Ausonius himself virtually admits the devastation of the Hunsrück. If in this small area, close to the capital, the fortifications were ruinous, the slopes vineless, the villas uninhabited, Ternes' premiss would be established. An examination of the

<sup>29</sup> From the hymn of F. Heber, a missionary hymn that referred to the unconverted natives of Ceylon or Java, now often taken out of context.

<sup>30</sup> Julian, *ad Athen.* 278D–79B; one suspects exaggeration.

detailed evidence now provided by Wightman and Heinen does not establish it, though there is reason to doubt whether all the fourth-century villas on the modern archaeologist's map were inhabited at this date.<sup>31</sup> The fact that Trier and the Treveri had seen better days is not relevant; what matters is that they were not in a state of sombre decay. The "idyll" then, is not a literary cover-up; and the generality of the tableaux is at least in part the product of Ternes' own summaries.

Two tentative suggestions may be made; two elements deserve more consideration than they generally receive. The first is pictorial art. We know that Ausonius was greatly impressed by at least one picture in Trier, the wall-painting that he describes in his poem on Cupid.<sup>32</sup> The famous "catalogue" of fish, for so long regarded without warrant as a parody of the Homeric catalogue of ships,<sup>33</sup> is surely, as John suggested, based on "fish scatters" in mosaic. Those in the example from Pompeii, the best known of many, are, like most of Ausonius' fish, distinctive and easily identified. Such representations are often unrelated to human beings. Amoretti in boats (cf. 212) are another frequent theme. Ternes has pointed out in his commentary that the scene with young girl, nurse, and mirror in 230-37 resembles one presented in a relief discovered locally. Other things could have been suggested by visual art: the panorama with workers associated with Studius<sup>34</sup>; the villas without inhabitants (as in the silver dish from Kaiseraugst and various mosaics); perhaps even the *naumachiae*, if triumphal art went that far. Our knowledge of possible themes is of course limited, and our idea of Ausonius' tastes even more so, but artistic representations seem to have played an important role, and some may have suggested scenes or motifs in the *Moselle* or lent themselves to the poet's purposes.

The second element is the personal preferences of the poet. It is of course no simple matter to determine Ausonius' real attitudes, especially since descriptions of nature in his other poems are very rare and short. But a dislike for the madding crowd and a genuine delight in the countryside do seem to emerge from some of his letters (*Epp.* 4. 17 ff. and 23. 90 ff. Prete). Stutzinger notes that "Landleben" as an "aristokratische Lebensform" is very different from the everyday life of those who depended on the land. Hence perhaps social distaste and an attempt by the poet to distance himself from the common population. One can perhaps go further. It has generally been thought that personal observation plays a small role in the *Moselle*. Critics often take their cue from the letter of Symmachus (*Ep.*

<sup>31</sup> Wightman (above, note 19) 165 ff.; H. Heinen, *Trier und das Trevererland in Römischer Zeit* (Trier 1985) 303 ff.

<sup>32</sup> But not the Kormmarkt mosaic, which is much more complex than *Epigram* 66 Prete.

<sup>33</sup> This was suggested by W.-H. Friedrich in *Gnomon* 9 (1933) 617.

<sup>34</sup> See R. Ling, "Studius and the Beginnings of Roman Landscape Painting," *JRS* 67 (1977) 1-16.

l. 14) where he asks, in effect, "where did you find all those fish which I never observed on the table?" This has been taken to imply that Ausonius, immersed in his books as usual, is grossly overdoing things; but the answer may in fact lie in his personal observation. Ausonius had been in the region for much longer than his friend, and he had spent his earlier life near a large, unspoilt river. One passage of the poem seems to provide evidence of such naturalistic observation: the description of the barbel revelling in the turbulence around the bridge at Conz (91-94). It seems that Ausonius lived there for at least part of one summer, the summer of 371.<sup>35</sup> Most of his other descriptions can be shown to be accurate and precise, and the fact that other fish are often described in borrowed language does not rule out autopsy. The passage describing the fish is preceded by a much admired passage about the transparency of the river; this, like the description of the evening shadows in 189-99, can hardly have been attempted in art, but its exquisite detail may be the direct outcome of personal observation. It is noticeable that Ausonius refers to himself much more frequently in the first third of the poem than in the second, which includes only *mihi* (187), *ego* . . . *credam* (170 f.), which describes something he could not have believed, and *vidi ego (met)* (270, 341) which introduces episodes that he is generally thought to be inventing. An explanation has already been suggested for the attitude to humans mentioned in this second part.

In the final part, as has been seen, man is still kept at arm's length, even Ausonius' high-ranking colleagues and those whom we would call the professional classes. A twofold purpose may be seen in the technique of *recusatio* by which he does this. Ausonius is excusing himself for following his personal aesthetic preference, but also taking the opportunity to obviate offence by postponing the day when he has to choose whom to describe and how to do it. The delicacy of touch in 409 ff., where he seems to refer ambivalently to Petronius Probus,<sup>36</sup> may betray just such a problem. It is also possible that he felt similar embarrassment towards Symmachus, who did not see a copy until the poem had already circulated widely (*Ep.* 1. 14). The ruling house could not be so treated; but to their credit they chose not to perform like the censors postulated by Marx but to give a free hand to a remarkable writer, who in the same scholar's rather derogatory words was perhaps after all a "sentimentale Freund der Dichtkunst und der ländlichen Natur."

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<sup>35</sup> *Codex Theodosianus* 9. 3. 5, 11. 1. 17.

<sup>36</sup> See R. P. H. Green, *Respublica Litterarum* 1 (1978) 89-94.



## D'Aratos à Aviénus: Astronomie et idéologie

HUBERT ZEHNACKER

Au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, Aratos de Soles écrivit un poème à sujet astronomique, les *Phénomènes*; il s'inspirait de l'enseignement d'Eudoxe de Cnide. A une description de la voûte céleste le poète joignait des indications sur les levers et les couchers des astres ainsi que des pronostics météorologiques tirés de la position des planètes et des constellations.<sup>1</sup> Mais le poème d'Aratos n'est pas seulement un traité versifié d'astronomie; il est aussi une oeuvre religieuse et philosophique, d'inspiration stoïcienne. Dans un prologue de 18 vers Aratos adresse une invocation à Zeus, qui rappelle par certains aspects l'hymne célèbre de Cléanthe.<sup>2</sup> La dernière partie du poème s'ouvre par une introduction dans laquelle Zeus est présenté comme le père des humains, attentif et secourable (v. 758-72). Tout au long de l'oeuvre, divers éléments révèlent de façon discrète mais continue cette intention essentielle, en particulier l'épisode de la Vierge Justice (v. 96-136). Aratos, poète et astronome, fait oeuvre de piété en révélant aux hommes la bonté et la *πρόνοια* du Dieu stoïcien.

Ce mélange de science utilitaire et d'un sentiment religieux apparemment proche d'une religion naturelle ne pouvait que plaire aux Romains. Et le fait est que les *Phénomènes* eurent un succès durable, qui se manifeste entre autres par les nombreuses traductions ou adaptations latines que nous en connaissons. Cicéron était encore *admodum adolescentulus*<sup>3</sup> quand il en rédigea une traduction, sans doute vers 90-89 avant notre ère.<sup>4</sup> Les parties et fragments qui nous restent de cette oeuvre de jeunesse nous permettent de nous faire une idée assez précise des connaissances astronomiques du jeune Cicéron (et de ses lacunes), ainsi que de ses qualités de traducteur et de poète. Ils nous renseignent moins bien sur ce qu'on pourrait appeler, si le mot n'est pas trop fort, ses intentions religieuses ou

<sup>1</sup> J. Martin, *Arati Phaenomena* (Florence, La Nuova Italia 1956).

<sup>2</sup> Von Arnim, *S.V.F.* I, pp. 121 sqq. = Cléanthe, frgt. 537. Trad. française par P. M. Schuhl, *Les Stoïciens*, Coll. La Pléiade (Paris, Gallimard 1962) 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *De Nat. Deorum* II, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Cicéron, *Aratea, Fragments poétiques*, éd. J. Soubiran (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1972). Pour une discussion sur la date de l'oeuvre, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 9-16.

théologiques. Du prologue, qui aurait pu nous éclairer, nous n'avons qu'un fragment de ce qui semble avoir été le premier vers:

A Ioue Musarum primordia,

et qui traduit fidèlement le début bien connu des *Phénomènes* d'Aratos:

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα.<sup>5</sup>

Ainsi nous savons au moins que Cicéron avait repris l'invocation à Jupiter. On peut faire observer par ailleurs, avec A. Traglia,<sup>6</sup> que dans le livre II du *De Natura deorum*, au moment de parler de la πρόνοια ou *prouidentia*, Cicéron met dans la bouche du stoïcien Balbus un assez grand nombre de vers de sa propre traduction d'Aratos. Il paraît donc certain qu'en 45 Cicéron était conscient des implications religieuses ou philosophiques des *Phénomènes*. Nourrissait-il déjà des pensées aussi hautes à l'âge de 17 ou 18 ans, on peut en douter.

\* \* \*

On ne dira rien ici des traductions d'Aratos que paraissent avoir entreprises Varron de l'Aude et Ovide; quand les témoignages sont trop lacunaires, il vaut sans doute mieux s'abstenir.<sup>7</sup>

Vers la fin du principat d'Auguste, le fils de Drusus l'Aîné, appelé, après son adoption par Tibère, Germanicus Iulius Caesar,<sup>8</sup> écrivit à son tour une traduction des *Phainomena*.<sup>9</sup> Le texte que nous possédons, sur la base d'une tradition manuscrite assez riche, consiste en 725 vers qui traduisent les 732 premiers vers du poème d'Aratos. Par ailleurs, six fragments de longueur variable, au total 165 vers, proviennent soit d'une version des

<sup>5</sup> M. Fantazzi, "Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα. Arat. *Phaen.* 1 e Theocr. XVII, 1," *Materiali e Discussioni* 5 (1980) 163-72. La question de la dépendance réciproque d'Aratos et de Théocrite a été souvent discutée.

<sup>6</sup> A. Traglia, "Germanico e il suo poema astronomico," *ANRW* II, 32, 1 (1984), pp. (321-43) 328-29. Cf. M. Tulli Ciceronis, *De Natura Deorum*, ed. A. St. Pease (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) II, 802-03.

<sup>7</sup> W. Morel, *Frag. poet. lat.* (Leipzig, Teubner 1927) 97-99 et 112 sq. Et cf. J. Soubiran, "L'astronomie à Rome," in *L'astronomie dans l'antiquité classique* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1979) 169.

<sup>8</sup> O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Soc. Scientiarum Fennica (1987) 328.

<sup>9</sup> Germanicus, *Les Phénomènes d'Aratos*, éd. A. Le Boeuffe (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1975).—Germanico, *La Persona, La Personalità, Il Personaggio nel bimillenario dalla nascita*, éd. G. Bonamente et M. P. Segoloni, Atti del Convegno, Macerata-Perugia, 9-11 maggio 1986 (Rome, G. Bretschneider 1987): études de T. Mantero, "Vertere e 'discorso' funzionale in Germanico," pp. 95-132; C. Santini, "'Quam te, Diva, vocem?': Germanico e la Virgo," pp. 133-51; R. Montanari Caldini, "Aspetti dell'astrologia in Germanico," pp. 153-71; C. Lausdei, "Sulla cronologia e sul proemio dei *Phaenomena Arati*," pp. 173-88.—Et cf. A. Traglia, cité ci-dessus, note 6.

*Prognostica*, c'est-à-dire de la dernière partie du modèle grec, soit d'une oeuvre indépendante dont le sujet exact nous échappe aujourd'hui.<sup>10</sup>

Le choix de Germanicus procédait à l'évidence d'un goût personnel pour l'astronomie. Depuis l'époque d'Aratos, la science grecque avait fait d'importants progrès; on sait en particulier que le grand astronome Hipparque avait rédigé au II<sup>e</sup> siècle un commentaire d'Aratos dans lequel il critiquait sans ménagements la doctrine du poète, fondée sur l'enseignement d'Eudoxe de Cnide. Toute une littérature de scholies avait fleuri, qui s'efforçait aussi d'enregistrer les modifications que la précession des équinoxes avait apportées à l'état du ciel. A défaut d'être celles d'un professionnel—il n'était pas question qu'il le devînt—les connaissances de Germanicus en matière d'astronomie sont celles d'un amateur éclairé. Sa traduction des *Phainomena* n'est pas servile et l'intention majeure du prince poète est de corriger l'exposé d'Aratos en tenant compte des progrès accumulés depuis deux siècles et demi.

Mais cette mise à jour n'est pas complète; il arrive que Germanicus répète des erreurs d'Aratos pourtant déjà relevées par Hipparque et ses continuateurs. Divers rapprochements entre le texte de Germanicus et les scholies d'Aratos ont paru suggérer que le jeune prince n'a pas utilisé directement Hipparque, mais qu'il s'est généralement contenté d'un commentaire d'Aratos plus accessible et de contenu assez composite.<sup>11</sup> Peut-être faut-il envisager de la même façon les emprunts aux *Catastérismes* d'Eratosthène.

Ces considérations ne sont pas sans influence sur la date que l'on assigne à l'oeuvre. On dit souvent que sa composition a dû se situer vers 16–17 de notre ère, pendant les quelques mois où Germanicus résidait à Rome, après ses campagnes de Germanie et avant son départ pour l'Orient.<sup>12</sup> Mais à la réflexion, on en vient à penser que rien n'empêche que le jeune prince ait commencé son savant ouvrage pendant ses années de mission en Germanie et en Gaule, à partir de 12.<sup>13</sup> Quelques *capsae* pouvaient lui suffire, si ses sources sont bien celles que décrivent les spécialistes. Et on n'oubliera pas qu'Agrippine était venue le rejoindre; deux ou trois de leurs enfants sont nés en pays trévire.<sup>14</sup> Ce point est important et nous y reviendrons dans la suite.

<sup>10</sup> Avis opposés de A. Le Boeuffle, *op. cit.*, pp. xxv–xxvii (oeuvre indépendante) et de R. Montanari Caldini, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–59 (appartenance aux *Prognostica*). Mais cf. la *retractatio* de A. Le Boeuffle, "Le destin astral d'après Germanicus," *Mélanges J. Duchemin... publiés par F. Jouan* (Paris 1983) 87–93.

<sup>11</sup> A. Le Boeuffle, *op. cit.* (1975), pp. xix–xxi.

<sup>12</sup> Id., *ibid.*, pp. ix–x.

<sup>13</sup> A. Traglia, *op. cit.*—L. Cicu, "La data dei 'Phaenomena' di Germanico," *Maia* 31 (1979) 142: entre la 2<sup>e</sup> moitié de 13 et la fin de 14. C. Lausdei, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 sqq.: composition à partir de 10 environ (Germanicus a alors 24 ans); publication peu après la mort d'Auguste.

<sup>14</sup> La chose est assurée pour deux filles; elle est plus douteuse pour Caïus, que l'on disait né à Antium, ou à Tibur, ou en pays trévire: Suet., *Cal.* 8; Tac., *Ann.* 1, 41, 2 et 44, 1.

Or, le 19 août 14, Auguste, le fondateur de l'Empire, vint à mourir. Quel qu'ait été, à ce moment-là, l'état d'avancement des *Phaenomena*, il est absolument certain que Germanicus y ajouta trois vers, 558–60, qui célèbrent la divinisation du *princeps*. Et c'est sans doute aussi dans les mois qui suivirent la mort d'Auguste que Germanicus munit son poème d'un prologue qui en est l'élément le plus original et le plus retentissant.

Comme on sait, il renonça à la célèbre invocation à Zeus qui ouvrait le poème d'Aratos et que Cicéron avait sans doute conservée. Et il mit à la place une invocation de seize vers qui se démarque ostensiblement du modèle grec et remplace Zeus par un personnage appelé *genitor*:

A Ioue principium magno deduxit Aratus  
carminis; at nobis, genitor, tu maximus auctor.

Nous ne ferons pas ici l'historique des discussions qui ont porté sur ce mot énigmatique de *genitor*.<sup>15</sup> Nous dirons seulement, en accord avec la quasi-totalité de la critique moderne, que Tibère nous paraît exclu, qu'Auguste vivant est à la rigueur possible, et qu'Auguste mort et divinisé paraît de loin le candidat le plus vraisemblable. Le personnage invoqué est un dieu, ce qui ne conviendrait pas pour Tibère. Auguste, sans doute, n'est à aucun titre le père de Germanicus; mais il faut donner à *genitor* un sens large: il est le fondateur de la dynastie et le père de la patrie. On a fait observer avec raison qu'Ennius avait appelé Romulus *pater* et *genitor*; plus récemment Ovide, s'adressant à C. Caesar, avait qualifié Auguste de *genitor patriaeque tuusque*.<sup>16</sup>

Dans la suite du texte, le poète demande quel serait le pouvoir des constellations, si sous la protection de Jupiter une paix profonde ne régnait sur terre et sur mer:

si non tanta quies, te praeside, puppibus aequor  
cultorique daret terras, procul arma silerent?

Le mot de *quies*, synonyme de *pax*, dont se sert ici Germanicus, est celui-là même qui, dans Tacite, *Annales* I, 9, clôt le bilan du règne d'Auguste dans l'opinion publique. Et qui pouvait mieux évoquer les victoires maritimes du principat que le gendre d'Agrippa, dont tant de portraits officiels, ornés de la couronne rostrale, rappelaient la compétence et les succès?<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> A. Le Boeuffe, *op. cit.* (1975), pp. xi–xv. Notre collègue cite la scène du Grand Camée de Paris, étudié par J. Gagé, *Basileia* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1968) 47 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> Enn. 113 V = 108 Skutsch:

O pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum!

Et Ov., *A.A.* I, 197.

<sup>17</sup> Surtout les monnaies et les camées: C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* I, 2nd ed. (Londres, Spink 1984) pl. 3, n° 155–59; pl. 7, n° 409. M. Borda, "Agrippa," in *Enciccl. Arte Antica* I (Rome 1958) 157–59. Mais la statuaire le représente le plus souvent tête nue: J. –M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, BEFAR 253 (Rome 1984) pp. 593–633 et pl.



Peut-être même devons-nous suivre les critiques qui ont fait remarquer<sup>18</sup> que le *genitor* du vers 2 est en même temps *maximus auctor*, et que ce dernier terme est en rapport étymologique on ne peut plus étroit avec *Augustus*. L'allusion peut paraître un peu forcée; mais si l'on croit à sa présence, le problème est définitivement résolu.

Au vers 4 du prologue, Germanicus affirme que l'invocation au *genitor* ne déplaît pas à Jupiter et qu'elle reçoit même son entière approbation: *Probat ipse deum rectorque satorque*. Cette affirmation établit un lien avec les vers 558-60, insérés après la mort du *princeps*, où le Capricorne est présenté comme l'être qui porta au ciel l'âme d'Auguste et la "rendit aux astres maternels."<sup>19</sup> Germanicus choisit une version de la légende qui assimile le Capricorne à l'Egipan, frère de lait de Jupiter et son actif soutien dans la guerre contre les Titans. Mais Auguste aussi eut à soutenir sa guerre des Titans! On sait le rôle important que joue le Capricorne comme emblème du *princeps*, notamment dans l'iconographie monétaire.<sup>20</sup> La date de la conception d'Octave, qui correspond à la constellation du Capricorne,<sup>21</sup> pouvait n'être, après tout, qu'un prétexte commode. Le lien avec Jupiter et la référence à la victoire d'Actium paraissent beaucoup plus importants.

Ainsi se trouve récusée à l'avance, pensons-nous, une conception toute "laïque" du poème de Germanicus, dont l'enseignement serait purement éthique et politique, et où les dieux seraient réduits à l'état de mythes.<sup>22</sup> Les dieux ne sont jamais de simples mythes pour un Romain. Sans doute l'apothéose est-elle la récompense de la vertu ou de l'héroïsme, mais elle ne se fait jamais contre la volonté expresse de Jupiter; l'ordre éthique et l'ordre politique trouvent tout naturellement leur sanction dans l'ordre religieux.

Or, par cette dédicace des *Phaenomena* au dieu Auguste, l'oeuvre tout entière prend un sens nouveau. Car la description du ciel est liée à la paix universelle qui est l'oeuvre du principat. C'est elle qui permet que la mer soit ouverte à la navigation, la terre rendue à l'agriculture. La connaissance des étoiles, l'usage du calendrier stellaire sont un des fondements du métier de marin comme de celui de paysan. A ce niveau de la lecture, le but du poème est d'ordre utilitaire, ce qui n'est pas sans analogie avec Aratos. Germanicus paraît s'adresser aux paysans et aux marins; par les

<sup>18</sup> R. Montanari Caldini, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>19</sup> *In caelum tulit et maternis reddidit astris* (v. 560).

<sup>20</sup> C. H. V. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, pl. 3, n° 128; pl. 9, n° 493; pl. 10, n° 541 et 547b.

<sup>21</sup> Bonne mise au point de cette question astrologique dans A. Le Boeuffle, *op. cit.* (1975), pp. 69-70. Octave était né le 23 septembre, sous le signe de la Balance. Le Capricorne, adopté dans l'iconographie officielle à partir de 28 environ, correspond soit au signe de la conception d'Octave, en prenant pour référence la position du Soleil, soit à l'heure de sa naissance, mais en prenant pour référence la Lune. Cette dernière explication est peut-être meilleure: cf. G. Gaggero, "Testimonianze e problemi di numismatica nell' opera di Svetonio," in *Studi per Laura Breglia*, Boll. di Numismatica, Suppl. 2 (Rome 1987) pp. (107-23) 108-13.

<sup>22</sup> A. Traglia, *op. cit.*, en particulier pp. 328-30.

connaissances qu'il répand, son poème complète les bienfaits de la paix augustéenne.

On ne peut pas s'empêcher ici de penser au grand prologue du livre I des *Géorgiques*. Dès les années 30 Virgile, en dédiant son œuvre à Mécène, anticipait sur la paix à venir et invoquait l'ensemble des dieux et des déesses qui président à la fertilité des campagnes (v. 1-23). Puis il s'adressait à Octave à qui il promettait l'honneur de siéger un jour dans les conseils des dieux, et dont il envisageait, dans un avenir lointain mais glorieux, diverses formes de divinisation ou de catastérisme (vers 24-42). L'invocation se terminait par une anticipation audacieuse sur la divinisation future du jeune César:

... et uotis iam nunc adsuesce uocari.

D'une certaine façon, le prologue des *Phaenomena* de Germanicus est une réponse à celui des *Géorgiques*. La promesse est devenue réalité; Octave-Auguste est un dieu maintenant et il a rejoint sa demeure du ciel; c'est donc à lui tout naturellement que s'adressent les prières du poète.<sup>23</sup>

Et l'on sait bien aussi que les *Géorgiques* sont tout autre chose qu'un traité en vers sur l'agriculture. Sans doute le poète consacre-t-il près de 300 vers, au livre I, à la météorologie et aux pronostics qui la concernent; sans doute aussi reste-t-il fidèle, jusque vers le milieu du livre IV, aux aspects strictement techniques de son sujet: mais c'est pour mieux exalter l'espoir et le bonheur qui naît d'une vie en harmonie avec la nature et les lois du monde. C'est tout cela qu'Octave a rendu possible, c'est cette sagesse-là qu'il faut retrouver et donc, d'abord, chanter.

A près d'un demi-siècle de distance, les intentions de Germanicus diffèrent quelque peu, mais sa démarche est analogue. Il explore les étendues immenses du ciel pour parachever l'image d'un monde désormais paisible et ordonné, parce que soumis tout entier à la puissance impériale. Il venait de diriger les opérations militaires de Germanie. Malgré la défaite de Varus et le repli des troupes sur le Rhin, l'autorité romaine s'obstinait, comme en témoignent les *Res Gestae*,<sup>24</sup> à maintenir la fiction d'une Germanie pacifiée

<sup>23</sup> On peut étudier dans la même optique les rapports du poème de Germanicus avec les *Astronomica* de Manilius, surtout leur prologue. Aux v. 7-10, Manilius s'adresse à Auguste en ces termes:

Hunc mihi tu, Caesar, patriae princepsque paterque,  
qui regis augustis parentem legibus orbem  
concessumque patri mundum deus ipse mereris,  
das animum uiresque facis ad tanta canenda.

Au v. 13 le poète fait l'éloge de la paix. Partout abondent les points de comparaison; les *Géorgiques* sont dans une large mesure la source commune. Cf. R. Montanari Caldini, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-66 avec l'importante note 30; ead., "Virgilio, Manilio e Germanico; memoria poetica e ideologia imperiale," *Quaderni Filol. Lat.* (1981) 71-114.

<sup>24</sup> *Res Gestae Diui Augusti*, 26, 1-2. Cf. J. Gagé, 3e éd. (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1977) 126-28.

et soumise. On pouvait rêver d'une oikoumène totalement romaine, formant un ensemble parfait et se suffisant à elle-même. Agrippa en avait établi la carte, complétée par d'importants *commentarii* dont Pline et d'autres se serviront;<sup>25</sup> cette carte, visible dans la *porticus Vipsania*, c'était *orbis terrarum orbi spectandus*, comme dit Pline.<sup>26</sup> A présent le gendre d'Agrippa complétait cet imposant tableau par la description de la voûte céleste, résidence éternelle d'Auguste le Fondateur. On se souvient que les *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide aboutissent, au livre XV, à l'apothéose de Jules César. D'une façon analogue, et bien que leur plan ne soit pas chronologique, les *Phaenomena* de Germanicus, enrichis des catastérismes d'Eratosthène, aboutissent à l'immortalité astrale conférée à Auguste. Telle est la récompense accordée à la vertu des héros; le Cicéron du *De Republica* est réconcilié avec l'auteur des *Res Gestae*.

Parvenu à ce point, nous devons nous demander si l'intérêt personnel de Germanicus n'était pas aussi en cause. Une étude récente de C. Lausdei<sup>27</sup> a magistralement mis en lumière cet aspect de la question; il nous suffira de la suivre un instant.

Le premier point à relever, c'est que la dette de Germanicus envers Auguste est immense. Il lui doit l'adoption par Tibère, le mariage avec Agrippine, le consulat, le commandement des armées du Rhin. Plus encore, il est redevable à la volonté d'Auguste de sa position de prince héritier; dans l'ordre de succession dynastique, il a le pas sur son cousin Drusus, le fils de Tibère. S'il invoque Auguste comme son *maximus auctor*, nous ne devons pas prendre ce mot (seulement) en un sens vaguement poétique, comme une sorte de synonyme de *Musa*, mais en son sens politique le plus précis et le plus concret.

Dans cette optique, le prologue des *Phaenomena* révèle chez Germanicus une attitude très consciente, que C. Lausdei appelle "un'opera di propaganda e di promozione della propria immagine."<sup>28</sup> Comme Tibère, Drusus, Claude et vingt-et-un autres *primores ciuitatis*, Germanicus est devenu en 14 membre du collège des prêtres Augustaux;<sup>29</sup> mais seul il est en mesure de présenter au nouveau dieu une offrande digne de lui, les prémices de son docte labeur:

te ueneror, tibi sacra fero doctique laboris  
primitias.

(v. 3-4)

<sup>25</sup> J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, BEFAR 253 (Rome 1984) 573-91 et bibliogr. 683-84. J. Desanges (éd.) Pline l'Ancien, *Histoire Naturelle*, V, 1-46 (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1980) 20-23. K. G. Sallmann, *Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro* (Berlin-New York 1971) 91-107 et 208-311.

<sup>26</sup> Plin., *N. H.* III, 17.

<sup>27</sup> C. Lausdei, *op. cit.*, *supra*, note 9.

<sup>28</sup> Id., *ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>29</sup> Tac., *Ann.* I, 54.

Mieux encore, il établit avec Auguste un rapport privilégié, un lien direct de *genitor* à *natus*. Plus tard, au cours de son voyage en Orient, il visitera Troie, berceau de la *gens Iulia* et de l'Etat romain; puis il ira recueillir en Egypte la succession politique d'Antoine dont il était le petit-fils. Dans l'immédiat, c'est à Auguste qu'il se réfère pour affirmer ses droits. De là à penser que les *Phaenomena* furent sans doute publiés peu après la mort du *Diuus*, à un moment où Tibère lui-même manifeste son respect envers la mémoire de son illustre prédécesseur, il n'y a qu'un pas qu'il faut sans doute franchir. On pourrait donc dater la publication du poème de Germanicus de la fin de 14 ou de 15.

Nous ajouterons enfin que l'ambition dynastique qu'exprime le prologue des *Phaenomena* et ses accents augustéens trahissent l'influence d'Agrippine, qui fut la digne compagne et l'épouse modèle du jeune prince. Mais c'était aussi une maîtresse femme, pour reprendre un mot de P. Petit.<sup>30</sup> Elle était la petite-fille d'Auguste, et elle travailla très activement à donner à son mari, dans l'opinion publique et dans sa propre opinion d'abord, la stature d'un successeur à l'Empire. Elle ne pouvait qu'approuver le manifeste augustéen des *Phaenomena*; peut-être même l'a-t-elle inspiré. Peut-être aussi est-elle responsable de l'image très positive que garda de Germanicus l'historiographie romaine, et dont le récit ému de Tacite<sup>31</sup> est le plus bel exemple.

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La traduction ou l'adaptation d'Aratos ne semble guère avoir été à l'ordre du jour dans la suite de l'Empire. Nous ignorons tout de celle qu'entreprit Gordien I,<sup>32</sup> et ce n'est qu'avec Aviénus, nettement plus tard, que nous nous retrouvons sur un terrain un tant soit peu praticable. L'oeuvre d'Aviénus<sup>33</sup> révèle d'emblée quelques traits communs avec celle de Germanicus, mais elle accuse aussi avec cette dernière un puissant contraste. C'est par celui-ci que nous voudrions commencer.

Alors que nous connaissons très bien la personnalité et la vie de Germanicus, nous ignorons presque tout d'Aviénus, au point que la forme exacte de son onomastique nous échappe en partie. Du moins savons-nous qu'il appartenait à l'aristocratie sénatoriale du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle et qu'il était païen. Cette adhésion au paganisme se lit très clairement dans l'enseignement des *Arati Phaenomena*, et particulièrement dans leur prologue; elle concorde avec

<sup>30</sup> P. Petit, *Histoire Générale de l'Empire romain* 1: Le Haut-Empire, Coll. Points (Paris, Seuil 1974) 77.

<sup>31</sup> Tac., *Ann.* I-III *passim* et en particulier II, 69-83 et III, 1 *sqq.*

<sup>32</sup> *S.H.A., Gord. III*, III, 2.—Sur une entreprise analogue tentée par le père de Stace, cf. *Stat., Silu.* V, 3, 19-23.

<sup>33</sup> Aviénus, *Les Phénomènes d'Aratos*, éd. J. Soubiran (Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1981).—D. Weber, *Aviens Phaenomena, eine Arat-Bearbeitung aus der lateinischen Spätantike* (Vienne, VWGÖ 1986).

les termes d'une dédicace à la déesse Nortia<sup>34</sup> qu'on peut avec quelque vraisemblance attribuer à notre poète. On croit savoir aussi qu'Aviénus exerça deux proconsulats, probablement celui d'Achaïe et, de façon moins certaine, celui d'Afrique. Sa famille était originaire de Volsinies. Il se vante lui-même d'avoir visité Gadès et le temple d'Apollon à Delphes.<sup>35</sup>

La date de rédaction de ses *Phaenomena* n'est guère mieux assurée; une "fourchette" maximale se situe entre les années 310 et 386; mais un témoignage de Servius et du Servius de Daniel<sup>36</sup> invite à situer l'oeuvre d'Aviénus vers 350 ou un peu avant. Le même Aviénus est aussi l'auteur d'une *Descriptio Orbis Terrae*, une adaptation de Denys le Périégète en 1393 hexamètres, et d'une *Ora Maritima* en trimètres iambiques, dont nous conservons 713 vers. L'ordre dans lequel ces oeuvres ont été composées demeure partiellement incertain; la seule chose qui paraisse sûre est que la *Descriptio* est antérieure aux *Aratea*. Nous aurons à revenir sur cette prérence de la géographie à côté d'une oeuvre astronomique.

Si nous nous tournons maintenant vers les *Phaenomena*, nous rappellerons d'abord, après d'autres, que la version d'Aviénus est la seule traduction latine intégrale d'Aratos que nous possédions. Aviénus ne s'est pas contenté des *Phainomena*; il a traduit également les *Prognostica*; sa version amplifiée en 1878 vers les 1154 vers du poète hellénistique.

Ces chiffres à eux seuls sont éloquentes. Comme le souligne J. Soubiran, dont nous reprenons ici les calculs,<sup>37</sup> le poète Aviénus fait preuve d'une belle abondance verbale qui paraît être son caractère stylistique le plus évident, surtout si on la compare à la langue sobre et un peu terne du poète de Soles. Mais cette abondance est assez inégalement répartie. Les 76 vers du prologue représentent par rapport aux 18 vers d'Aratos un élargissement considérable. Mais ce texte pose des problèmes spécifiques sur lesquels nous reviendrons. La description des constellations, qui prend 432 vers chez Aratos, en occupe 831 chez Aviénus: c'est encore près du double. La section suivante, qui traite des planètes, des cercles célestes et des synchronismes des levers et des couchers, se voit affecter 396 vers chez Aviénus contre 271 chez Aratos: le rapport est presque de 1 à 1,5. Enfin la dernière partie, qui contient les pronostics météorologiques, oppose 553 vers d'Aviénus à 422 vers d'Aratos: la proportion n'est plus que de 1 à 1,3 environ. Les raisons de ce déséquilibre relatif ont été diversement appréciées; pour bien les comprendre, il faut examiner d'un peu plus près le contenu du poème.

<sup>34</sup> *CIL* VI, 357 = *ILS* 2944; J. Soubiran, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15 et 293-96.

<sup>35</sup> J. Soubiran, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-16. Les principales sources sont: Avién., *D.O.T.* 603 sq.; *CIA* III, 1, 635; A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1971) I, 336.

<sup>36</sup> *Ad Aen.* X, 272.

<sup>37</sup> J. Soubiran, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-61 *passim*.

Dans le prologue, le poète s'écarte de l'attitude de Germanicus, qui s'était adressé à Auguste divinisé, et renoue avec la tradition aratéenne d'une invocation à Zeus-Jupiter. Plus encore que celui d'Aratos, le Jupiter d'Aviénus ressemble au dieu suprême du stoïcisme. Nous dirions volontiers qu'il est exactement comparable au Zeus de l'hymne de Cléanthe, s'il ne fallait ajouter aussitôt que le sentiment religieux est très différent d'un texte à l'autre. L'hymne de Cléanthe exprime une relation personnelle avec Dieu; son mouvement est comparable à celui des Psaumes; tout en exaltant la gloire du Dieu Suprême, le poète philosophe lui demande de le protéger des attaques des méchants. Rien de tel dans le prooemium d'Aviénus, qui nous donne de Dieu une image conforme au stoïcisme cosmique et syncrétiste caractéristique de la sensibilité religieuse du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Ainsi Jupiter est d'abord défini (v. 5-21) comme la vie et la substance du monde, les éléments qui le constituent, le feu vivifiant qui l'habite. Puis (v. 21-45) il est présenté comme le démiurge, *rerum opifex (et) altor*; son oeuvre est une création continue qu'il n'abandonne à aucun moment: *nec deficit genitis pater ullo in tempore rebus* (v. 36). Il assure la succession des saisons, il est le guide des marins. Enfin, Jupiter instruit l'intelligence de l'homme sur l'origine du monde et la structure de l'univers (v. 46-66). Il a enseigné les lois de l'astronomie à Eudoxe et à Aratos; et voici qu'il les enseigne à son tour à Aviénus (v. 67-76) pour qu'il transmette ce savoir aux agriculteurs, aux vigneron et aux marins. Comme on voit, le prologue des *Géorgiques* n'est pas loin.<sup>38</sup> Pour finir le poète invoque Apollon et les Muses, sous leur nom latin de Camènes.

Avec ce retour à la tradition d'Aratos, l'exemple de Germanicus se trouvait totalement effacé. Et pourtant, il n'était pas indispensable d'être de naissance princière pour dédier une oeuvre littéraire à l'empereur: le prologue de la *Pharsale* le montre assez. Mais ce n'est pas là qu'est le problème. En réalité, on voit mal à quel empereur, mort ou vivant, Aviénus aurait dédié son poème. Les empereurs régnants, à l'époque où l'on peut situer la composition des *Phaenomena*, sont les fils de Constantin; le dernier, Constance II, meurt en 361. Quant à trouver, parmi les empereurs défunts, un autre *genitor* dont le prestige fût comparable à celui d'Auguste, il fallait nécessairement choisir Constantin lui-même, dont le long règne s'était achevé en 337. Mais il ne pouvait être question de dédier les *Aratea* ni à Constantin ni à ses fils, pour la bonne raison que ces empereurs étaient chrétiens et que le poème d'Aviénus est une oeuvre d'inspiration païenne écrite par un poète païen. Dans cette optique, une invocation à Jupiter, sous l'*auctoritas* d'Aratos, était la seule solution possible.

Dans la première partie de l'oeuvre, consacrée à la description des constellations, Aviénus se montre résolument fidèle à l'enseignement

<sup>38</sup> Les v. 67-70 reprennent assez maladroitement Virg., *Georg.* I, 1-5. Un autre passage, v. 36-40, sur la ronde des saisons, se situe dans la suite de Lucr. V, 737-47, ou de Manil. III, 618-65.

d'Aratos. Il ne tient à peu près aucun compte de l'évolution de la science grecque jusqu'au temps d'Auguste, symbolisée pour nous par les noms d'Hipparque et de Germanicus, ni a fortiori de celle, peut-être moins importante, de l'époque impériale. Ceci est une première surprise. Le retour strict et dogmatique à Aratos est-il dû simplement à l'ignorance? Ce n'est pas à exclure; les conditions de la diffusion du savoir n'étaient plus, en 350, ce qu'elles avaient été au temps d'Auguste. Et puis, rien n'interdit de penser qu'Aviénus est un esprit moins scientifique que Germanicus; la consultation de toute une bibliographie d'astronomie technique a pu lui paraître fastidieuse; et sans doute ne voulait-il pas prendre Germanicus lui-même pour guide, afin de conserver plus sûrement sa propre originalité poétique.

Mais sa fidélité à Aratos ne l'empêche pas d'enrichir son modèle, en puisant un certain nombre de mythes stellaires dans diverses oeuvres astronomiques d'une inspiration plutôt pittoresque et descriptive: des oeuvres de vulgarisation, en somme. Germanicus, déjà, avait ajouté quelques-uns de ces mythes au poème d'Aratos, qui n'en compte guère: Aviénus va plus loin dans le même sens. La constellation de la Vierge lui donne l'occasion de s'étendre longuement sur le mythe des âges de l'humanité (v. 292-352); il suffit de comparer avec les passages correspondants chez ses prédécesseurs pour apprécier l'évolution.<sup>39</sup>

La deuxième partie de l'oeuvre, de nature plus scientifique ou, si l'on veut, plus mathématique, était aussi plus difficile à embellir. En raison de la précession des équinoxes, l'enseignement d'Eudoxe et d'Aratos, déjà inexact en leur temps, était de plus en plus éloigné de la réalité céleste. Aviénus n'en a cure: il décrit un état du ciel qui ne correspond absolument plus à celui de son époque, et apparemment cela ne le gêne pas. Mais nous croyons que s'il agit ainsi, c'est de propos délibéré plus que par ignorance; car il lui arrive de corriger son modèle—et il le corrigera souvent dans la suite du poème—en s'inspirant de scholies. Il est évident qu'il ne les a pas utilisées systématiquement comme il aurait pu le faire; il doit y avoir une raison à cela, que nous essaierons de comprendre. Remarquons en attendant que le seul épisode narratif et pittoresque, dans cette partie de l'oeuvre, concerne le châtement d'Orion qui avait offensé Diane (v. 1171-93). Le poète stigmatise en termes très durs la passion impie du Géant; il y a là un morceau de bravoure qui constitue un élargissement notable du texte de ses modèles.<sup>40</sup>

Pour la dernière partie du poème, Aviénus ne pouvait s'inspirer ni d'Hygin ni de Germanicus; on peut toujours supposer qu'il connaissait la traduction de Cicéron; mais c'est sur les scholies d'Aratos désormais qu'il fera fond. Par rapport au texte d'Aratos, Aviénus opère à peu près autant de suppressions (ou de condensations) que d'additions. Cette tendance à

<sup>39</sup> Aratos 96-136; Germanicus 96-139. Nous n'avons que des fragments de la version de Cicéron: *Aratea* XVI-XIX Soubiran.

<sup>40</sup> Aratos 637-46; Cicéron 418-35; Germanicus 644-60.

supprimer ou à raccourcir est un fait nouveau. Faut-il croire qu'Aviénus s'est lassé de son sujet, qu'il en avait mal calculé les proportions, ou qu'il n'a pas "tenu la distance"? Nous ne le pensons pas. J. Soubiran fait observer à juste titre<sup>41</sup> que les suppressions et résumés concernent essentiellement des évocations de plantes et d'animaux, qui étaient sans doute pittoresques, mais manquaient de grandeur. A l'inverse, les additions faites par Aviénus se signalent presque toutes non seulement par leur intérêt scientifique, mais aussi et surtout par l'occasion qu'elles fournissent au poète d'élever le regard et de se rapprocher de la grande poésie.<sup>42</sup> Le passage le plus caractéristique est une sorte d'hymne au Soleil, d'un accent vraiment religieux et d'une inspiration proche du prologue, qu'Aviénus insère au milieu des présages tirés de cet astre (v. 1548-59). Rappelant que le culte du Soleil, *Sol Inuictus*, a droit de cité à Rome depuis le III<sup>e</sup> siècle, J. Soubiran ajoute:<sup>43</sup> "Le *Discours sur Hélios-Roi* de l'empereur Julien (fin déc. 362) est exactement contemporain d'Aviénus; bientôt suivront la grande profession de foi 'solaire' d'Agorius Praetextatus dans les *Saturnales* de Macrobie (I, 17-23) et l'hymne au Soleil de Martianus Capella (II, 185-193)." Exactement contemporain? Peut-être pas, car si nous suivons la chronologie généralement acceptée,—nous l'avons rappelée ci-dessus—le poème d'Aviénus serait le premier en date de ces textes, et cela lui conférerait une importance et un intérêt que nous voudrions souligner pour finir.

Aristocrate païen, Aviénus n'a pas entrepris de traduire le poème d'Aratos (uniquement) pour faire oeuvre d'astronome. Il est d'ailleurs significatif que, dans son oeuvre, les *Phaenomena* soient accompagnés d'une *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* et d'une *Ora Maritima*. Comme Pline l'Ancien et d'autres sans doute, Aviénus veut décrire l'ensemble du monde, le ciel et la terre et les rivages de la mer. Et l'on se souvient que Germanicus aussi avait des liens, familiaux sinon personnels, avec la géographie. Bien entendu, les motivations des uns et des autres sont fort différentes. Nous avons vu celles, tout augustéennes et dynastiques, de Germanicus. Pour ce qui est d'Aviénus, il apparaît clairement que ses *Phaenomena* sont un hommage à Celui qui est à la fois le créateur du monde, le feu vivifiant qui l'anime et le monde lui-même, Zeus-Hélios, le dieu suprême du stoïcisme et du syncrétisme hénothéiste qui se développe au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Toutes les modifications qu'Aviénus a introduites dans son poème vont dans ce sens, qu'il s'agisse d'éliminer ou d'atténuer des détails futiles ou indignes, ou d'ajouter des fables moralisatrices et des visions grandioses. Il n'est pas jusqu'au tableau des âges de l'humanité, repris après tant d'autres, qui ne soit une exaltation des vertus du passé en même temps qu'une protestation contre l'*iniquitas temporum*, ou peut-être l'*iniquitas Christianorum*. Aviénus décrit

<sup>41</sup> J. Soubiran, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>42</sup> On ne saurait mentionner que deux additions qui ne répondent pas à ce critère: v. 1679-83, sur la manière dont l'étau résiste à l'Eurus, et v. 1795 sq., sur le comportement des chèvres.

<sup>43</sup> J. Soubiran, *op. cit.*, p. 268.



longuement les caractères syncrétiques de la Vierge de Justice et regrette que les forfaits des hommes l'aient amenée à quitter la terre.

Telles étaient aussi, sans aucun doute, les pensées du César Julien, qui n'avait pas oublié les crimes de la famille constantinienne. Or précisément, la conversion de Julien au paganisme, son apostasie, se situe en 351. Le jeune prince résidait alors en Orient. On peut à la rigueur supposer qu'il a eu connaissance du poème d'Aviénus, ou qu'il a rencontré son auteur, qui fut proconsul d'Achaïe, comme nous l'avons dit, et visita le temple d'Apollon à Delphes. Mais c'est une hypothèse inutile: le poème d'Aviénus et l'apostasie de Julien sont tout simplement deux expressions d'un même courant spirituel.

A. Alföldi a montré jadis<sup>44</sup> que les médaillons contorniates, qui datent de la deuxième moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> et du début du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, étaient un moyen de propagande inventé par l'aristocratie païenne dans sa lutte contre le christianisme triomphant. L'interprétation d'Alföldi n'a pas toujours convaincu;<sup>45</sup> nous la croyons pourtant juste et éclairante. Les documents littéraires sont heureusement des témoins plus explicites. Les *Phaenomena* d'Aviénus nous surprennent par le contraste qui règne entre leur fidélité anachronique à l'enseignement d'Aratos et la parfaite actualité de leurs conceptions religieuses. Aviénus a écrit son poème comme d'autres, plus tard, ont fait frapper des contorniates. Que son astronomie soit fautive n'a aucune importance; il nous parle de l'harmonie du monde, de la grandeur et de l'ancienneté de la civilisation païenne, de la toute-puissance de Zeus-Hélios, de la justice et de la sainteté des dieux. Ses contemporains chrétiens ne s'y sont sûrement pas trompés, et ceci aussi pourrait expliquer la pauvreté dont souffre la tradition manuscrite de ses *Phaenomena*.

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<sup>44</sup> A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (Budapest 1943). Mais il faut consulter maintenant A. Alföldi et E. Alföldi, unter Mitwirkung von C. L. Clay, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons I* (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter 1976).

<sup>45</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS* 35 (1945) 115 sqq.



## Some Aspects of Commodian

BARRY BALDWIN

Commodian has never gone short of detractors. *Scriptis mediocri sermone quasi versu*, opined Gennadius,<sup>1</sup> his one<sup>2</sup> ancient critic. "Altogether wanting in literary style," pronounced the compilers of *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*,<sup>3</sup> and for those of the *Tusculum Lexikon*<sup>4</sup> "Der Stil ist absonderlich," whilst T. D. Barnes<sup>5</sup> wondered "if the word poetry can be used of so hispid a writer." All of this makes Browning<sup>6</sup> seem quite kind in his glancing allusion to our author's "enigmatic" verses.

Some of this chorus of vituperation is the result of Commodian's apparent association with Africa. There are more verse inscriptions from that country than any other province; some three hundred have so far been published.<sup>7</sup> Their wide range of metrical competence, classical allusion, and artistic skill argue for amateur production as well as the efforts of professional hacks.<sup>8</sup> Africa is to later Latin poetry what Egypt was to Greek (remembering the mordant claim of Eunapius, *VS* 493, that Egyptians are crazy over poetry but care for nothing important). Yet scholars have been less than kind. Mommsen<sup>9</sup> thundered, "we do not meet in the whole field of African-Latin authorship a single poet who deserves to be so much as named," whilst Raby<sup>10</sup> asserted that "the African temperament would seem

<sup>1</sup> *De vir. illustr.* 15, ed. E. C. Richardson (Leipzig 1896) 67.

<sup>2</sup> Which is not to overlook Gelasius' remark in the *decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, ed. E. von Dobschütz (Leipzig 1912) 317 (=Migne, *PL* 59. 163), that the *opuscula Commodiani* are numbered amongst the apocrypha.

<sup>3</sup> F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, 2nd ed., rev. (Oxford 1983) 320.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg, and O. Prinz (Munich 1982) 175.

<sup>5</sup> *Tertullian* (Oxford 1971) 193.

<sup>6</sup> R. Browning, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature II: Latin Literature. Part 5, The Later Principate* (Cambridge 1983) 15.

<sup>7</sup> Mainly in *CIL* 8 and redeployed in such collections as *CLE* and R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1962).

<sup>8</sup> See (e. g.) E. S. Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa* (Oxford 1913) 84; J. Lindsay, *Song of a Falling World* (London 1948; repr. Westport 1979) 41-42; and most recently E. J. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1980) 148, n. 86.

<sup>9</sup> *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, tr. W. P. Dickson (London 1909) 11 373.

<sup>10</sup> F. J. E. Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1953) 95; cf. his *Secular Latin Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1957) 99-116; 142-46.

to have been on the whole unfavourable to the production of verse." Despite some welcome dissent,<sup>11</sup> this remains the prevailing view.<sup>12</sup>

The other source of Commodian's dismal reputation is (of course) his own notorious style of versification, with its medley of quasi-hexameters, rhythmic effects, and accentual verse. So much has been written about this<sup>13</sup> that it will here not be Hamlet without the prince to evade a detailed restatement of the metrical facts and go directly to the bigger issues. African poets could handle all the classical metres. More to the point, from the third century on, they disclose a range of novelties. Not just verbal and ocular novelties such as acrostics, but lines that conflate hexameters with quantitative and accentual verse, with much syllable shortening and emphasis on rhyme. So when Beare puts Commodian down as a freak, coming from nowhere, leading to nowhere, he is talking nonsense.<sup>14</sup> Commodian is firmly in the tradition of African literary Christianity and (assuming for the moment—see below—that he came first) a pace setter for Augustine's *Psalm Against The Donatists*, an especially illuminating point of comparison.<sup>15</sup> Augustine stresses that his piece was written to be understood and sung by the ordinary people, hence it was composed in acrostics, with regular metre eschewed to keep out unfamiliar words, and with each line ending in *-e*. Earlier in the fourth century, Arius had produced in Greek his *Thaleia*<sup>16</sup> to reach (in the words of his enemy Athanasius) the roughest of folk in the roughest of places. It is a piquant thought that these two churchmen prefigure punk rock! One very practical reason for metrical innovation was that on Augustine's own evidence,<sup>17</sup> the African ear could not distinguish long and short vowels. Commodian has

<sup>11</sup> Averil Cameron, "Byzantine Africa—The Literary Evidence," *University of Michigan Excavations at Carthage VII* (Ann Arbor 1982) 37, calls Raby "extraordinarily hostile to African culture."

<sup>12</sup> Thus even the admirable Champlin (above, note 8) 17, could write "Bad poetry flourished in Africa," and leave it at that, whilst H. Isbell's *Penguin Last Poets of Imperial Rome* (Harmondsworth 1971) included only Nemesianus from Africa.

<sup>13</sup> Apart from the prefatory remarks and statistics of J. Martin in his edition of Commodian (Turnhout 1960) xiv–xviii, see (e. g.) W. Beare, *Latin Verse and European Song* (London 1957) 177–92; G. Boissier, *L'Afrique romaine*, 9th ed. (Paris 1901) 302–04; Bouchier (above, note 8) 84, 118–26; P. Monceaux, *Les Africains, étude sur la littérature latine d'Afrique: les Pâiens* (Paris 1894) 108–10. Paradoxically, these scholars for all their valuable analysis tend to show the least understanding of the new poetry. Linday (above, note 8) and M. Rosenblum, *Luxorius: A Latin Poet among the Vandals* (New York 1961) 32–33, show a proper appreciation of its causes and quality.

<sup>14</sup> Beare (above, note 13) 242, at the beginning of his chapter (242–47) on Commodian: "Wherever we put him, his peculiar versification seems to be outside the general trend of development; there is nothing quite like it, it follows on nothing and perhaps it leads nowhere."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Beare 248–50 for a good analysis, though again failing to draw the right conclusions, also Raby, *Christ. Poet.* (above, note 10) 20.

<sup>16</sup> On which see G. Bardy, "La Thalie d'Arius," *Rev. Phil.* 53 (1927) 211–33.

<sup>17</sup> *De doct. Christ.* 4. 24, *Afrae aures de correptione vel productione non iudicant.*

the same trick of ending every line in a poem with *-e*, and extends it to other vowels.<sup>18</sup>

Beare, then, was quite wrong to isolate Commodian. He fits both the secular versifiers and the African Christians.<sup>19</sup> Just as Augustine wrote his *Psalm* in defiance of his own classicism, so Commodian chose to write in a way that would reach a mass audience. It is clear that he knew how to write standard hexameters and the plethora of allusions to classical authors confirms his education, despite his own frequent *non sum doctor* disclaimers;<sup>20</sup> the snide remark by Gennadius, *quia parum nostrarum adtigerat litterarum, magis illorum* (sc. the pagans) *destruere potuit quam nostra firmare*, underlines the point.

We may not like metrical trickeries, but Commodian and company should be applauded for going beyond the limited repertoire of "classical" Latin. Even if he is judged a poetic failure, Commodian can still be seen as an important failure, a welcome change from vapid classical pastiche. Likewise, when scholars upbraid his "bad" Latin, they are wearing blinkers in the manner of L'Académie française. One is all for grammar and structure, but language must evolve. New forms and words must be treated on merit, pragmatically not ideologically.

I do not normally cite Marxists with approval. But as Churchill said at the height of the Battle for Britain, "If Hitler invaded Hell, I would make a favourable reference to the Devil in this House." So I will here mention Jack Lindsay's appraisal<sup>21</sup> of Commodian as a revolutionary ideologue: "Commodianus is then the first sign in verse of a large-scale upheaval from below. In rough form he sketches out the disruptive elements that are going to shake and reinvigorate the imperial culture; and which merge with the organising factors of the rhetorical tradition to beget the new orientations of the various poets as well as Fronto and Apuleius. He speaks for the most rowdy and unreconciled sections of the Christian movement, who still heard with understanding of the symbols the wild anti-imperial denunciations of such works as *Revelations*. The strength of those sections in Africa is attested, not only by such work as that of Commodianus, but also by the semi-heretical insurrectionary groups of Christians who became common as the imperial control weakened. These dissident elements appear strongly in the Donatist movement, a sort of Jacquerie which has embryonic democratic elements."

There is something in this. On the Donatist side, one would like to find the writings of Tichonius, extolled for his learning by Gennadius.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See *Instruct.* 2. 4; 2. 23; 2. 35 for poems wherein all lines end in *-e*, *-i*, and *-o*. He has no *-a* or *-u* endings, and no such tricks at all in the first book of *Instructiones*.

<sup>19</sup> Notice also the rhyming hexameters *De Sodoma* and *De Jona*, often ascribed to Tertullian or Cyprian—Africans again!

<sup>20</sup> For instance, *Instruct.* 2. 18. 15; cf. *Carmen* 61, *non sum ego vates nec doctor*.

<sup>21</sup> Lindsay (above, note 8) 43.

<sup>22</sup> *De vir. illustr.* 18, *in divinis litteris eruditus et in saecularibus non ignarus*.

Especially the *De bello intestino*, a splendidly belligerent title, as befits a sectarian mixed up with the rebellious peasants who went around shouting *Laudes Deo* and converting people with special cudgels called "Israels."<sup>23</sup> There is convergence here with recent estimates of Augustine as the outstanding semiotician of antiquity, one who thought much about the value of *verba* as a way of teaching people anything.<sup>24</sup> Commodian's poems (*quasi versu*, as Gennadius rightly emphasis) are best seen as hymns-cum-slogans, designed for singing, chanting and shouting. True, he does address readers,<sup>25</sup> but relatively rarely. Raby<sup>26</sup> was right to see his poems as "the earliest example of Latin verse which was intended for and, we must assume, appreciated by uncultured members of the Church." And when he goes on to wonder "if Commodian wrote the rude verses of the half-educated classes consciously or not," and when Beare asks, "Is Commodian then the pioneer of the new rhythmic poetry?" the answer in both cases is a resounding Yes.

This impression is underscored by the panoramic secular emptiness of Commodian's verses, especially the *Instructiones*. Few collections of Latin poems can have been so devoid of historical names and points of contact with Roman life. The only emperor named is Nero, brought in at *Instruct.* 1. 41. 7, 11 and a centrepiece in the latter stages of the *Carmen* (827, 838, 852, 869, 885, 891, 910, 933, 935), occupying his familiar role of Anti-Christ, one (it is pertinent to add) found in Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* 2. 5, 9 and persistent in West and East for many centuries to come.<sup>27</sup> An unnamed Caesar at *Instruct.* 1. 18. 6 will be discussed later. With regard to Commodian's date, the absence of Constantine or any good emperor is notable. Rome<sup>28</sup> and Romans are alluded to only in the *Carmen*. Likewise the great names of Roman literature, restricted to a single line (*Carmen* 583) in which it is admitted that (in the poet's own sequence) Virgil, Cicero, and Terence are read. No Greek author is named, and there is no direct mention of Greece or Greeks; nor (it must be said, in view of things to come) of Africa or Africans. Apart from the Goths of *Carmen* 810 who will recur below in the quest for Commodian's date, most of the names in his poems are biblical and mythological characters. The relatively special attention (*Instruct.* 1. 31. 9; 2. 15. 2; *Carmen* 627, 838) given to the apostle Paul is suggestive for the view that Commodian operated in Africa, given the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. B. Baldwin, "Peasant Revolt in Africa in the Later Roman Empire," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1962) 9.

<sup>24</sup> G. Manetti, *Le teorie del segno nell'antichità classica* (Milan 1988).

<sup>25</sup> *Instruct.* 2. 22; 2. 31. 5; *Carmen* 29-30, 581-94.

<sup>26</sup> Raby, *Christ. Poet.* (above, note 10) 13.

<sup>27</sup> See the discussion of J. L. Creed in his edition (Oxford 1984) of the *De mort. pers.* Nero is invoked by (e. g.) Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 470 and *Contra Symm.* 2. 670 ff. (with Decius), also by Ambrose, *Ep.* 18 (the Statue of Victory debate). He is the only pagan emperor suffering eternal punishment in the anonymous twelfth-century satire *Tinarion* (ch. 46).

<sup>28</sup> Where Martin (above, note 13) p. xi, thinks Commodian lived.

Scillitan Martyrs' veneration of him and possession of his *Epistles* in a Latin version.<sup>29</sup>

By and large, Commodian creates a timeless, placeless atmosphere. His tone throughout is that of a persecuted visionary. Perhaps the sign of an African setting. For it happens that up to the year 300 all but one of the genuine *Acta Martyrum* come from Africa.<sup>30</sup> Cyprian's extraordinary acceptance of dreams and visions as divine admonition is seen by some as a feature of African Christianity that made it unique.<sup>31</sup> Commodian also (*Instruct.* 2. 5) shares with Cyprian the theme of the *lapsi*.<sup>32</sup> His apocalyptic style is very much in tune with that of Tertullian and Lactantius, whilst his stress on conversion and persistent element of dialogue with his audience (as well as many shared mythological *exempla*) are reminiscent of Minucius Felix. The Christian authors who dominate Commodian are precisely Cyprian, Minucius and Tertullian;<sup>33</sup> African writers of various stripes made a point of mentioning each other, and also developed a characteristic African Latin idiom.<sup>34</sup> Commodian has phrases paralleled only in African inscriptions.<sup>35</sup> As will be seen, his vocabulary abounds in unique words, some of which he no doubt coined. It may be a moot point whether neologisms connote a person of learning or desperate illiteracy—children are great inventors of words when they don't know the right ones—but facility in them is pronounced in African writers from Apuleius to Martianus Capella.

For these reasons, I share the view of those who locate Commodian in Africa. However, he may not have been a native of that country. The title of *Instruct.* 2. 35 (the last poem in the collection) is *Nomen Gasei*, the piece itself containing the reverse acrostic *Commodianus Mendicus Christi*.<sup>36</sup> This is often taken to mean that Commodian was a native of Gaza, probably Palestinian Gaza. It ought to be admitted more often than it is that other explanations are possible. Martin,<sup>37</sup> for instance, accepts a Syrian influence, the word being an allotrope or corruption of a term meaning "poet" or "poor."<sup>38</sup> Possibly there is some sort of play on the

<sup>29</sup> See B. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford 1987) 156–57.

<sup>30</sup> A point well made by Barnes (above, note 5).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. A. Lenox-Conyngham's review-article on G. W. Clarke's annotated translation of Cyprian's letters in *JRS* 77 (1987) 262.

<sup>32</sup> See in particular Cyprian, *De laps.* 6–9.

<sup>33</sup> As is obvious from the Index in Martin 202–07.

<sup>34</sup> This point is cogently developed by M. von Albrecht, "M. Minucius Felix as a Christian Humanist," *ICS* 12 (1987) 158: "African authors are fond of quoting their countrymen, even when there are chronological or ideological barriers."

<sup>35</sup> For example, *vivere semper*, *Instruct.* 1. 34. 19; *Carmen* 763; *CIL* 8. 7728 = *CLE* 561 (Cirta) and 8. 1247 (Vaga). For other distinctive African phrases in inscriptions, see Lattimore (above, note 7) 19, 68–69, 72–73.

<sup>36</sup> On the expression *mendicus dei*, see J. Martin, "Commodianus," *Traditio* 13 (1957) 28–30.

<sup>37</sup> Following C. Sigwalt in *Biblische Zeitschrift* 9 (1911) 243.

<sup>38</sup> Compare the Syriac meaning of "Malalas" in the name John Malalas.

noun *gaza*, ironically appropriate to a *mendicus dei*. Some joke on Commodian's name might be at stake. It is an unusual one for a Latin author, or Roman of any sort.<sup>39</sup> Given the tone and themes of his poems, one could see it as an appropriate reflection of some Greek word such as κομμός or even κομεντάριον.<sup>40</sup> Apart from his account (*Instruct.* 1. 18) of the cult of Ammydates, which is better reserved for subsequent discussion of his date, there is nothing geographically distinctive about Commodian's focus.

When all is said and done, the simplest and least subtlety-plagued explanation is to take *Gaseus* as indicating a native of Gaza. But this brings up a point not usually raised. If Commodian came from the East to Africa, does this imply that Latin was not his first language? Should he be taken as a precursor of Ammianus and Claudian? Are foreign origins part of the explanation for his supposed deficiencies of metrics and Latinity?

Defining the *Africitas* of a writer, native or immigrant, is a tricky and elusive business. Take Fronto from an earlier age: did he think of himself as African, or as a Roman who happened to be born in Africa?<sup>41</sup> There are few references to Africa in him, but that is simply because the extant letters give him little scope for mentioning the place. Things look different in his fragmentary speech *Pro Carthaginiensibus*, which seems to have attempted a résumé of local history.<sup>42</sup> Fronto is, overall, ambivalent, calling himself in a Greek letter (23, 4, Van Den Hout = Haines 1, 135) "a Libyan of the Libyan nomads," but elsewhere (206, 13 Van Den Hout = Haines 2, 21) extolling his native Cirta as the place where Jugurtha beat the Romans. Whatever his origins, Commodian was no doubt tinged with similar ambivalence, albeit as a militant Christian could reject all earthly affiliations as meaningless *sub specie aeternitatis*.

One would also like to know to what extent Commodian was influenced by Punic language and attitudes. Septimius Severus allegedly retained an African accent until old age.<sup>43</sup> He is also said<sup>44</sup> to have erected the Septizonium in Rome with the sole purpose of catching the eyes of visitors from Africa; in *Instruct.* 1. 7, ridiculing astrology, Commodian employs the word *septizonium* in the seemingly unique sense of a circle or complex of planets—is there a connection? The use of Punic, a big ideological issue with the Donatists, as an alternative to Latin and Greek in legal matters was sanctioned by Severus.<sup>45</sup> If we knew more about Punic,

<sup>39</sup> No Commodian (including our poet) features in the first two volumes of *PLRE*.

<sup>40</sup> A latinism in Greek dress (not recorded in *LSJ*) used by Athenagoras; cf. Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon*.

<sup>41</sup> Champlin (above, note 8) 15–19, tackles the issue well, neatly adducing (with ample quotation) the case of Fronto's modern compatriot, Albert Camus.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Champlin 87.

<sup>43</sup> *HA*, *SS* 19. 9, *Afrum quiddam usque ad senectulem sonans*.

<sup>44</sup> *HA*, *SS* 24. 3, *ut ex Africa venientibus suum opus occurreret*.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. T. Honoré, *Ulpian* (Oxford 1982) 4.



we might better appreciate some of the details and effects in Comodian. And his deliberate minimising of Roman and Greek names and allusions,<sup>46</sup> earlier explored, may prefigure what is now a very lively debate amongst African writers over Eurocentrism versus Afrocentrism.<sup>47</sup>

Comodian tells us very little about himself. There is (of course) nothing unusual about that, for an ancient writer. It is not clear where Lindsay (42) gets his "evidence" that Comodian was a lawyer and a bishop. The poet is very insistent on his conversion from error to Christian truth, making this the opening theme both of the *Instructiones* (1. 1, which acts as preface to the collection) and the *Carmen* (3–14).<sup>48</sup> There is no need to deny him truth or sincerity. Nevertheless, conversion is a stock literary theme in both pagan and Christian writers, and some allowance may have to be made for this element.<sup>49</sup> For all that, triteness and sincerity are not mutually exclusive, in life or literature.

A great deal of ink has been spilled over the question of Comodian's date; whether or not this is a reproach to the poet is a matter of taste.<sup>50</sup> He has been located in the third, the fourth, and the fifth centuries. Given the welter of bibliography,<sup>51</sup> I shall do no more than state breviloquently my reasons for believing with complete confidence in the third century. Some weight has been placed on the fact that Gennadius, the one significant ancient source, wrote mainly about fifth-century figures. But this is not exclusively the case, and there is no obvious sequence, alphabetical or

<sup>46</sup> We get very occasional Roman touches, e. g. funeral processions in the forum (*Instruct.* 2. 29. 6) and possibly (the text is uncertain) the circus (*Instruct.* 2. 12. 5); cf. also (*Carmen* 72) the homely metaphor, apparently drawn more from life than literature, *sic erit ut perna minime salfacta: putrescat*.

<sup>47</sup> See the report in the *Times Literary Supplement*, June 3–9, 1988, of the symposium of African literature held in Lagos, with the conflicting views on Europhone and Afrophone literature held by (*inter alios*) the Nigerian poet Chinweizu and William Conton, novelist from Sierra Leone.

<sup>48</sup> Also at *Instruct.* 1. 7. 21; 1. 7. 2; 1. 33. 2.

<sup>49</sup> One thinks easily of Lucian on the pagan side, of Augustine and (to take a characteristic conflation of classicising Christian) the historian Menander Protector (frag. 1) on the other. For an excellent demonstration of the similarities of sentiment and expression between *Carmen* 3–86 and Seneca, *Ep.* 8. 2–3, see now A. Salvatore, "Seneca e Comodiano," *Filologia e forme letterarie: Studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte* III (Urbino 1988) 329–33.

<sup>50</sup> As Courcelle (see next note) 227, n. 2, remarks, "Imagine-t-on un poète français dont on ne saurait préciser s'il a vécu en 1638 ou en 1866?" We get the same problem with some Byzantine writers; for a classic case, see C. Mango, "Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror," *Past & Present* 75 (1980) 3–18.

<sup>51</sup> Provided by P. Courcelle, "Commodien et les Invasions du Ve Siècle," *REL* 24 (1946) 227–46, and by J. Martin, "Commodianus," *Traditio* 13 (1957) 1–71; cf. the notice of Comodian in the *ODCC*. Apart from Courcelle, the other major advocate of a fifth-century date was H. Brewer, *Die Frage um das Zeitalter Kommodians* (Paderborn 1910). Of the scholars and manuals cited earlier in the present paper, a third- or fourth-century date is accepted (with varying degrees of hesitance) by Barnes, Beare, Lindsay, Raby, the *ODCC*, and the *Tusculum Lexikon*. Martin's conclusions are naturally reprised in the preface to his edition (above, note 13), pp. x–xiii.

chronological, in the *De viris illustribus*. Commodian comes (e. g.) after Theodore of Antioch, Prudentius, and Gaudentius, before Faustinus, Rufinus, and Tichomius. Also, the lack of birthplace and personal details for Commodian, which is unusual for Gennadius, ought to imply that the poet was remote and obscure to him.

In *Carmen* 810, as *septima persecutio nostra*, it is prophesied that *cito traiciet Gothis inrumpentibus amne; cf. Instruct. 2. 5. 10, transfluviat<sup>52</sup> hostis*. Advocates of a late date attempt to connect this with the irruptions of Alaric or other fifth-century invaders. But there is surely no rational argument against identifying Commodian's situation with the Gothic invasion of Decius' time, in view of the clearcut statement by Augustine, *De civ. dei* 18. 52, a *Decio septimam*, when enumerating the persecutions. It can be added that Lactantius (*De mort. pers.* 4. 1) uses particularly strong language (*execrabile animal*) against Decius, also that Jordanes twice (*Get.* 90, 92) emphasises that the Goths crossed the Danube against him.

*Instructiones* 1. 18 is a sardonic tale *De Ammudate et Deo Magno*. At line 6, Commodian jeers that *ventum est ad summum, ut Caesar tolleret aurum*. Martin oddly neglects this, offering no note and lamenting in his preface (xii) that *de illa re nihil legimus in historiis, quo fit, ut eruere non liceat, qui fuerit Caesar*. Yet it was long ago pointed out by Tümpel<sup>53</sup> that *Ammudates* is a sobriquet for *Deus Sol Alagabalus*. Commodian's knowledge of it does not guarantee that he was especially familiar with Emesa or the East. Elagabalus' religious oddities were known throughout the empire, and the one extant inscriptional reference to include the title *Ammudates* (*CIL* 3. 4300) comes from Pannonia Superior. But it points to a third-century date rather than a later one; a degree of risky precision would put the poem before Aurelian's ostentatious re-enrichment of the Emesa cult.<sup>54</sup>

The very next poem (*Instruct.* 1. 19) ridicules the fortunetellers known as *Nemesiaci*. Devotees of a late date for Commodian might clutch at *Cod. Theod.* 14. 7. 2, where among the jugglers and other assorted professions they are legislated on by a joint rescript of Honorius and Theodosius in 412. But they are being recalled, which connotes earlier notoriety, and as we know from Ammianus' celebrated accounts, the fourth century was a bad time for such people. Astrologers and the like had their problems under pagan emperors as well, but they (overall) fit the third century better than any Christian one.

Allusions to Novatianism in Commodian are detected by the *ODCC* notice. These would pretty well guarantee a third-century date for the poet, since Novatian was martyred under Valerian and his heresy came in the

<sup>52</sup> *Transfluvio* (not in Lewis and Short or the *OLD*) seems to be a *hapax*; the cognate *transfluvialis* is found in ecclesiastical Latin.

<sup>53</sup> *PWI* (1894) cols. 1868–70, and adumbrated in the notice of the name in *TLL* I 1941.

<sup>54</sup> *HA, Aur.* 25. 4–6.

aftermath of the Decian persecution. They are not, however, so clearcut as to clinch the matter. Another pointer is provided by Gennadius who says that Commodian followed Tertullian and Lactantius, which also serves to enhance the African connection. But Commodian himself provides the most compelling panorama of evidence. Along with his preface, in which he laments *doleo pro civica turba/ inscia quod pergit periens deos quaerere vanos/ ob ea perdoctus ignaros instruo verum* (*Instruct.* 1. 1. 7–9), consider the following (partial) list of contents: *Indignatio Dei* (1. 2); *Cultura Daemonum* (1. 3); attacks on specific pagan gods and beliefs (1. 4–19); diatribes against contemporary *mores* (1. 22–32); To the Gentiles (1. 33–34); Against the Jews (1. 37–40); On Apostates (2.5); To the Soldiers of Christ (2. 8); To Christian Women (2. 14–15); To Would-be Martyrs (2. 17); on various Christian duties (2. 22–34). All of this is consistent with an age of persecution; little or none of it fits a time when Christians were in power. Some<sup>55</sup> have toyed with the idea of Julian's reign, but his "gentle persecution" does not square with the poet's fiery denunciations, and it is hard to believe that Commodian would never once attack that emperor by name, especially in his verses on apostates.

Gennadius is explicit: Commodian *scripsit adversus paganos*. This has provoked much discussion over which of the poems he had in mind.<sup>56</sup> All quite needless. In one way or another, both volumes of *Instructiones* and the *Carmen De Duobus Populis* are uniformly anti-pagan. Jerome provides an instructive parallel. To him, pagans were much less a threat than were heretics, another sign that Commodian belongs to a different age from his.<sup>57</sup> Yet he could still say that *tota opuscula mea, et maxime Commentarii, iuxta opportunitatem locorum gentilem sectam lacerant*.<sup>58</sup> So it is with Commodian, in fact the more so since, in an age of paganism, any affirmation of Christian belief was in itself *adversus paganos*.

Consideration of Commodian's poetry may usefully begin with his knowledge of Christian and Classical literature, as a basis for showing how well or otherwise he uses and fuses the two. The Christian side of things will not long detain us here. Martin's admirable indexes<sup>59</sup> disclose the quantity and nature of his debts. A question worth pondering, as does Ogilvie<sup>60</sup> in the case of Lactantius, is to what extent Commodian got his biblical texts directly or second-hand from other authors and anthologies, especially if he wrote before Jerome's Vulgate and in the light of Gennadius'

<sup>55</sup> Notably G. S. Ramundo, in various papers, e. g. "Quando visse Commodiano?" *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di storia patria* 24 (1901) 373–91; 25 (1902) 137–68; cf. Martin's *Traditio* article (above, note 51) 52.

<sup>56</sup> Summarised by Martin (above, note 13), pp. v–x.

<sup>57</sup> See D. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist* (Ithaca 1964) 194–97.

<sup>58</sup> *Ep.* 84. 3.

<sup>59</sup> See later for some suggested deficiencies and supplements in points of detail.

<sup>60</sup> R. M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978) 96–109.

criticism *quia parum nostrarum adigerat litterarum, magis illorum destruere potuit quam nostra adformare.*

A quick count based on Martin's index reveals some 56 allusions to pagan authors in the *Carmen*, 159 in the *Instructiones*; the proportion is unsurprising. The best place to begin is *Carmen* 583: *Vergilius legitur, Cicero aut Terentius idem.* For Virgil to take first place is no more than we would expect, likewise the fact that he is by far the most frequently used author in Commodian. There is an apparent echo of every book of the *Aeneid* except the fifth,<sup>61</sup> of all four *Georgics*, and *Eclogues* 1, 2, 4, 7, 9 and 10. A possible turn up for the book here is the relative neglect (only one allusion) of the so-called Messianic Fourth Eclogue, in flagrant contrast with Lactantius, whose rare citations of Virgil are (in the case of the *Eclogues*) restricted to the fourth.

Cicero is no surprise either, though the echoes are few, being confined to the *Aratea*, *De natura deorum*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, and *De officiis*. No speeches, but this is consonant with the Christian Cicero, Lactantius, whose own writing (as Ogilvie 71, puts it) betrays remarkably little knowledge of Cicero's oratorical works.

Terence was widely read in later antiquity. In spite of his appearance in this brief canon, Martin detected only one echo of him in the rest of Commodian. Possibly he owes his place to the fact that he came from Africa, accepting Commodian's connection with that country. This would be commensurate with Minucius Felix' quoting of him (*Oct.* 21. 2) under the general rubric *comicus sermo*, clearly designed as a recognisable crowd pleaser.

On Martin's reckoning, only the *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace were exploited by Commodian, whereas Ogilvie found only the *Odes* represented in Lactantius. But as with many a moralist, there is a strong satirical element in Commodian,<sup>62</sup> and the imbalance in his Horatian tastes is therefore logical enough. As to other Roman satirists, Persius is briefly represented (as in Lactantius), but there is apparently no use of Lucilius or Juvenal. The latter two feature briefly by name in Lactantius, but perhaps at second hand.<sup>63</sup> Juvenal's absence is possibly another indication of a third-century date for Commodian, given his neglect in that period.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Though in earlier times (witness Petronius, *Sat.* 68. 4) this book was something of a favourite.

<sup>62</sup> A point well made by Wiesen (above, note 57) 15, who includes Commodian in his catalogue of later Latin satirists.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Ogilvie (above, note 60) 7-8 ("Wherever Lactantius found his lines of Lucilius, it was not in Lucilius.").

<sup>64</sup> See G. Hight, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford 1954) 297, n. 6, for his absence from Arnobius and Commodian; cf. P. Ceceri, "Di alcune fonti dell' opera poetica di Commodiano," *Didaskaleion* 2 (1913) 363-422. For earlier signs of Juvenal in inscriptional verse from Africa, see T. Kleberg, "Juvenalis in the *Carmina latina epigraphica*," *Eranos* 44 (1946) 422-25. As is

Petronius is more problematic. Martin claims a couple of echoes; *Instruct.* 1. 12. 12, *minervae omnisque scitoris*, from *Sat.* 43. 8, *omnis minervae homo*; *Instruct.* 1. 23. 5, *ipse tibi figis asciam in crure de verbo*, from *Sat.* 74. 16, *ipse mihi asciam in crus impegi*. Now Comodian as a reader of Petronius is a piquant notion. Unfortunately, the text of the first passage is very corrupt, and the echo is the result only of Martin's own emendation.<sup>65</sup> As to the second, the similarity of wording is suggestive, but the text is again not certain, and the expression is anyway proverbial; given our earlier proposition of Africans quoting Africans, it would be a reasonable bet that Comodian actually had Apuleius (an author not in Martin's index), *Met.* 3. 22, *meque sponte asciam cruribus meis illidere compellis?*, in mind.

Comodian reading Lucretius is also a delicious thought, but there seems little doubt that he did,<sup>66</sup> albeit some of Martin's actual examples are frail. For easy instance, can we honestly be sure that such simple phrases as *quaecumque geruntur* (*Instruct.* 1. 3. 10) or *dedicat esse* (*Instruct.* 2. 8. 14) must come from their equivalents in *DRN* 1. 472 and 1. 422? On the other hand, *per mare per terras* (*Carmen* 883; cf. *DRN* 1. 278) and *tecta domorum* (*Carmen* 1030; cf. *DRN* 2. 191) seem cogent enough. And we might add to Martin's list *DRN* 2. 1101–02, on the inaccuracy of Jupiter's thunderbolts, as a source for *Instruct.* 1. 6. 1–2, *Dicitis o stulti: Iovis tonat fulminat ipse! etsi parvulus sic sensit, cur anni dicentes?* Alternatively, this could have been inspired by Ovid's well-known joke, *Si, quotiens peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat! Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit* (*Trist.* 2. 33–34), also absent from Martin's register.

Martin did not find much early Latin literature in Comodian. No Lucilius, no Plautus, and only one Ennian passage. In the case of Ennius, we may be able to double the score, if *maria salsa* at *Instruct.* 1. 29. 9 is owed to *Frag.* 117 Jocelyn (= 145 Vahlen). For the rest, one can largely depend upon Martin's index, with the following reservations: for *virgineus pudor* (*Instruct.* 2. 2. 6), Martin adduces Avienus, but the inspiration might actually come from Tibullus 1. 4. 14—Martin did note at least one echo of that poet elsewhere in Comodian; we might extend the range of his reading if *Instruct.* 2. 3. 13, *escam muscipuli, ubi mors est, longe vitate*, may be connected with Phaedrus 4. 2. 17, *qui saepe laqueos et muscipula effugerat*—Phaedrus is not in Martin's index, but a pagan fabulist might be thought congenial to Comodian; given the plethora of references to *Dominus* and *Dominator* in the poem *De lolii semine* (*Instruct.* 2. 10), the

well known from Ammianus 28. 4. 14 and Jerome's use of him (cf. Wiesen [above, note 57] 9–10), Juvenal re-emerged with a bang in the fourth century.

<sup>65</sup> We should also notice Sallust (?), *Invect. in Cicer.* 4. 7, *sed quid ego plura de tua insolentia commemorem? quem Minerva omnis artis edocuit...*

<sup>66</sup> Likewise Lactantius; cf. Ogilvie (above, note 60) 15–16, 85.

inspiration might be taken to be Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 154, *infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae*, a passage not adduced by Martin; the aforementioned study by Salvatore considerably expands Martin's meagre tally of allusions to the younger Seneca, an author popular with Lactantius, Tertullian, and Christian authors generally.<sup>67</sup>

Traceable allusions to Greek authors are far fewer. On the one hand, this is not surprising in a Christian writing in Latin. But it may have some bearing on the question of Commodian's nationality and origins—should one expect more from a writer from Palestinian Gaza? In general, Commodian is in tune with Lactantius.<sup>68</sup> Martin notes only one passage from Homer, whilst Ogilvie found three; both give their authors a single (not the same one) allusion to Callimachus. On Martin's reckoning, Commodian was familiar with two of Lucian's works, the *De dea Syra* and *Dialogues of the Gods*. It is worth noting that these all cluster in *Instruct.* 1. 7–19. However, one needs to be careful with Lucian, a lot of whose ridicule of paganism shares its examples and phraseologies with the early Greek fathers Clement, Justin, and Tatian. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 1. 9. 8, commends Lucian as one *qui diis et hominibus non pepercit*, but Ogilvie (82, giving no reason) ejects the compliment as an interpolation.<sup>69</sup>

A modest article can only scratch the surface of Commodian the poet. It would be good to have a full commentary, one that emphasised the literary quality as much as the religious content. One aspect that can usefully be isolated here is his vocabulary. Martin's *index verborum*, for all its merits, does not disclose the unique or rare nature of many of Commodian's words. As earlier remarked, linguistic novelty in itself is a matter of taste. The history of his odd locutions cannot always be traced in full, especially those not yet covered by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. It is a fair presumption that Commodian will have coined at least some of them. Why? Not usually *metri gratia*, given the elastic nature of his prosody. To some extent, as noted above, it is an African trait. Perhaps also some compulsion from *patrii sermonis egestas*—if he was a native Latin speaker. On a third-century date, Commodian had few, if any, predecessors in his sort of passionate Christian poetry. Anger and humour are two passions that lead easily to the inventing of new words. Along with his metrics, linguistic innovation is the other layer added by Commodian to his use and fusion of Christian and pagan texts.

The following words (intended only as a sample) are either unique (and often not in the dictionaries) or very rare. The majority of them are in the *Instructiones*, which is sufficiently explained by the wider range of subjects and (on balance) the greater personal passion of Commodian in these. One

<sup>67</sup> See the exposition of Ogilvie 73–77.

<sup>68</sup> For details, Ogilvie 20–27, 78–83, 109.

<sup>69</sup> We need here do no more than recollect the pleasure with which such Byzantine *savants* as Photius used Lucian's satire as a weapon against paganism; cf. *Bibl.*, cod. 128 in particular.

or two are graecisms, which again raises the question of where the poet came from.

*Anastasis* (*Instruct.* 1. 44. 1; *Carmen* 992); *arabylus* (*Instruct.* 1. 9. 1); *caeliloquax* (*Instruct.* 2. 15. 3); *conjugula* (*Instruct.* 1. 26. 14); *crucistultitia* (*Instruct.* 1. 36, title and acrostic); *delumbare* (*Instruct.* 1. 16. 10); *detransfigurare* (*Carmen* 110); *incopriare* (*Instruct.* 1. 19. 6); *Iudaeidiare* (*Instruct.* 1. 37, title and acrostic); *lugia* (*Instruct.* 1. 29. 18); *parvulitas* (*Instruct.* 1. 6. 2); *protoplastus* (*Instruct.* 1. 35. 1; 2. 13. 4; 2. 18. 2); *transfluviare* (*Instruct.* 2. 5. 10); *vinivorax* (*Instruct.* 1. 18. 6).

As for the *Instructiones* at large, a potpourri shall suffice as example and appetiser. The prefatory piece is suitably characteristic:

Prima praefatio nostra viam erranti demonstrat  
 Respectumque bonum, cum venerit saeculi meta.  
 Aeternum fieri, quod discredunt inscia corda.  
 Ego similiter erravi tempore multo  
 Fana prosequendo parentibus insciis ipsis;  
 Abstulit me tandem inde legendo de lege,  
 Testifico Dominum: doleo pro civica turba,  
 Inscia quod pergit periens deos quaerere vanos;  
 Ob ea perdoctus ignaros instruo verum.

Apart from biblical texts, Martin sees echoes of Ennius (via Cicero) and Seneca. The theme of conversion blends genuine autobiography with a literary convention that is both pagan and Christian. *Parentibus insciis ipsis* is strikingly similar to Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 24. 1, *ab inperitis parentibus discimus* (of pagan myths). *Viam erranti... erravi fana prosequendo* comport a hint of the wandering poet or prophet, with an implied play on the physical and metaphysical connotations of *errare*. The verb *discredo*, frequent in Commodian, is rarish and late. *Testifico* in the active form is uncommon. Using the same word more than once in different forms and cases (*insciis/inscia*, neut. pl./*inscia*, fem. sing.) is a classical trick.

The following observations assume the reader will have Martin's text to hand; all plain numerical references are to the *Instructiones*.

1. 2. 1: *caeli, terrae, marisque*. Martin adduces Ovid, *Met.* 2. 96, but Commodian seems almost to go out of his way to avoid a Virgilian *terraeque marisque* effect.

1. 3, title: *cultura daemonum*. Arguably a conscious play on *cultura dei/deorum*, both a pagan and Christian formula; cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 21. 27; Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* 5. 7; *HA, Elag.* 3. 5.

1. 4. 7: *sorbsit*. This alternative form of the verb is frequently singled out for comment by the grammarians, e. g. Velius (*GL* 7. 74, 4 Keil), Charisius (*GL* 1. 244, 4), Diomedes (*GL* 1. 366, 27); cf. Valerius Maximus 8. 7. ext. 2.

1. 5. 4: *Piragmon*. This servant of Vulcan (Pyracmon) is a relatively abstruse creature of myth for Commodian, and is doubtless owed to Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 425.

1. 6. 15: *seducunt historiae*. Commodian is fond of the notion of seduction; cf. 1. 8. 10, *seducunt sacerdotes*, and 1. 11. 5, *quem deum seducti putastis*.

1. 7. 17: *et dein qui vadunt in piscibus tu quoque probabis*. For *quoque* there is the alternative reading *coque*. For a *cocel/quoque* pun, see Quintilian 6. 3. 47 (deprecating it in Cicero), also Vespa, *Iudic.* 96.

1. 9: ridicule of Mercury. The emphatic repetitions *depictus . . . rem video miram . . . respicite pictum . . . deos pictos* all suggest that Commodian is describing a picture; cf. 1. 14. 6, *non te pudet, stulte, tales adorare tabellas?*

1. 10. 3: *paret esse deum cumerale illi parate!* Martin obelises after *deum*, but I suspect that the text contains something to do with *cumera* in the sense of fishing basket which would be a good joke in the present context.

1. 12: on Liber. For his African cult, cf. *CIL* 8. 4681, acrostic (= *CLE* 511), and Augustine, *Ep.* 17.

1. 16 and 1. 17: attacks on all the gods and their images. It is worth noting how Commodian has organised the poems in this sequence, building up to these collective onslaughts from the previous diatribes against individual deities.

1. 16. 9: *Furina*. Obscure by the time of Varro, on the authority of *DLL* 6. 19, *nunc vix nomen notum paucis*.

1. 16. 10: *delumbant*. Either a new meaning or a good comic extension (in the context of female lust stirred by pagan gods) of this rare verb's normal sense of curving in architectural descriptions.

1. 17. 6: *Duellonarios*. This archaism for *Bellonarios* is also employed by Tertullian, *Apol.* 9, and Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 30. 5.

1. 19. 3: *mane ebrio*. Cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 9. 14 (describing the baker's wife in a possible attack on Christianity), *matutino mero*.

1. 20. 3: *Lares*. Coming after the *Titanes/tutanos* and *Mutas/Tacitas* puns of the first two lines, this is also a play on words since Lara was a goddess worshipped under the names of Tacita and Muta.

1. 25. 9: *tempus adest vitae credenti tempore mortis*. This line shows that Commodian could write (or recognise) a neat Ovidian hexameter!

1. 31. 9: *pulex*. The last word in the poem, well placed to show off its seemingly unique figurative sense (*non ego pulex*).

1. 35 (also 2. 15) is not acrostic, but of the kind whereby each line begins A, B, C, and so on. This sort of thing, pagan and Christian, can be found in (e. g.) the Greek Anthology.

2. 2. 9: *semel es lotus, numquid poteris denuo mergi?* This looks like a humorous distinction between baptism by splashing and by total immersion.



Now a few words on the *Carmen de duobus populis* (a better title than *Carmen Apologeticum*; cf. Martin x) to balance and complete the survey of Commodian as poet. Its opening line, *Quis poterit unum proprie Deum nosse caelorum?* is likened by Martin to Manilius 2. 115, but is also generally redolent of Lucretius and the *Georgics*. Then follows the most elaborate of Commodian's several mentions of misspent youth and early religious error, including the engaging *plus eram quam palea levior* (5) as well as the self-description *criminosus denique Marsus* which (albeit unremarked by Martin) may have some link with Horace, *Epode* 17. 27–29, *vincor ut credam miser! Sabella pectus increpare carmina/ caputque Marsa dissilire nenia*; the Marsi were famous as wizards and snake charmers.

Redeemed by God, Commodian determines to convert others from lives of luxury and sin. But like many another social reformer, ancient and modern, he tempers ideology with deference towards the powerful: *nec enim vitupero divitias datas a Summo* (27).<sup>70</sup> A string of Old Testament *exempla* follows, postluded by the homely metaphor (72, discussed earlier) of the salted ham, and an apparent use of Lucretius' image of the sweetening of the bitter pill of didacticism (86). Then the Christian message resumes (89) with *Adgrederere iam nunc, quisquis es, perennia nosse*, which might comport a hint of Virgil, *Ecl.* 4. 48. After this preface, the nature and origins of God, the universe, and Man are described, backed up by a sequence of Old Testament personnel and famous stories. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is strikingly similar in concept and format to the first part of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1, which I fancy Commodian meant us to recognise and appreciate. Indeed, he may drop a hint in line 176 with *vivere rapinis*, rightly thought by Martin to echo *Met.* 1. 144, *vivere de raptis*; Martin elsewhere detects many echoes of Ovid's poem in Commodian, including four further ones from the first book.

At 139–40, Commodian inserts a succinct version of the Phoenix and its rebirth; *Sicut avis Phoenix meditatur a morte renasci, / dat nobis exemplum, post funere surgere posse*. This may be pertinent to the perennial argument over Lactantius' claims to the extant poem *Phoenix*, since some hold<sup>71</sup> that these are invalidated by the pagan–Christian blending of that piece. It will here suffice to quote lines 160–61, *a fortunatae sortis finisque volucrem, / cui de se nasci praestitit ipse deus!* along with the concluding verse, *aeternam vitam mortis adepti bono*.

The prophets of Christ and the Messiah (285) lead into the predominantly Christian sections of the *Carmen* (altogether the piece

<sup>70</sup> Compare the controversy aroused (with admirable deliberateness) by the statement of Mrs. Thatcher in her address to the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, May 21, 1988) that "Abundance rather than poverty has a legitimacy which derives from the very nature of Creation"; cf. the literary and theological critique of her speech (known in Britain as her Epistle to the Caledonians) by Jonathan Raban in the *London Observer*, May 28, 1989.

<sup>71</sup> See the convenient summary of theories and bibliography in the Loeb *Minor Latin Poets* 644–45, edited by J. W. and A. M. Duff.

contains 1060 lines). One might have expected, in view of signs of the *Georgics* at (e. g.) lines 100 and 587 as well as his extensive and conventional use of Virgil throughout his poetry, more effects from the Fourth Eclogue here. Commodian obviously knew Virgil well (what literate person did not?), and we have seen his singling-out with Cicero and Terence at line 583, but conceivably he fought shy of the notions of Messianic eclogues and the *anima naturaliter Christiana*.

By way of brief finale, some previous observations and conclusions can conveniently be resumed. Just as Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and Cyprian were early voices in Christian Latin prose, recasting the Greek Fathers' criticisms of paganism into their own distinctive Latin, a Latin tinged by some proudly ostentatious *Africitas* and a conscious desire to make the world aware of an African school and style, so Commodian attempts to create a popular poetic articulation of Christian thought, a deliberate fusion of pagan-Christian elements into a method of expression that the man in the African street (city or village) could both understand and exploit. Few would call Commodian a great poet, though that is a matter of taste, but on any fair reckoning he has his moments, and if adjudged a failure, he is a failure more interesting than some successful continuers of classicism. It was high time for drastic innovation in the old ways of writing and scanning Latin verse, for new ways of expressing new ideas and emotions, the use of the new being in itself an act of Christian defiance and proclamation of faith.

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## Allegory and Reality: Spes, Victoria and the Date of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*\*

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Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, largely because it was fated to become one of the literary cornerstones of mediaeval allegory, dwells in a historical vacuum. Roesler alone made an unconvincing attempt to interpret the poem as an anti-Priscillianist polemic.<sup>1</sup> The poem's date is considered largely irrelevant, though usually it is thought to have been written before A.D. 405.<sup>2</sup> For Walther Ludwig, who ingeniously analysed Prudentius's oeuvre as a Christian *Supergedicht* intended to replace the pagan literary genres, the *Psychomachia* is the epic centerpiece of a *corpus* defined by Prudentius's preface. In this paper I shall suggest that, far from being an early work, the *Psychomachia* was written after 405, that it was never part of a total plan, and that through the veil of its allegory we can occasionally glimpse topicalities which may reveal more about the place and date of its composition than has been believed possible. This is a plea for a more historical and political Prudentius than is commonly acknowledged.

Before 405?

Prudentius's preface to his edition of 405 provides a catalogue of his poetry, hence reliable external evidence on what had been written:

Hymnis continuet dies  
nec nox ulla vacet quin dominum canat  
pugnet contra hereses, catholicam discutiat fidem

\*The author is most grateful to the Fondation Hardt and to the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute for their hospitality during 1986–87 and to Clive Foss for his advice about matters numismatic. The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (copyrighted) was used for a word-search for Ἐλπίς.

<sup>1</sup> A. Roesler, *Der katholischer Dichter Aurelius Prudentius Clemens* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1886). For some criticisms see J. Bergman, *Aur. Prud. Clem. Psychomachia* (diss. Uppsala 1897) xxvi–xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See below n. 7. The only clear advocates of a date after A.D. 405 are Bergman (*CSEL* 61, p. xliii) and O. Hofer, *De Prudentii Psychomachia et carminum chronologia* (Marburg 1895) 59 (who, however, also puts the *Hamartigenia* after 405).

conculcet sacra gentium  
labem, Roma, tuis inferat idolis,  
carmen martyribus devoveat, laudet apostolos.<sup>3</sup>

*Hymnis . . . canat* are a clear reference to the *Liber Cathemerinon*. *Pugnet contra hereses* and *catholicam discutiatur fidem* seem to cover two apologetic-didactic poems, the *Hamartigenia* on Free Will against the Marcionites and the *Apotheosis* written against various Trinitarian heretics and against the Jews. *Conculcet sacra gentium* alludes to the Romanus-hymn, now printed as *Hymn 10* of the *Peristefanon*, but originally appearing either before or after that work.<sup>4</sup> *Labem, Roma, tuis inferat idolis* covers the two books *Contra Oratorem Symmachi*, the first an attack on polytheism, the second an attack on the Dea Victoria and Symmachus specifically. *Carmen martyribus devoveat* covers the *Peristefanon* and *laudet apostolos* treats *Peristefanon 12*, the hymn to Peter and Paul, separately.

There have been many attempts to find allusions to the *Psychomachia* in the *praefatio*. Prudentius's place as the preeminent Christian poet demands a deliberate pattern in his work, a *Christian* program in which he intentionally provided counterparts to all the main genres of Classical Poetry. In his *Hymns* he was the Christian Horace. In his *Psychomachia* the Christian Vergil.<sup>5</sup> The *Psychomachia* had to be in the *praefatio* to have a place in Ludwig's all-encompassing diagram, which depicts the generic structure of Prudentius's oeuvre based on the *praefatio* and places the epic *Psychomachia* as the centerpiece of the whole scheme.<sup>6</sup> If those who see an allusion to the *Psychomachia* are right, then the *Psychomachia* must have been written before 405. If they are wrong, then the question of the work's date is reopened. Ludwig, following Weyman, detected the reference to the *Psych.* in line 39: *pugnet contra hereses, catholicam discutiatur fidem*, which is supposed to allude to the *Apotheosis*, the *Hamartigenia*, and the *Psychomachia*. The *Psychomachia* is encapsulated in *hereses* (the last Vice to be fought) and *Fides* (the first Virtue to fight).<sup>7</sup> This is very ingenious,

<sup>3</sup> *Praef.* 37-42.

<sup>4</sup> Bergman (above, note 1) xiii.

<sup>5</sup> Many other genres were covered too: see W. Ludwig, "Die christliche Dichtung des Prudentius und die Transformation der klassischen Gattungen," in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident*, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 23 (Vandoeuvres-Genève 1977) 304-05.

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig (previous note) 310, "Das erzählende mythologische Epos hatte immer den obersten Rang in der poetischen Hierarchie der Römer. Dies war zumindest ein wichtiger Grund weshalb Prudentius seine Psychomachie in das Zentrum seines christlichen Supergedichts setzte."

<sup>7</sup> C. Weyman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* (München 1926) 65-66; Ludwig (above, note 5) 316. "Die Praefatio brauchte nicht explizit auf die *Psychomachie* zu verweisen, weil diese ihrerseits eine allegorische Verschlüsselung der vier Lehren darstellt und damit implizit in einem Hinweis auf jene bereits enthalten ist." For a pre-1895 history of the interpretation of the "table of contents," see Hofer (above, note 2) 48. J. Fontaine, *Naissance*

but probably not right. If Prudentius had mentioned his *Psychomachia* here, he would have listed it as an *antiheretical* work: little is said about heresy in the poem.<sup>8</sup> Secondly all sorts of subtleties are detected in this one line, whereas all the other references to Prudentius's work in the *praefatio* are *fully expanded* and completely straightforward. As in other ancient poetic catalogues<sup>9</sup> at least a phrase is devoted to each work. There is no need for temporising:<sup>10</sup> the *Psychomachia* was not mentioned in the preface.

There is no need for distress, for at least two other works of Prudentius were not mentioned either, and are not—for that reason—stricken from the book of literary history.<sup>11</sup> At the end of the 5th century Gennadius of Marseilles in his continuation of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, wrote an article listing the oeuvre of Prudentius<sup>12</sup>:

Prudentius vir saeculari litteratura eruditus composuit †Dirocheum de toto Veteri et Novo Testamento personis excerptis. Commentatus est autem in morem Graecorum Hexaemeron de mundi fabrica usque ad conditionem primi hominis et praevaricationem eius. Composuit et libellos quos Graeca appellatione praetitulavit ΑΡΩΤΗΕΩΣΙΣ ΨΙΧΟΜΑΧΙΑ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΓΕΝΙΑ, id est, De divinitate, De Compugnancia animi, De origine peccatorum. Fecit et in laudem martyrum sub aliquorum nominibus invitatorium ad martyrium librum unum et hymnorum alterum, speciali autem conditione adversum Symmachum idolatriam defendentem. Ex quorum lectione agnoscitur Palatinus miles fuisse.

The so-called Διτροχάϊον or *Tituli Historiarum* to which he alludes has survived. The *Hexaemeron* is now lost. Neither of these works, however, appeared in Prudentius's preface. Presumably the edition of 405 was not a complete one. Prudentius's tone of finality<sup>13</sup> suggests that at that time he may have thought that this was all he would write, but reality was different. More was to follow.

*de la poésie dans l'occident chrétien* (Paris 1981) 149 n. 246 is agnostic, "l'absence d'une allusion vraiment claire à la *Psychomachia*."

<sup>8</sup> M. Brozek, "De Prudentii praefatione carminibus praefixa," in *Forschungen zur römischen Literatur, FS zum 60 Geburtstag von Karl Büchner*, ed. W. Wimmel, I (Wiesbaden 1970) 33 n. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Compare the Pseudo-Vergilian proem to the *Aeneid* and Ovid, *Am.* 2. 18 for a catalogue of the *Heroïdes*.

<sup>10</sup> See the curious remarks of J. Fontaine on the topic: *Naissance* (above, note 7) 149 n. 246 maintains an agnostic position, "l'absence d'une allusion vraiment claire à la *Psychomachia*;" *ibid.* 206 "L'oeuvre n'est qu'impliquée, mais elle est peut-être omniprésente, dans le programme de la *Préface*;" *ibid.* 207 "Elle répond d'abord aux besoins d'un temps et d'un lieu précis. Elle exprime la mentalité et le goût de l'âge théodosien."

<sup>11</sup> Ludwig (above, note 5) 303 had deliberately excluded the *Tituli Historiarum* from his scheme, but did not account for the lost *Hexaemeron*.

<sup>12</sup> Gennadius, *Vir.* III. 13.

<sup>13</sup> *Praef.* 34 *fine sub ultimo*.

The Prudentius tradition is largely dependent on five MSS, two date from the 6th century, three from the 9th century. A, the Puteanus,<sup>14</sup> is a 6th century composite MS. It lacks the preface,<sup>15</sup> and the epilogue but includes the *Tituli Historiarum*. The same is true of B, MS Ambros. D. 36 Sup. The main 9th century MSS, T,<sup>16</sup> E,<sup>17</sup> and S<sup>18</sup> have the preface, epilogue and the *Tituli Historiarum*. Thus our MSS do not descend from an archetype that was Prudentius's own collected edition of 405. Even the 6th century MSS are miscellanies, a fact which indicates that ancient book-collectors had to put together "complete Prudentius" from various sources.

Thus we must reconstruct at least a 3-stage early history of Prudentius's text. Some of his works, written before 405, were published independently. The *Cathemerinon*, at least, must have appeared twice, since codices that have the preface before the *Cathemerinon* all have certain *Bindefehler* in the *Cathemerinon*.<sup>19</sup> It was this first edition of *Cath.* minus the preface that descended to A and B. The edition of 405 was put out by the author, contained the preface and probably the epilogue, but not the *Psychomachia*, *Ditt.* or the *Hexaemeron*.<sup>20</sup> Finally an expanded edition (or separate editions) appeared after 405. It included the *Ditt.*, *Psychomachia*, *Preface*, *Epilogue*, and gave rise, eventually, to TES, the 9th century MSS. Whether this edition contained the *Hexaemeron* or not is unclear. This work was lost sometime after the late 5th century.

The *Psychomachia* does not appear in the *praefatio*. The collection we have is not a complete edition of his work designed by Prudentius. This preface was written for some sort of edition, but not for all the works we have. The *Psychomachia*, as well as various other works, could well have been written after A.D. 405. So if the *Psychomachia* was not necessarily written before 405 when does it belong? We may now turn to the internal evidence.

\* \* \*

One problem in interpreting the *Psychomachia* has been the very fact that it is an allegory. Allegories are considered universally comprehensible abstractions bearing the signs of their own interpretation like the personified *Artes* on a French cathedral portal. But allegorical narrative is often more

<sup>14</sup> Paris, B. N. lat. 8084.

<sup>15</sup> M. P. Cunningham, "Some Facts About the Puteanus of Prudentius," *TAPA* 89 (1958) 32-33 corrects Bergman. The first two leaves of the quaternion containing *Cath.* in A are not missing.

<sup>16</sup> Paris, B. N. lat. 8087.

<sup>17</sup> Leiden, Burm. Q. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Sankt Gallen 136.

<sup>19</sup> See Cunningham, *CC* v. 126 p. xi.

<sup>20</sup> Bergman (above, note 2) xiii is also of this opinion: "*Ps igitur et D post a. 405 edita videntur.*"

like a cartoon, particularly when it is partially political. The reader needs information in order to interpret the text: one must know the "base-image" in order to interpret the new picture. The *Psychomachia*, unlike some of its later mediaeval imitations, is not a purely moral or psychological allegory of hypostasised human emotions signifying virtues and vices.<sup>21</sup> Such interpretations come from looking at the work backwards from the Middle Ages. Nor is it a fight between deities and demons, as has more recently been suggested.<sup>22</sup> The answer is complicated because it is a very mixed composition: such poetry was still in its *infantia*.

It has been noted that the poem is usually interpreted as if it had no time or place whatsoever.<sup>23</sup> But Prudentius does allude to time in the *Psychomachia*. Glimpses of the poet's own contemporary problems are afforded in realistic details such as the description of the death of *Veterum cultura deorum: difficilemque obitum suspiria longa fatigant*.<sup>24</sup> This could serve as an epigraph for the death of paganism. He also saw time in terms of human salvation: he can speak of Judith as a *parum fortis matrona sub umbra / legis adhuc pugnans, dum tempora nostra figurat*.<sup>25</sup> He also shows a clear sense that Christians of his day were a *vesperinus populus*.<sup>26</sup>

But this is not all: one can highlight some arcas where Prudentius's historical present may have broken through into the composition of his supposedly universal moral allegory. The central battle of the *Psychomachia*, the fight between Superbia and Mens Humilis aided by Spes, bears remarkable testimony to the versatility of the poet, to his use of books and to his awareness of living issues.

The episode is basically a Vergilian illustration of *Proverbs* 16. 18 "Pride goeth before a fall":<sup>27</sup> there are echoes of Numanus's address to the Trojans in *Aen.* 9. 598 ff. in Superbia's taunts. Some aspects of Prudentius's allegory are probably spontaneous imaginative details, such as the Vice's toweringly pretentious Babylonian hairstyle.<sup>28</sup> Some illustrate doctrinal points and often actual texts. Superbia, for example, is described

<sup>21</sup> As in C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford 1973) 68 ff. and 45 for the initial process of psychological allegorisation.

<sup>22</sup> K. R. Haworth, *Deified Virtues, Demonic Vices, and Descriptive Allegory in Prudentius's Psychomachia* (Amsterdam 1980).

<sup>23</sup> Implicitly the *Psych.* is assigned an early date, see Ludwig (above, note 5) 313 "womit wieder an die Bilder der *Psychomachie* erinnert wird . . . and W. Steidle, "Die dichterische Konzeption des Prudentius und das Gedicht contra Symmachum," *Vig. Christ.* 25 (1971) 262 ein Rückbezug auf die *Psychomachie*."

<sup>24</sup> *Psych.* 35.

<sup>25</sup> *Psych.* 66-67.

<sup>26</sup> *Psych.* 376.

<sup>27</sup> *Proverbs* 16. 18 *Contritionem praecedat superbia, et ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus.*

<sup>28</sup> *Psych.* 183 ff.

as *inflata*:<sup>29</sup> she looks like a *superbus*.<sup>30</sup> She is puffed up and windy.<sup>31</sup> Her very clothing billows. Some aspects of this battle may have exegetic origins. *Psalm* 118. 49 ff. in the *Itala*-version juxtaposes *Spes*, *humilitas*, and the *superbi*. One may, with advantage, consider *Psalm* 118. 49–50 *Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo / In quo spem dedisti Haec (Spes) me consolata est in humilitate*<sup>32</sup> *mea, quoniam verbum tuum vivificavit me* and also Ambrose's exposition of it:

Haec est Spes, haec quae verbo tuo obvenit mihi, consolata est me, ut tolerarem acerba praesentium . . . Ergo si quis vult adversa superare, si est persecutio, si est periculum, si mors, si aegritudo, si incurio latronum . . . facile superantur, si sit Spes quae consoletur . . . *Humiliatur* enim anima nostra dum traditur *tentatori*, duris examinanda laboribus; *ut luctetur et certet, congressum contrariae experiens potestatis*.<sup>33</sup>

Verse 51 of the same *Psalm* refers to the actions of the *superbi*: *superbi agebant nimis; a lege tua non declinavi*. Prudentius was familiar both with Ambrose's famous hymns and with prose works, such as his *Epistles* and the *De Officiis Ministrorum* on which he based a number of his versified martyr-acts.<sup>34</sup>

David appears as an exemplum (*Psych.* 291 ff.) because the Psalmist was David himself.<sup>35</sup> Superbia's description also resembles Goliath's bold challenge of the Israelites (1 *Kings* 17. 18 ff.). The manner of her death is similar. She is beheaded (*Psych.* 282). Like David, *Mens Humilis* has no sword (2 *Kings* 17. 50), and must borrow one from *Spes* (*Psych.* 278): *cunctanti Spes fida comes succurrit et offert / ultorem gladium*.<sup>36</sup>

So far a brief conspectus of literary allusions. The description of the departure of *Spes* however contains a striking and significant *visual* twist:

Dixit et *auratis* praestringens aera *pinnis*<sup>37</sup>  
In caelum se virgo rapit. Mirantur euntem  
Virtutes tolluntque animos in vota volentes  
Ire simul, ni bella duces terrena retardent.  
Confligunt vitiis seque ad sua praemia servant.

The most noticeable feature of this *Spes* is her wings. Even though her first appearance in Hesiod *Op.* 97–98 οὐδὲ θύραζε ἐξέπτη indicates a

<sup>29</sup> *Psych.* 178.

<sup>30</sup> *Psych.* 182 *tumido . . . fastu*.

<sup>31</sup> *Ventosa* in *Psych.* 194; note also *volitabat* in *Psych.* 179.

<sup>32</sup> Ambrose was using a pre-Vulgate version. The Vulgate here has *in afflictione mea*.

<sup>33</sup> Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII* (PL 15. 1349–50).

<sup>34</sup> See I. Lana, *Due capitoli prudenziani* (Rome 1962) 56.

<sup>35</sup> *Psych.* 300 ff. *Me tunc ille puer virtutis pube secutus / florentes animos sursum in mea regna tetendit*.

<sup>36</sup> David, instead, used Goliath's own sword (2 *Kings* 17. 50).

<sup>37</sup> The passage is an imitation of Ovid, *Met.* 1. 466 *Dixit et eliso percussis aere pennis*, the flight of Amor, itself dependent on *Aen.* 9. 14.



winged creature, and this type seems to be alluded to a few times in Greek texts,<sup>38</sup> she is not winged in the Latin world. The standard Spes-type stands with a flower in her raised right hand and with the lowered left hand she holds the hem of her dress.<sup>39</sup> There is no question here of a general depiction of winged Virtues: Spes is the only figure with wings in the *Psychomachia*. Prudentius has intentionally given her odd attributes—those of her sister, Victory, whose appearance on a battlefield, even a psychological one, would cause no surprise.<sup>40</sup>

The description of Spes already nonplussed the mediaeval audience. Here the illustrated Prudentius manuscripts carry erroneous illustrations, all clearly dependent on a caption that named the flying goddess "Humilitas" rather than "Spes."<sup>41</sup> Such captions must be dependent on the commentary tradition where *ad Psych.* 305 *aera pennis* is to be found: *Humilitas superatis mundi pompis alas iam meruit unde caelos penetrauit, sed sancta spes cum ceteris virtutibus in hac vita laborans adgemit et ad ipsam pervenire per multas tribulationes apetit.*<sup>42</sup> It would appear, however, that these illustrations do not descend from any authentic late antique tradition.

Victory herself is not one of the most common figures in Latin poetry. She appears most fleetingly in Vergil.<sup>43</sup> She is also to be found in Ovid.<sup>44</sup> *Am.* 3. 2. 45 *prima loco fertur passis Victoria pinnis* briefly alludes to a statue carried at the races. She is absent from Lucan. More brief references are to be found in Tibullus,<sup>45</sup> in Statius<sup>46</sup> and in Silius Italicus.<sup>47</sup> From a

<sup>38</sup> *Anth. Gr.* 7. 420. 1 Ἐλπίδες ἀνθρώπων, ἑλαφραὶ θεαί . . . κουφότατοι δαίμονες ἀθανάτων. Lucian, *Merc. Cond.* 42 ἡ δὲ Ἑλπίς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτου ἀφανῆς ἀποπτέσθω . . . This depiction is unusual, and is probably directly dependent on Hesiod.

<sup>39</sup> See Daremberg-Saglio 4. 2. 1430–31.

<sup>40</sup> There is some very slight early evidence for a military Spes, see K. Latte in *RE* 2. 3 (1929) 1634 ff.; for an early example of Spes's military significance in Rome: Plaut. *Merc.* 867 *Spes, Salus, Victoria*.

<sup>41</sup> See R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften*, Tafelband (Berlin 1905). Table 21<sup>2</sup> has the caption *mirantur virtutes humilitatem in caelum euntem*; London, Brit. Lib. MS. Cotton Cleop. CVIII (table 56<sup>18</sup>) has *Humilitas ascendit in caelum, virtutes mirantur*; see also Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 23 (table 55<sup>7</sup>). Table 194 C, however, shows the figure literally climbing steps to heaven with the correct, but later, caption: *virtutes mirantur spem scandentem caelum*.

<sup>42</sup> See J. M. Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme sur Prudence d'après le manuscrit 413 de Valenciennes* (Paris 1910) 96.

<sup>43</sup> *Aen.* 11. 436 *non adeo has exosa manus Victoria fugit*.

<sup>44</sup> *Met.* 8. 13 *inter utrumque volat dubiis Victoria pinnis* and *Tristia* 2. 169 *Sic adsueta tuis semper Victoria castris / Nunc quoque se praestet notaque signa petat / Ausoniumque ducem solitis circumvolat alis, / Ponat et in nitida laurea sarta coma*.

<sup>45</sup> 2. 5. 46 *ecce super fessas volitat victoria puppes / tandem ad Troianas diva superba venit*.

<sup>46</sup> *Silv.* 5. 3. 145 *Aur alium tetigit Victoria crinem*.

<sup>47</sup> 15. 737 *ad Rutulos Victoria verteret alas*.

later period come two brief references in Ausonius.<sup>48</sup> The descriptions of the goddess are consistent. She is invariably winged, and comes to the winning side. This confirms what the Latin panegyricist called the *germana illa pictorum poetarumque commenta* which *Victoriam finxere pinnatam*.<sup>49</sup>

Prudentius's description of Spes flying like Victory includes a detail not found in any earlier poetic descriptions: golden wings (*auratis . . . pinnis*).<sup>50</sup> To this passage must be compared Prudentius's own description of the statue of Victoria in the Senate House at *CS* 2. 27 ff. *Aurea quamvis / marmoreo in templo rutilas Victoria pinnas / explicat et multis surgat formata talentis . . .* (33) *Numquam pinnigeram legio ferrata puellam / vidit, anhelantum regeret quae tela virorum*. Here Prudentius describes the actual statue of Victory in the Senate House, a figure that, to judge by common descriptions, must have sported gilded wings.<sup>51</sup> Prudentius ironically ridiculed the statue's wings at *CS* 2. 259 ff. *Desine terga hominis plumis obducere; frustra / fertur avis mulier magnusque eadem dea vultur*.<sup>52</sup> For the pagan description of the statue and its golden wings one turns to Claudian: *Affuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis / Romanae tutela togae; quae divite penna / patricii reverenda fovet sacraria coetus*.<sup>53</sup>

In the earliest period, allusions to Victoria such as those of Ovid (*Tristia* 2. 169)<sup>54</sup> were intended to recall the famous statue in the Curia Julia taken from Tarentum and set up by Augustus in thanksgiving for the Battle of Actium. The winged goddess stands poised on a globe with a wreath in her right hand and either a palm or a *vexillum* in the left. The references to Victoria between Augustan times and the 4th century apply not to the actual image in the Senate, but to the neutral epic personification. And again in the 4th century A.D. Victoria, after the dispute over the Altar of Victory, took on a new political significance—this time in pagan-Christian conflict. It is at this point that descriptions of the goddess become again descriptions of the statue.

<sup>48</sup> *VI Prec.* 33 *hoc mihi praepetibus Victoria nuntiat alis* and *Epigr.* 1. 2 ff. *tu quoque ab aereo praeceps Victoria lapsu / come serenatam duplici diademate frontem / sarta ferens quae dona togae, quae praemia pugnae*.

<sup>49</sup> *Pan. lat.* 2. 39. 1 *Mynors Recte profecto germana illa pictorum poetarumque commenta Victoriam finxere pinnatam, quod hominum cum fortuna euntium non cursus est, sed volatus*.

<sup>50</sup> *Psych.* 305.

<sup>51</sup> See also M. R. Alfvöldi, "Die kaiserzeitlichen Vorgänger des Reichapfels," *Jahrb. Num.* 11 (1961) 21–22 and 28. The continuation of the description (*CS* 2. 36 ff.) describes a well-known Victory-type *non pexo crine virago / nec nuda suspensa pede strofioque recincta / nec tumidas fluitante sinu vestita papillas*.

<sup>52</sup> The goddess, whose flight above the Roman legions should portend victory, is instead assimilated to a carrion bird.

<sup>53</sup> *6 Cons. Hon.* 598 ff.

<sup>54</sup> See above p. 353.

The Altar of Victory in the Senate House was banished by Gratian in 383.<sup>55</sup> In 384 Symmachus petitioned Valentinian II to restore it and wrote his famous 3rd *Relatio* on this occasion. A series of intermediate embassies connected with pagan cults are also known. Ambrose, *Ep. extra coll.* 10 to Eugenius, probably written in 393, recounts the failure of a senatorial embassy to Valentinian in 392.<sup>56</sup> The same epistle then chides the usurper for, while officially denying the request, giving money personally to members of a senatorial *legatio* who had asked for the restoration of pagan cults.<sup>57</sup> The *Vita Ambrosii* maintains that Eugenius did restore the Altar.<sup>58</sup> Quodvultdeus and Ambrose attest an embassy of Symmachus to Theodosius.<sup>59</sup> And it is generally suggested that in 402 Symmachus may again have tried to petition Honorius, because, though ailing,<sup>60</sup> he was sent on a *legatio* to Milan to Stilicho.<sup>61</sup>

The direct evidence that Symmachus's petition had to do with the Altar of Victory consists of Prudentius's *Contra Symmachum*, which was written in 402–3, and is often thought to address a dead issue. I recently have suggested that the poem was not an otiose restatement of Ambrose's and Symmachus's arguments.<sup>62</sup> The *CS* began in Sept. 394 as a panegyric of Theodosius, perhaps joined to a diatribe against pagan religion. This work was never published, for in January 395 Theodosius died unexpectedly. Instead *CS* I was doctored with various passages reflecting works of Claudian written in 399 and 400, and hurriedly re-issued in 402–3 attached to *CS* 2, which really *does* deal with Symmachus. The very nature of the composition of the *CS*, the addition of Symmachus, above all, suggest that Symmachus was the reason. He had in fact gone to Milan in the winter of 402 to plead for the restoration of the altar and the statue—thereby causing great anxiety in Christian circles. Thus I found a Prudentius who, in his

<sup>55</sup> Zosimus 4. 36; A. D. E. Cameron, "Gratian's Repudiation of the Pontifical Robe," *JRS* 58 (1968) 96–99.

<sup>56</sup> *Ep. extra coll.* 10. p. 207. 45 ff. Zelzer *Iterum Valentiniano augustae memoriae principi legatio a senatu missa intra Gallias nihil extorquere potuit, et certe aberam nec aliquid tunc ad eum scripseram*. For the date see O. Seeck, *Symmachi Opera*, M. G. H., A. A. VI (1883) lviii.

<sup>57</sup> For the dating see M. Zelzer, *C.S.E.L.* 82, *praef.* lxxxvii. See *Ep. extra coll.* 10, p. 208. 48 ff. Zelzer.

<sup>58</sup> Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* 26. 3 [Eugenius] *Qui ubi imperare coepit, non multum post, petentibus Flaviano tunc praefecto et Arbogaste, comite, aram Victoriae et sumptus caerimoniarum . . . oblitus fidei suae concessit*.

<sup>59</sup> See O. Seeck, (above, note 56) lviii.

<sup>60</sup> Symmachus, *Ep.* 5. 96. Symmachus did not respond well to the cold in Milan.

<sup>61</sup> Symmachus, *Ep.* 4. 9 tells us that the *necessitas patriae* and *auxilium tui* (Stilichonis) *culminis* pushed him to act the part of ambassador. *Ep.* 5. 94 refers to the mission as *legationis officium* . . . *superest, ut proposito religionis tuae melior adspiret eventus et tibi in posterum competens decus pro tanto in patriam labore respondeat*. *Ep.* 5. 95 is perhaps the most explicit: *Mediolanum sum missus a patribus ad exorandum divini principis opem, quam communis patriae sollicitudo poscebat. Celerem mihi reditum praefata dei venia res prosperae pollicentur*.

<sup>62</sup> See D. R. Shanzer, "The Date and Composition of Prudentius's *Libri contra orationem Symmachi*," *RFIC* forthcoming. The remainder of this paragraph briefly summarises this article.

own way, was no less an occasional poet than Claudian—on occasion. Prudentius's satirical description of the *non pexo crine virago / nec nudo suspenso pede strofioque recincta / nec tumidas fluitante sinu vestita papilla* reflects the all-too contemporary issue of whether to admit the personification of Victory to a Christian battlefield.<sup>63</sup> In 384 Symmachus had asked, *quis ita familiaris est barbaris ut aram victoriae non requirat?*<sup>64</sup> The question was even more valid in 402. The Milan mint had found it necessary to launder its Victory by giving her an orb *with a cross* after 388.<sup>65</sup> Little has been made of the reference to the *Victoria Romana* in the *HA, Vit. Sev. 14. 2 pater eadem nocte in somnis vidit alis se Romanae Victoriae, quae in senatu, ad caelum vehi*, but it is almost certainly some sort of topical allusion on the part of the prankster.<sup>66</sup> The personification was not dead, and Victory was a concern to Prudentius in 402, and clearly no less so sometime after 405, perhaps after a restoration of the statue attested by Claudian's *6 Cons. Hon.*<sup>67</sup> He did not allow *Victoria* to appear in the *Psych.* He substituted a permuted form of her image.

*Spes* did not appear on the coinage of this period, but *Victoria* had with the inscription, "*Spes Romanorum.*"<sup>68</sup> These coins had been minted in Aquileia and Rome at the time of Eugenius's usurpation. The message is clear: *Victoria* is the *Hope* of the Romans. The image in Prudentius can be seen as a reversal of the numismatic propaganda: "*Spes Victoria Christianorum.*" In his panegyric on the 6th Consulate of Honorius,<sup>69</sup> which dates to 404, Claudian juxtaposed *Hope* and *Victoria*: the advent of the Emperor in the newly-fortified<sup>70</sup> Rome to celebrate his Gothic triumphs was a cosmic event: *Haud aliter Latiae sublimis Signifer aulae, / imperii sidus propria cum sede locavit, / auget spes Italas; et certius omina surgunt / victrici concepta solo.* Here is the classical Roman *Spes*, her flower a symbol of growth, with words like *augere, surgunt, concepta, and solo* in the immediate context. In January 404 *Victoria* had given birth to the pagan *Hope* with her promise of growth on earth.

Something had changed between 402/04 and the time of the *Psych.* The tone of the *CS* is sanguine. A major battle had just been won against the Goths, and Prudentius revelled in Christian *Victoria* and blood-thirsty injunctions to suspend captive spoils.<sup>71</sup> Instead here Christian *Hope*, whose

<sup>63</sup> Prud. *CS* 2. 36–38.

<sup>64</sup> *Rel.* 3. 3.

<sup>65</sup> O. Ulrich-Bansa, *Moneta Mediolanensis (353–498)* (Venice 1949) 101; M. R. Alföldi (above, note 51) 30 ff.; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mainz 1967) 30–31.

<sup>66</sup> For his activities see Sir Ronald Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford 1968) *passim*.

<sup>67</sup> *6 Cons. Hon.* 597 *adfruit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis.*

<sup>68</sup> H. Mattingly, *RIC* 9, p. 107 (Aquileia 393/95) and p. 134 (393/94 Rome).

<sup>69</sup> Claud. *6 Cons. Hon.* 22 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Claud. *6 Cons. Hon.* 531.

<sup>71</sup> *CS* 2. 62.

home is in heaven,<sup>72</sup> not Victory, is the reward of victors who have conquered.<sup>73</sup> Like Justice she flies away to heaven.<sup>74</sup> The Virtues wish to follow, but cannot because they are detained by *bella terrena*.<sup>75</sup> The reward of war is no longer in this world, and Prudentius's substitution of Hope for Victory suggests that he wrote after 404, during times of military setback.

\* \* \*

At least one scholar denied that Prudentius's work reflected the contemporary invasions,<sup>76</sup> but one can outline a variety of brief observations, mostly details and puzzles in the *Psychomachia* that may reflect aspects of the external reality of the barbarian invasions. Many of the deaths of the Vices seem to recall those of miscreants from the pages of Claudian: Arbogast,<sup>77</sup> Leo,<sup>78</sup> Rufinus.<sup>79</sup> Some of the colouring of the *Psych.* may be topical. Luxuria, who comes, mysteriously,<sup>80</sup> from the West,<sup>81</sup> *occiduis mundi de finibus*, bears an uncanny resemblance to Gildo as described by Claudian.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Col. 1. 5.

<sup>73</sup> 6 *Cons. Hon.* 601–02 had presented the sanguine promise of eternal victory: *atque omne futurum / te Romae seseque tibi promittit in aevum*.

<sup>74</sup> In CS 2. 907 ff., perhaps following *Romans* 5. 2, Spes provides immediate guidance on earth to the Christian: *spem sequimur gradimurque fide fruimurque futuris / ad quae non veniunt praesentis gaudia vitae*.

<sup>75</sup> *Psych.* 306.

<sup>76</sup> F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna: Études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions* (Rome 1967) 231, "De ces dangers, Prudence n'en parle guère; ce n'est ni par ignorance, ni par inconscience: sa haine du Barbare ne peut être que le résultat de son inquiétude; s'il n'en dit mot, c'est d'abord que ces poèmes ne se prêtaient guère à de telles allusions . . . c'est enfin que son oeuvre a été écrit au moment où les succès de Stilicon semblaient assurer à l'Empire une certaine stabilité; elle est achevée avant l'apparition des prodromes de la terreur de 410."

<sup>77</sup> *Psych.* 160 *Ipsa sibi est hostis vaesania seque furendo / interimit moriturque suis Ira ignea telis* followed by Patientia's departure at 162 *Haec effata secat medias impune cohortes* is similar to Claudian's 3 *Cons. Hon.* 104 *et ultrices in se converterat iras* followed by 3 *Cons. Hon.* 112 (of Honorius) *Inter barbaricas ausus transire cohortes*.

<sup>78</sup> *Psych.* 262 ff. *hostili de parte latens, ut fossa ruentes / exciperet cuneos atque agmina mersa voraret* describes the pit dug by Fraus into which Superbia falls. The episode is similar to the defeat of Leo, the boaster (*Eutrop.* 2. 380 *linguae iactor*) at the hands of Tribigild's troops, another instance of *fraus* where soliders fall into the bog: *Eutrop.* 2. 438 *ast alios vicina palus sine more ruentes / excipit et cumulis immanibus aggerat undas*.

<sup>79</sup> The *sparagmos* at *Psych.* 719 ff. may be compared to *In Ruf.* 2. 405–27.

<sup>80</sup> Contrast the traditional position of Cic. *Pro Murena* 5. 12 *Et si habet Asia suspicionem luxuriae quandam, non Asiam numquam vidisse, sed in Asia continenter vixisse laudandum est*.

<sup>81</sup> C. Gnlika, *Studien zur Psychomachie des Prudentius* (Wiesbaden 1963) 40 believes that the West is the evil kingdom of the setting sun (following Bergman, [above, note 1] 32) or that West and East may be entirely relative to the geographical position of the author. But *occiduis . . . de finibus* does not have to mean "western limits or westernmost confines;" it could equally well mean "western regions."

<sup>82</sup> *Gild.* 444 ff. *umbratus dux ipse rosis et marcidus ibit / unguentis crudusque cibo titubansque Lyaeo* is close to *Psych.* 316 *Ac tunc pervigilem ructabat marcida cenam* and *Psych.*

Avaritia who is called *mendax Bellona*<sup>83</sup> disguises herself the way Claudian's real Bellona dressed as Tribigild's barbarian wife.<sup>84</sup> Prudentius alludes with distaste to the fact that Avarice has attacked even priests, who fight in the front-line of the allegorical battle.<sup>85</sup> There is a curious passage on plundering.<sup>86</sup> Striking too are barbarians like Ira, the *barbara bellatrix*<sup>87</sup> and Superbia with her fur-clad mount, who first incited Man to wear *pellitos habitus*.<sup>88</sup> In *Genesis* Adam and Eve fashioned their own *perizomata* made of fig-leaves and were then given *tunicas pelliceas* by God.<sup>89</sup> Prudentius has fairly representative opinions about barbarians: they may not have butter in their hair<sup>90</sup> and hair on their teeth, but in his *CS* 2.816 ff. he declares that the barbarian differs as much from the Roman as the four-legged from the two-legged animal.<sup>91</sup> They looked different: a barbarian is *armis veste comisque ignotus*.<sup>92</sup> The overwhelming numbers of barbarians in the Roman armies had already been a source of trouble for some time. Ammianus is anti-German.<sup>93</sup> Northerners had their uses: frightening Africans, for example, as Claudian observed.<sup>94</sup> But desertions might often

326 *sed violas lasciva iacit foliisque rosarum / dimicat*. Even more striking is the wakening by the trumpet: *Psych.* 317 ff. *sub lucem quia forte iacens ad ferculo raucos / audierat lituos . . . ebria calcatis ad bellum floribus ibat* and *Gild.* 447 *excitet incestos turmalis bucina somnos, inploret cūtharas catotricesque choreas / offensus stridore tubae . . .* Such an awakening is typical of the real soldier, see *Cic. Pro Murena* 9. 22 *te gallorum, illum bucinarum cantus exsuscitāt*.

<sup>83</sup> *Psych.* 557 *Huius se specie mendax Bellona coapat*.

<sup>84</sup> *Eutr.* 2. 182 *mentitoque ferox incedit barbara gressu*.

<sup>85</sup> *Psych.* 497 ff. *Quin ipsos temptare manu, si credere dignum est / ausa sacerdotes domini, qui proelia forte / ductores primam ante aciem pro laude gerebant / virtutum magnoque inplebant classica flatu*. Bergman (above, note 1) *ad loc.* believes that this refers to the Priests of the Jews who blew down the walls of Jericho in *Jos.* 6. This is unlikely for there is no hint that *avaritia* inspired them, and it is inconceivable that Prudentius would have used the insinuating *si credere dignum est* about the Bible. More tantalising is Bergman's vague reference to Sulpicius Severus on the priests of Prudentius's own times. Roesler (above, note 1) 219–20 cites *Sulp. Sev. Chron.* 1. 23 and *Chron.* 2. 41 on the avarice of *sacerdotes*. Roesler's attention (pp. 217–18) to details of the attack of Heresy, her wounding *vix in cute summa* and the phrase at 795 ff. *quamvis de corpore summo* indicating corruption only in the top ranks is praiseworthy. These are deliberate contemporary allusions on Prudentius's part.

<sup>86</sup> *Psych.* 470 ff. may reflect topical issues. Compare Claudian, *Poll.* 604 ff. *Vv.* 606–07 *et caedis avarus/contemptus proculcat opes* suggest that the Roman armies had plundered.

<sup>87</sup> *Psych.* 133.

<sup>88</sup> *Psych.* 179 *effreni volitabat equo, quem pelle leonis / texerat et validos villis oneraverat armos* and *Psych.* 226 *pellitosque habitus sumpsit venerabilis Adam*.

<sup>89</sup> *Gen.* 3. 7 and 3. 21 for the *tunicas pelliceas* made by God. The point is that to Superbia the skins or furs are an improvement.

<sup>90</sup> *Sid. Carm.* 12. 7 *infundens acido comam butyro*.

<sup>91</sup> *CS* 2. 816–17.

<sup>92</sup> *CS* 2. 694.

<sup>93</sup> W. Enßlin, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung und Weltanschauung des Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Klio Beiheft* 16 (1923) 30–33.

<sup>94</sup> *Gild.* 1. 372.

occur, as in the case of members of Eutropius's campaign who went over to the side of the Ostrogoth Tribigild and caused the defeat of Leo's forces in the spring of 399. Goths might make secret agreements among themselves: Gainas's deal with Tribigild was a case in point. Anti-German sentiment surfaced earlier in the East than in the West, but eventually much criticism was levelled at Stilicho for his lenient treatment of Alaric. Some considered him a traitor. Claudian's panegyrics do their best to dispel such notions.<sup>95</sup> After 417 Rutilius Namatianus accused Stilicho of having opened Rome to the skin-clad ministers of evil: *ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat*.<sup>96</sup>

With this in mind it is worth reexamining the imagery of the preface to the *Psychomachia*. Prudentius begins by exhorting us to fight with the *profanae gentes*.<sup>97</sup> By chance fierce kings happened to capture Lot and conquer him as he tarried in the wicked cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>98</sup> They forced him to serve the harsh chains of the barbarians.<sup>99</sup> Abraham, with the aid of his *vernulae*, came and rescued Lot.<sup>100</sup> This myth from Genesis is interpreted as an encouragement to be vigilant and to use the home-forces, our many home-born slaves, in our internal fight against any part of our body that is slave to foul desires.<sup>101</sup> The allegory begins with a Biblical passage and is given an explicit psychological interpretation. But the language and the imagery is that of Prudentius's own times, of invasion by foreigners. The words to underline, *barbari*, *profanae* and *feroces*, do not feature in *Gen.* 14. Is this relatively obscure myth involving repulsion of foreign enemies with *home-born* forces chosen because of actual problems with the constitution of the Roman army?<sup>102</sup> It is possible. The story of Lot and his second departure from the twin cities was about to become a painful topic a year or so later: Pope Innocent who was absent when Alaric entered Rome would be compared to him by the apologists, Orosius and Augustine.<sup>103</sup>

Such imagery is not confined to the preface. After the end of the battle Concordia addresses her troops: *Extincta est multo certamine saeva / barbaries, sanctae quae circumsaepserat urbis / indigenas ferroque viros flammaque premebat*.<sup>104</sup> This is a clear description of the siege of a city to

<sup>95</sup> Such criticism is met by 6 *Cons. Hon.* 301 ff.

<sup>96</sup> *De Reditu suo* 2. 49.

<sup>97</sup> *Psych. praef.* 9 *pugnare nosmet cum profanis gentibus*.

<sup>98</sup> *Psych. praef.* 15 ff. *Victum feroces forte reges ceperant / Loth immorantem criminosis urbibus / Sodom et Gomorrae*.

<sup>99</sup> *Psych. praef.* 21 *servire duris barbarorum vinculis*.

<sup>100</sup> *Psych. praef.* 22.

<sup>101</sup> *Psych. praef.* 50–54 *domi coactis liberandam viribus, nos esse large vernularum divites*.

<sup>102</sup> See Enßlin (above, note 93) 32–33 especially citing Amm. 31. 16. 8 *Romanos omnes (quod his temporibus raro contingit) universos . . . mandavit occidi*. For a more optimistic point of view see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* I (Baltimore 1986) 621.

<sup>103</sup> Orosius 7. 39. 2; Aug. *Serm. de Urbis excidio*, PL 40. 718.

<sup>104</sup> *Psych.* 752 ff. This passage is cited by Fontaine (above, note 7) 209 n. 412 as an unquestionable evocation of contemporary reality.

which one should compare Rome's own triumphant speech from *CS* 2. 692 *nullus me barbarus hostis / cuspide claustra quatit*. The imagery of the city persists at *Psych.* 816 ff. *Nam quid terrigenas ferro pepulisse falangas / culparum prodest, hominis si filius arce / aetheris inlapsus purgati corporis urbem / intret inornatum templi splendentis egenus?* It would appear that Prudentius carefully insists on the *Roman* colouring of his Temple of Sapientia: at the top of its gates, inscribed on the posts, gleam the twelve names of the apostolic *Senate*.<sup>105</sup> Prudentius was thinking of Rome, and furthermore of Rome in a state of embattlement at a time of direct military threat to the city.<sup>106</sup>

We may eliminate Alaric's successful invasion of August 410. Had Prudentius written after 410, he would unquestionably have alluded explicitly to the Fall of Rome. He does not. Radagaisus's unsuccessful invasion of 405, followed by his defeat by Stilicho at Fiesole in August 406 may also be eliminated. Rome was not directly threatened, and it is temporally too close to the date of the preface.

Instead I would suggest 408/09, a time of strong anti-barbarian sentiment leading up to and following the execution of Stilicho in August 408.<sup>107</sup> Later that autumn Alaric was at the gates of Rome. Panic ensued and much debate about whether the pagan gods had deserted the city. The more orthodox Christian party then in power was forced to give way, a German *Comes domesticorum* was chosen,<sup>108</sup> and Honorius was forced to repeal the law of 14 Nov. 408 which allowed only orthodox Christians to hold palace office.<sup>109</sup> The *Psychomachia*'s special warning about the secret threat of heresy after peace appears to have supervened *may* have been prompted by this apparently backsliding legislation of Honorius. One might also consider *causes célèbres* like the Arian baptism of the pagan Count of the Sacred Largesses, Priscus Attalus who was used as a puppet usurper by the Goths.<sup>110</sup> Prudentius explicitly alludes to Arius.<sup>111</sup> Could the vivid dismemberment of Discordia recall the death of Gabinus Barbarus Pompeianus, pagan Urban Prefect in 408/09 who was torn apart during a bread-riot?<sup>112</sup> In order to pay the enormous ransom demanded by Alaric the Romans were compelled to strip the ornaments of their statues, and in the

<sup>105</sup> *Psych.* 838 *Portarum summis inscripta in postibus auro / nomina apostolici fulgent bis sena senatus.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ham.* 390 ff. (pre-405) which describes the Devil's mustering of the sins in the human body, and which can be seen as a preliminary version of the imagery to be used in the *Psych.* significantly does not employ the image of the embattled city.

<sup>107</sup> For an account of events leading to Stilicho's fall, see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* I (Amsterdam 1968) 252-54.

<sup>108</sup> *PLRE* 2 Allobichus; see Stein (previous note) 256.

<sup>109</sup> Zosimus 5. 41. 6 ff. *Cod. Theod.* 16. 5. 42 and 16. 5. 51.

<sup>110</sup> Sozomen 9. 9; *PLRE* 2 Priscus Attalus 2.

<sup>111</sup> *Psych.* 794.

<sup>112</sup> *Vit. Sancti. Melaniae Gr.* 19 (ed. H. Delehaye, *Anal. Boll.* 22 [1903] 1-50) καὶ οὕτως ἐλκόμενος ἐφονεύσθη ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως.



case of gold or silver ones, melt them down. The kings attacked by Abraham when rescuing Lot are described as *mole praedarum graves* (*Psych. praef.* 27), a detail missing from *Genesis*, and hence probably a significant embroidering on Prudentius's part. Zosimus attributes the disasters to the melting down of the statue of Virtus itself.<sup>113</sup> Is it too fanciful to suggest that Prudentius's elaborate construction of the temple of Sapiencia using riches like "an enormous pearl worth a thousand talents which brave Faith had obtained"<sup>114</sup> is a spiritual consolation for the riches lost from the buildings of the city?

Part of the imagery of the *Psych.*, that of the interior battle, has Latin precedents in Tertullian, Cyprian and Ambrose.<sup>115</sup> The other central image, that of the temple of the mind, was likewise not unknown to previous writers.<sup>116</sup> God, according to Prudentius, loved the temple of the mind, not one of marble.<sup>117</sup> Despite lack of generic and religious affinities, Prudentius followed the work of his contemporary Claudian very closely.<sup>118</sup> The opening of *Stil.* 2 features an extended panegyric metaphor. Clementia reigns in Stilicho: The goddess enjoys him as her temple and her altar warm with incense. She has made her seat in his heart.<sup>119</sup> . . . Her sister Fides too, making her shrine in his breast, takes part in all his acts.<sup>120</sup> The opening of the panegyric goes on to describe how all the goddesses who dispel crimes with pure lips dwell all together in his heart, Justice, Patience, and Prudence, while the wicked monsters of Tartarus are put to flight: Avaritia, Luxuria, and Superbia.<sup>121</sup> The resemblance of the passage is striking; notable also is the leading role played by Fides, who also leads the Virtues in the *Psychomachia*. The birth of a poem is often elusive, but here it would appear that Prudentius was thinking of the Virtues using the person of Stilicho as their living temple—perhaps following Stilicho's death and the realisation that he alone could have staved off Alaric. The conjunction of both the temple of the mind and the Virtues and Vices make Claudian the most probable source.<sup>122</sup> In the face of growing disillusionment with actual

<sup>113</sup> Zos. 5. 41. 6 ff.

<sup>114</sup> *Mille talentis / margaritum ingens opibusque et censibus hastae / addictis animosa Fides mercata pararet.*

<sup>115</sup> See Gnilka (above, note 81) 9 and Fontaine (above, note 7) 206.

<sup>116</sup> For the history of this metaphor see Gnilka (above, note 81) 83 ff.

<sup>117</sup> *CS* 2. 249.

<sup>118</sup> For more on this see D. R. Shanzer, "The Date and Composition of Prudentius's *Libri contra orationem Symmachi*," *RFIC* (forthcoming).

<sup>119</sup> *Stil.* 2. 12–13.

<sup>120</sup> *Stil.* 2. 30 ff.

<sup>121</sup> *Stil.* 2. 100 ff.

<sup>122</sup> U. Keudel, *Poetische Vorläufer und Vorbilder in Claudians De Consolatu Stilichonis* (Göttingen 1970) 63 is oddly skeptical about any direct relationship between the two passages. In favour of a connection, however, is the absence of the temple of the mind from two other aborted Virtue-catalogues, *Man. Theod.* 166–73 and *6 Cons. Hon.* 584–86. The presence of both the temple and the Virtues in *Stil.* and *Psych.* suggests a direct relationship.

fighting and despair of external victory, Prudentius performed a characteristically Christian psychological manoeuvre. He moved the battle to another field: he made it an interior and a moral one. He substituted Hope for Victory. He built, not a new and rich Senate-House, but a Temple adorned with apocalyptic gems patterned both on Solomon's Temple and on the Heavenly Jerusalem. His thought does not differ greatly from that of Augustine who used the fall of the earthly city of Rome to develop his theology of the heavenly city projected into a better future.

One of Prudentius's *Tituli Historiarum*, again written after 405, may reemphasise the point :

Aedificat templum Sapientia per Solomonis  
Obsequium; regina austri grave congerit aurum  
Tempus adest quo *templum hominis sub pectore* Christus  
*Aedificet, quod Graia colant, quod barbara dñent.*<sup>123</sup>

The Queen of the South brought foreign riches to Solomon's temple of Wisdom. Now *in our times*, as Prudentius emphasises, Christ builds the temple in order that the pagans may worship and barbarians bring riches to it. It is unlikely that the emphatically Roman Prudentius would have used *Graia* and *barbara* from the Greek point of view to denote the civilised world.<sup>124</sup> Prudentius has carefully separated pagans and barbarians, his two main adversaries. This apparently Italian and Roman milieu for the *Psychomachia* need not cause surprise. Prudentius's journey to Rome took place after 399, the *Contra Symmachum* suggests that he was there in 402/03, and there is no evidence that he returned to his home-province.<sup>125</sup>

Finally some *Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Few read Prudentius at the beginning of the 5th century,<sup>126</sup> but St. Augustine was one of them. He provides perhaps the first *testimonium* for the *Psychomachia* in the 19th Book of the *City of God*.<sup>127</sup> He says *Sed neque sancti et fideles unius veri Dei summique cultores ab eorum fallaciis et multiformi temptatione securi sunt. In hoc enim loco infirmitatis et diebus malignis etiam ista sollicitudo non est inutilis, ut illa securitas ubi pax plenissima atque certissima est, desiderio ferventiore queratur . . . ibi virtutes, non contra ulla vitia vel mala quaecumque certantes, sed habentes victoriae praemium aeternam pacem,*

<sup>123</sup> Prud. TH 81–84.

<sup>124</sup> Gnllka (above, note 81) 127 n. 5 points to Rom. 1. 14, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 12. 120. 2 and Eus. *HE* 10. 4. 20, and is followed by R. Pillinger, *Die Tituli Historiarum oder das sogenannte Dittochaon des Prudentius* (Wien 1980) 61–62, but in this period even Ammianus, himself a Greek, never used the word *barbarus* of the Persians. It was reserved almost exclusively for Germanic barbarians: see Enßlin (above, note 93) 33.

<sup>125</sup> See Shanzer (above, note 62) n. 83.

<sup>126</sup> Bergman (above, note 1) xxix starts his list of testimonia with Avitus. No one appears to have noticed Claud. Mam. 1. 3, p. 32. 6 ff. Engelbrecht *unde iucundissimis Asclepiadeis lusit poeta notissimus: abstentemque diem lux agit aemula / quam nox cum lacero victa fugit pepto* (= *Cath.* 5. 27–28).

<sup>127</sup> CD 19. 10, p. 370. 6–18 Dombart.

*quam nullus adversarius inquietet.* Augustine's Virtues had found serenity in the other world, in Jerusalem, the vision of peace,<sup>128</sup> not in this vale of woe, where we have but little peace.<sup>129</sup> Maximus, Bishop of Turin, who died some time between 408 and 423 wrote a sermon *de tumultis bellicosis* in which he speaks in vague terms of the evil times and wars that beset us. The arguments, however, have a familiar ring: *Cernimus armari civitatis portas, debemus etiam prius in nobis portas armare iustitiae . . . Tunc autem civitatis porta munita esse poterit, si prius in nobis porta iustitiae muniatur;—ceterum nihil prodest muros munire propugnaculis et deum provocare peccatis. Illa enim construitur ferro saxis et sudibus, haec armetur misericordia innocentia castitate . . .*<sup>130</sup> David, as in the battle against Superbia, is again used as an example of Fides who overthrew the gentile unarmed.<sup>131</sup> He perorates, *Ergo, fratres, propter mundi iudicium armis nos caelestibus muniamus, accingamur lorica fidei salutis galea protegatur verbo dei velut spiritali gladio defendamur.*<sup>132</sup> . . . *Non in armis tantum speranda victoria est sed in nomine salvatoris oranda.*<sup>133</sup> Thus there may well have been ancient writers who read the new "interiorisation" of the *Psychomachia* as Christian advice to devote military energies to the *internal* struggle in times of war against the barbarians.

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<sup>128</sup> CD 19, 11, p. 371. 15 Dombart.

<sup>129</sup> CD 19, 10 *Hic autem dicimur beati, quando pacem habemus quantumcumque hic haberi potest in vita bona, sed haec beatitudo illi, quam finalem dicimus, beatitudini comparata prorsus miseria reperitur.*

<sup>130</sup> *Serm.* 85, 2, p. 348. 27 ff. Mutzenbecher (CC 23)

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.* p. 349. 45 ff.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.* p. 349. 40 ff.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.* p. 349. 40 ff. and p. 350. 71 ff.



*Palestra* bei Prudentius

CHRISTIAN GNILKA

“Das Schicksal litterarischer Wahrheiten und richtiger Erkenntnis ist kein anderes, als das, was über Wahrheit und Recht in der Welt überhaupt waltet. Recht und Wahrheit werden verkannt, erkannt und wieder verkannt.” Daß dieser pessimistische Erfahrungssatz<sup>1</sup> durchaus nicht aus der Luft gegriffen ist, ließe sich anhand moderner Urteile über gewisse Tatbestände der Prudentiusüberlieferung vorführen. Ich meine jene Großinterpolamente, die sich durch urkundliche Divergenzen im Versbestand zu erkennen geben. Wenn ich hier einen dieser Fälle aufgreife, so geschieht das allerdings nicht nur in der Absicht, für ein einzelnes Textproblem den Grad der Erkenntnis, der bereits erreicht war, wiederzugewinnen. Ich möchte vielmehr, eigene Bemühungen gleicher Art fortsetzend,<sup>2</sup> den Blick öffnen für textgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge, welche sich aus der Betrachtung, besonders aus der vergleichenden Betrachtung, solcher Erscheinungen erschließen. Denn wenn sie auch für die Textgestaltung keinen unmittelbaren Gewinn versprechen, so ist doch ihre mittelbare Bedeutung groß. Sie bezeugen eine Bearbeitung des Dichtertexts, mit deren Wirkung wir auch dort rechnen müssen, wo sie sich durch den handschriftlichen Befund äußerlich nicht mehr fassen läßt. Insofern besitzen alle diese Fälle musterhaften Wert, der nicht getrübt werden darf.

Im zweiten Buch seines Gedichts gegen Symmachus führt Prudentius Gott selbst redend ein (*c. Symm.* 2. 123–60). Der Schöpfer mahnt zu rechtem, maßvollem Gebrauch der irdischen Güter: Fülle und Schönheit der Schöpfung rührten von Ihm her, aber der Mensch dürfe ihren Reizen nicht erliegen, so daß er darüber Gott und die wahren, ewigen Güter vergesse. Darum habe Er das menschliche Leben als eine Zeit des Kampfs und der Bewährung anberaumt:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aufgestellt von Karl Friedrich Heinrich, *Juvenal*ausgabe, ed. Karl Berthold Heinrich (Bonn 1839) vol. II p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. bes. “Zwei Binneninterpolamente und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Prudentiustexts,” *Hermes* 114 (1986) 88–98.

<sup>3</sup> Parallel ist nicht so sehr *Lact. inst.* 5. 22. 16 f. (von Lavarenne, tome III p. 164 unterm Text angegeben)—hier ist von der Prüfung durch Verfolgungen die Rede—als vielmehr *Lact. inst.* 6. 22. 1–5 (zitiert von Arevalo zu V. 146, vgl. *PL* 60. 192 C), wo derselbe Gedanke mit

- atque aevum statui, sub quo generosa probarem  
pectora, ne torpens et non exercita virtus  
143 *robur enervatum gereret sine laude palaestrae.*  
inlecebrosus enim sapor est et pestifer horum,  
145 quae . . . eqs.

Das ist die Textfassung, die sieben der von den Editoren Bergman und Cunningham herangezogenen Handschriften bieten<sup>4</sup>—alles Codices des neunten Jahrhunderts (die beiden spätantiken Textzeugen fallen hier aus). Zwei weitere, der Leidensis Burm. Q. 3 (= E) und der Parisinus lat. 8086 (= P), haben folgendes:

- atque aevum statui, sub quo generosa probarem  
pectora, ne torpens et non exercita virtus  
143a *enervare suum corrupta per otia robur*  
143b *posset et in nullo luctamine pigra iaceret.*  
inlecebrosus enim sapor est et pestifer horum,  
145 quae . . . eqs.

Es ist nicht schwer zu sehen, was es mit diesem Text auf sich hat: an die Stelle des echten Verses 143 tritt ein zweizeiliges Ersatz-Interpolament (= 143a. b). Der interpolatorische Charakter der beiden Verse ist längst erkannt. Die Erkenntnis findet sich, knapp ausgesprochen, bei F. Arevalo (Ausgabe, Rom 1788), ohne daß er etwa damals geradezu eine Neuigkeit verkündet hätte.<sup>5</sup> Arevalo schreibt:<sup>6</sup> "Perspicuum est duos alios versus (= vv. 143a. b) additos ab aliquo, qui primum *e* in *enervatum* nollet corripri." Ist das Motiv des Textbearbeiters damit richtig getroffen, dann dürften seine Verse dem Bereich der sog. "emendatorischen" Interpolation zuzuordnen sein, die als Typos der Fälschung besonders durch Jachmanns Forschungen Gestalt gewann.<sup>7</sup> Daß selbst kleinste sprachliche Anstöße oder Text-

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besonderer Schärfe ausgedrückt wird, zunächst zwar im Hinblick auf die Reize des Geschmacks- und Geruchssinnes (*voluptates saporis et odoris*), aber dann doch verallgemeinert: *itaque fecit omnia Deus ad instruendum certamen rerum duarum* (i. e. *virtutis et voluptatis*). Bei Prudentius selbst ist *ham.* 330–36 zu vergleichen.

<sup>4</sup> VNMS bei Bergman (*CSEL* 61, 1926), dazu TtQ bei Cunningham (*CCL* 126, 1966).—In der Orthographie (*palestra* statt *palaestra*) folge ich Bergman, vgl. dazu *Gnomon* 58 (1986) 30.

<sup>5</sup> Victor Gislain (Giselinus) empfand die Unerträglichkeit der Wiederholung *enervatum/enervare* und schied die Doubletten-Verse 143a. b aus. Ich entnehme seine Notiz der Sylloge annotationum bei M. J. Weitz (Ausgabe, Hanau 1613) p. 497. Gislain gab Prudentius heraus, zuerst Paris 1562, dann—zusammen mit Th. Pulmann—Antwerpen 1564.

<sup>6</sup> Arevalos Ausgabe ist bei Migne abgedruckt, hier *PL* 60. 192 B–C.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. G. Jachmann, *Textgeschichtliche Studien*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 143 (Königstein/Ts. 1982) 552 ff. Er spricht von interpolatorischen "Emendationsversuchen" (zB. ebd. 557<sup>2</sup>; 639<sup>1</sup>) oder "korrekativer Ersatzfassung" (203<sup>1</sup>). Im engeren Sinne sind darunter Versuche zu verstehen, wirkliche oder vermeintliche Textverderbnisse zu bereinigen. Doch kann das Emendationsbedürfnis auch anders begründet sein, s. S. Mendner, *Der Text der Metamorphosen Ovids* (Diss. Köln 1939) 42 ff.: "Emendatorische Interpolation." Bei

verderbnisse großräumige rezensorische Änderungen hervorrufen konnten, steht fest,<sup>8</sup> und so wäre es auch in diesem Fall durchaus denkbar, daß die ungewöhnliche, durch den Wechsel von e zu i in Sprache und Schrift erklärlie<sup>9</sup> Prosodie *ñervatum*, die Prudentius hier und *cath.* 8. 64 (*ñervans*) zuläßt, den Eingriff verursachte. Es verdient vielleicht Beachtung, daß eine ähnliche Kurzmessung bei Sedulius *carm. paschal.* 3. 265: *septem panibus agmen Pavit inorme* (v. 1. *enorme*) *virum*, in der Überlieferung teilweise durch Wortinterpolation ausgemerzt erscheint: . . . *agmen Pavit grande virum*.<sup>10</sup> Eine gewisse Unklarheit verrät sich bei Arevalo freilich in der Formulierung: "(versus) *additos* ab aliquo," welche die Ersatzfunktion der beiden Verse im Dunkeln läßt.

Man muß hierbei wohl bedenken, daß sich schon die alten Editoren und Erklärer des Prudentius mit einem weiteren Befund auseinanderzusetzen hatten. Denn gewisse Handschriften führen das Echte und das Unechte zusammen, d. h. hintereinander im Text (ich folge Bergmans Angaben):<sup>11</sup> im Berner Codex (Bernensis 264, saec. IX = U) geht die Ersatzfassung (143 a. b.) dem echten Vers (143) voran, im Cantabrigiensis Corp. Chr. 223 (saec. IX = C) und in zwei weiteren Handschriften des zehnten Jahrhunderts (= D und O bei Bergman) folgt das doppelzeilige Interpolament dem echten Vers, so daß hier dieser Versbestand erscheint:

Klassifikation der Interpolamente nach den Motiven ihrer Entstehung sind die Umriss der einzelnen Typen naturgemäß nicht immer scharf.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Jachmann a. O., dazu noch dens., *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 128 (Königstein/Ts. 1981) 225, 496 u. ö. Ich zitiere fortan nur noch nach den fortlaufenden Seitenzahlen beider Bände.

<sup>9</sup> So schon Salmasius: seine diesbezügliche Bemerkung ist abgedruckt bei Arevalo, *Prolegomena* 219: *PL* 59, 742(b), aufgenommen bei L. Mueller, *De re metrica* (Petersburg 1894<sup>2</sup>) 453, mißdeutet bei F. Krenkel, *De Aurelii Prudentii Clementis re metrica*, Diss. Königsberg (Rudolfstadt 1884) 15: ein pseudogelehrter Itazismus, den Prudentius "falso inductus veriloquio" von griechischen Wörtern auf lateinische übertragen habe, ist bei Salmasius nicht gemeint. Davon kann auch keine Rede sein. Vielmehr ist die Gewohnheit eine allgemeine und lebendige, und indem Prudentius ihr gelegentlich nachgibt, zeigt er gerade seine freiere, nicht klassizistische Kunstauffassung. Vgl. H. Schuchardt, *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins* I (Leipzig 1866) 226 ff., bes. 306. Auch in den Prudentius-Handschriften schwankt die Orthographie an den beiden Stellen c. *Symm.* 2. 143 (*inervatum* neben *enervatum*) und *cath.* 8. 64 (*inervans* hier auch B = Ambros. D 36 sup., saec. VI).

<sup>10</sup> Dazu s. Huemers Apparat (*CSEL* 10, p. 84); die Messung *ñormis* nach Ausweis des Thesaurus auch Cypr. Gall. *num.* 367 und *carm. epigr.* 1380. 2 (= *ILCV* 4362, vom Jahre 549). Zur häufigen Schreibung *inormis* *ThLL* 5. 604. 54 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Aus Cunninghams Apparat sind die Verhältnisse nicht ersichtlich. Man erfährt nichts über die Zusammenstellung des Echten und Unechten, aber auch das jeweilige Zeugnis für die Reinformen beider Versionen wird (verglichen mit Bergmans Apparat) unvollständig wiedergegeben. Das hängt freilich mit einer Beschränkung zusammen, die sich der Editor im Ganzen auferlegte (vgl. praef. p. X nr. 2). Aber die handschriftliche Bezeugung der Großinterpolamente im Prudentius gehört keinesfalls zu den Quisquilien.

- atque aevum statui, sub quo generosa probarem  
pectora, ne torpens et non exercita virtus  
143 *robur enervatum gereret sine laude palestrae*  
143a *enervare suum corrupta per otia robur*  
143b *posset et in nullo luctamine pigra iaceret.*  
inlecebrosus enim sapor est et pestifer horum,  
145 *quae . . . eqs.*

Freilich kann selbst solcher Befund den alternativen Charakter der beiden Fassungen nicht verdunkeln, wie er denn etwa auch von Giselinus entschlossen festgehalten wird.<sup>12</sup> Daß das Unvereinbare dergestalt vereint auftritt, hat andererseits sehr wohl seine Bedeutung, und es ist ein schlimmes Manko, wenn solche Tatbestände in einer großen kritischen Ausgabe unterdrückt werden.<sup>13</sup> Denn auf diese Weise werden Spuren verwischt, die in eine entscheidende Phase der Textgeschichte zurückführen können.<sup>14</sup>

Unter den neueren Prudentiuskennern hat sich zuerst Bergman mit der Doublette befaßt.<sup>15</sup> Er betonte richtig den alternativen Charakter jener beiden Verse und entschied sich gegen die Annahme authentischer Doppelfassung für Interpolation—gleichfalls richtig. Er nahm dasselbe Motiv an wie Arevalo,<sup>16</sup> lenkte jedoch außerdem die Aufmerksamkeit auf den stilistischen Vergleich der beiden Fassungen: "Adde quod verba *in nullo luctamine pigra iaceret* explicationem olent dictionis Prudentianae brevioris et elegantioris *sine laude palestrae*." Leider machte sich Bergman hier wie auch sonst<sup>17</sup> vom Hergang der Verderbnis eine unzulängliche Vorstellung: die interpolierte Ersatzfassung sei ursprünglich an den Rand geschrieben worden und durch spätere Abschriften versehentlich in den Text geraten. Als ob nicht gerade Doubletten wie diese überdeutlich die Absicht ihres Verfassers bekundeten: nämlich das echte Versgut zu *ersetzen*! Und als ob das Interpolament nicht tatsächlich im Leidensis den ihm vom Redaktor zugedachten Platz einnähme: nämlich im Haupttext *anstelle* des echten Verses! Nichts rechtfertigt die Anschauung, derartige Fassungen seien ursprünglich

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Nämlich auf die Vereinigung des echten und unechten bzw. verdächtigen Versguts in einer kritisch adnotierten Prudentiusausgabe der Spätantike und auf den späteren Zerfall dieser Ausgabe, als dessen Folge sich das Nebeneinander unverträglicher Parallelfassungen in einem Teil der Überlieferung ergab: vgl. hierüber im *Hermes* 114 (1986) 92 f.

<sup>15</sup> J. Bergman, *De codicum Prudentianorum generibus et virtute*, Sitzungsber. Akad. Wien. Philos.-Hist. Kl. 157, 5 (1908) 27 f.

<sup>16</sup> Für Prudentius selbst rechnete er hier noch mit der Orthographie *inervatum* (s. dazu oben Anm. 9), die erst im Zuge der mittelalterlichen Tradition verändert und *erst dann* zum Anlaß der Interpolation geworden sei: eine unnötige Künstelei, die Bergman später in der Ausgabe stillschweigend aufgab, wo er *enervatum* und *enervans* in den Text setzte (vgl. auch den Index verborum, p. 515 s. v.). Hier zeigt sich aber die verbreitete Neigung, solche Vorgänge *ursächlich* der mittelalterlichen Tradition *zuzuschreiben*, weil das urkundliche Material, das sie bezeugt, mittelalterlicher Herkunft ist.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. *Hermes* 114 (1986) 91.



für den Rand fabriziert und hätten die ihnen zugedachte Rolle, nämlich die, Ersatz zu bilden, nur gewissermaßen zufällig dank gelegentlicher Kopistenfehler spielen dürfen. Daß sich der Fortbestand offenkundiger Doubletten im Zuge der Überlieferung derart auswirken kann, daß bald die unechte Fassung, bald die echte, und zwar jeweils bald ganz, bald teilweise an den Rand gedrängt wird, ist begreiflich, erklärt aber nicht den *Ursprung* des gesamten Befunds.<sup>18</sup> Er ist nicht in den Zufälligkeiten mittelalterlicher Schreiber-tätigkeit zu suchen, sondern in einer absichtsvollen Bearbeitung des Prudentiustexts, die noch in den Zusammenhang des spätantiken Interpolationswesens gehören dürfte.<sup>19</sup>

Bergman hatte sich, wie gesagt, gegen die Möglichkeit authentischer Doppelfassung ausgesprochen, aber sein Urteil bewahrte den Dichter nicht davor, daß ihm auch die Verse 143 a, b zuerkannt wurden. Pelosi suchte der These von den Autorenvarianten bei Prudentius zum Durchbruch zu verhelfen, wobei er auch diese Verse anführte.<sup>20</sup> In bezug auf andere Fälle widersprach ihm sogleich Lazzati,<sup>21</sup> in bezug auf unseren W. Schmid.<sup>22</sup> Er kehrte wieder zur Auffassung Bergmans zurück. Das Motiv der Fälschung erkannte auch er in dem Streben nach Explikation ("ethisierender Verdeutlichung") der *palaestra*-Metapher: "(Für den Redaktor) genügt der im Bilde steckende ethische Gehalt nicht, er muß auch äußerlich expressis verbis für jeden sichtbar gemacht werden (*corrupta per otia, pigra*)." Die unregelmäßige Prosodie *ærievans* erwähnte Schmid nicht mehr, offenbar deswegen, weil sie ihm als auslösendes Motiv der Interpolation weniger wichtig schien. Mit all diesen Erkenntnissen brach der Editor Cunningham. Ich würde die Kritik an seiner Behandlung des Interpolationenproblems, die schon von anderer Seite wie auch von mir selbst mehrfach vorgebracht wurde, hier nicht wiederholen, wenn sich nicht Cunningham, in Auseinandersetzung mit Schmid, gerade unserem Fall zugewandt hätte.<sup>23</sup> Er will überhaupt Interpolation nicht gelten lassen, erklärt die beiden Zeilen

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. *Hermes* a. O. 96 f.

<sup>19</sup> Hierzu vgl. die grundlegenden Bemerkungen Jachmanns, 395 f.: "(Für die Frage,) in welcher Zeit die Interpolationen entstanden sind, ist es vollkommen gleichgültig, wo sie uns entgegentreten, ob im Text selbst, ob neben dem Text oder sonstwo in irgendwelchen Zeugnissen . . ." usw. Zu Prudentius s. noch: *Wien. Stud.* 19 (1985) 179–203, bes. 201–03; *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte* IV (Urbino o. J. [1988]) 231–51, ebd. 232 f.

<sup>20</sup> P. Pelosi, "La doppia redazione delle opere di Prudenzio," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, N. S. 17 (1940) 137–80, ebd. 164 f.

<sup>21</sup> G. Lazzati, "Osservazioni intorno alla doppia redazione delle opere di Prudenzio," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, tom. 101, parte II: Cl. di Scienze mor. e lett. (1941–42) 219–33.

<sup>22</sup> W. Schmid, "Die Darstellung der Menschheitsstufen bei Prudentius und das Problem seiner doppelten Redaktion," *Vig. Chr.* 7 (1953) 172–86, ebd. 184 f. (= *Ausgewählte philologische Schriften*, hrsg. von H. Erbse und J. Küppers [Berlin–New York 1984] 365–77, ebd. 375–77).

<sup>23</sup> Maurice P. Cunningham, "The Problem of Interpolation in the Textual Tradition of Prudentius," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 99 (1968) 119–41, ebd. 132–34.

vielmehr als glossierende Beischrift ("locus similis"), die vom Rande her in den Text eingedrungen sei. Die Frage, was denn solche doppelzeilige, hexametrische Glosse hätte veranlassen können, beantwortet er durch eine Reihe phantastischer Vermutungen, die, halbherzig vorgebracht, alle nur den einen Zweck verfolgen: vom Offensichtlichen, nämlich vom Ersatzcharakter der beiden Verse, abzulenken.<sup>24</sup> Die Anerkennung dieses ihres Charakters hätte ihn allerdings fast notwendig zur Einsicht in das Wesen der rezensorischen Maßnahme gezwungen. Die Saat, die Bergman einst säte, indem er Interpolation, Glosse und Schreiberversehen verquickte, ist in Cunninghams Philologie in der Weise aufgegangen, daß sich nur noch die beiden letzteren Momente durchsetzen.

Das ist also der Stand der Dinge, der jene Regel zu bestätigen scheint, die ich eingangs zitierte. Das Richtige ist schon gesagt, es zeigt sich allerdings mehr zerstreut als an einem Orte vereinigt und am wenigsten dort, wo man es am ehesten erwarten sollte: in der jüngsten Ausgabe. Eine ergänzende Beobachtung scheint mir im Hinblick auf das Motiv der Interpolation möglich, womit nochmals zu dem Ausdruck: *sine laude palaestrae* zurückgelenkt sei. Ich halte es für denkbar, daß den Textbearbeiter, als er diesen Ausdruck durch seine Ersatzversion beseitigte, nicht nur stilistische Gründe leiteten, sondern auch sachliche, ja daß über das Streben nach prosodischer Glättung und stilistischer Verdeutlichung hinaus ein sachlicher Anstoß das eigentlich auslösende Moment der Textänderung bildete. Prudentius gebraucht *palaestra* hier im positiven, spiritualisierten Sinne für die "Ringschule" des Lebens, in der wir uns bewähren müssen. Die Metapher hatte damals in der christlichen Latinität längst einen Platz. Ihren Ausgang nimmt sie von den entsprechenden Bildreden des Apostels 1 Cor. 9. 24 f (vgl. Eph. 6. 12; 2 Tim. 2. 5), welche sie zugleich weiter entfaltet.<sup>25</sup> So nennt etwa Tertullian das Gefängnis den "Ringplatz" der Märtyrer: *carcerem nobis pro palaestra interpretamur* (Tert. mart. 3. 5). Und Prudentius selbst entwickelt diese Metaphorik in zwei Strophen seiner Märtyrerlieder. Einmal ist die Stadt Saragossa, in der St. Vinzenz aufwuchs, die "Ringschule" des künftigen Märtyrers, wo er, gesalbt mit dem Öl des

<sup>24</sup> Nicht also, daß Cunningham überhaupt Hypothesen aufstellt, bemängeln ich—selbst bringe ich ebenfalls Vermutungen vor (s. dazu unten S. 373). Auch nicht, daß seine "reasonable conjectures" (a. O. 133) in Wahrheit ganz unglaubwürdige Spekulationen darstellen (sie beruhen alle auf der verwegenen Annahme, der "Leser," der angeblich die Beischrift vornahm, habe [antike?] Poesie zur Hand gehabt, die wir nicht mehr haben, und aus ihr seien irgendwie jene beiden Hexameter geflossen), scheint mir das Schlimmste. Das Unerträgliche liegt, wie gesagt, darin, daß diese Mutmaßungen nicht zu dem Zwecke vorgebracht werden, das Offensichtliche zu erklären, sondern mit der Absicht, es zu vernebeln.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. Hodges, *ThLL* 10. 100. 1 ff. s. v. *palaestra*, wo die im Text zitierte Tertullianstelle (mart. 3. 5) richtig neben Prud. per. 5. 213 gerückt wird (die anderen Belege aus Prudentius fehlen). Die Verbindung *spiritualis palaestra* hat Ambrosius (gesagt von der Passion Christi: in Ps. 40. 13. 3: CSEL 64. 236), *pietatis palaestra* Paulinus Nol. (epist. 23. 5: CSEL 29, 162, Z. 13 f.: *haec pietatis magis palaestra quam corporis*). Zur christlichen Bildersprache vgl. auch den RAC-Artikel "Gymnasium" (folgende Anm.) 173 f.

Glaubens, den furchtbaren Gegner, d. h. den Teufel, durch die (Ring-) Kunst seiner Tugend kraftvoll zu bezwingen lernte (*per.* 4. 101 ff.):

101           Noster et nostra puer in *palestra*  
arte virtutis fideique olivo  
unctus horrendum didicit domare  
viribus hostem.

Das andere Mal bildet die Folterstätte den "Ringplatz." Der Märtyrer—wiederum St. Vinzenz—ringt mit dem Folterknecht, indem er ausgesuchte Qualen standhaft erträgt (*per.* 5. 213 ff.):

*Ventum ad palestram gloriae,*  
                  *spes certat et crudelitas,*  
215           luctamen anceps conserunt  
                  hinc martyr, illinc carnifex.

Aber wenn auch diese Bildlichkeit innerhalb der Märtyrerfrömmigkeit und christlicher Spiritualität überhaupt ihren guten Sinn hat, so bleibt doch andererseits *palestra* für den Christen wie für den Römer ein Reizwort, mit dem sich leicht der Eindruck höchster sittlicher Entartung verbindet.<sup>26</sup> Es genügt, Prudentius selbst hierüber zu befragen. Denn er kennt die *palestra* auch als Inbegriff griechischer (heidnischer) Weichlichkeit und Verderbtheit. Der Grund erhellt am besten aus *per.* 10. 186 ff. (Worte des Märtyrers Romanus an den Stadtpräfekten Asclepiades):

                  Ostende, quaeso, quas ad aras praecipis  
                  vervece caeso fumet ut caespes meus?  
                  Delfosne pergam? sed vetat *palestrici*  
                  corrupta *ephybi* fama, quem vester deus  
190           effeminavit gymnadis licentia.

Hyacinthus ist der durch Apollon in der Ringschule zum Weibe gemachte Liebling des Gottes. *Palestricus ephybus* sagt alles.<sup>27</sup> Das Lehrgedicht (*ham.* 365 f.) geißelt die Verwendung des Öls in der Palaestra sogar als Beispiel für den Mißbrauch der Schöpfung durch den Menschen:

365           sic Lacedaemonicas oleo maduisse *palestras*  
                  novimus et placidum servire ad crimina sucum,  
                  ... eqs.

*Ad crimina* deutet auf die gleichen Verhältnisse. Schon aufgrund solcher Bewertung der Ringschule mochte die Formulierung *c. Symm.* 2. 142 f.: ... *ne torpens et non exercita virtus Robur enervatum gereret sine laude*

<sup>26</sup> Zum weiteren Hintergrund vgl. J. Delorme-W. Speyer, Art. "Gymnasium," *RAC* 13 (1984) 155–76, bes. 169; 170 f.; 172 f. sowie die dort (174–76) genannte Literatur.

<sup>27</sup> *Epebum mulierare* sagt Varro *Men.* 205. Mit *palestricus ephybus* hier an dieser Stelle ist wohl *or. imp. Claud.* (*CIL* 13. 1668) 2. 15 zu vergleichen: *odi illud palestricum prodigium* (i. e. *Valerium Asiaticum*); s. *ThLL* 10. 100. 72 f. Eine Rubrik zum pejorativen Sinn von *palaestra* enthalten die Thesaurusartikel nicht.

*palestrae* einem Redaktor auffallen. Daß die positive *palestra*-Metapher an anderen Stellen des Werks offenbar keinen Anstoß erregte, braucht nicht unbedingt dagegen zu sprechen; denn die interpolatorische Arbeit erstreckt sich niemals gleichmäßig über einen ganzen Text, geschweige denn über das gesamte vielgestaltige Werk eines großen Autors. Die Inkonsequenz, die darin läge, daß *palestra* hier anstößig erschien, anderswo nicht, paßte durchaus in das Bild, das wir uns von der Tätigkeit der Diaskeuasten machen müssen. Aber in unserem Falle kommt noch etwas hinzu, was den Eingriff gerade an dieser Stelle vielleicht erklärlich macht. Denn in demselben Gedicht, im zweiten Buch gegen Symmachus, begegnet die *Palaestra* noch einmal und zwar eben in jenem negativen Sinne, als Symbol der *effeminatio*. Die weichlichen Griechen, heißt es dort (*c. Symm.* 2. 512 ff.), waren samt ihren "Göttern" keine ernstzunehmenden Gegner der harten Italiker im Kriege:<sup>28</sup>

sed nec difficilis fuit aut satis ardua genti  
 natae ad procinctus victoria frangere *inertes*  
*molliaque* omnigenum colla inclinare deorum.  
 515 num cum Dictaeis bellum Corybantibus asper  
 Samnitis Marsusque levi sudore gerebat?  
 num mastigoforis oleoque et gymnadis arte  
 unctis pugilibus miles pugnabat Etruscus?  
 nec petaso insignis poterat Lacedemone capta  
 520 Mercurius servare suas de clade *palestras*.

Die Verse 512–14 schlagen das Thema an (vgl. *inertes, mollia colla*), das dann in den folgenden Zeilen ausgeführt und variiert wird. Dabei erscheint in der Schilderung der Gegner Roms jeweils das nationale Element mit dem kultischen verbunden, so gleich bei der ersten Gegenüberstellung (515 f.) des Samniten und des Marsers mit den *Corybantes*. Und zu diesem Zweck setzt der Dichter auch der Konfrontation des etruskischen Legionärs mit den Aufsehern<sup>29</sup> und Faustkämpfern des Gymnasiums (517 f.) noch den entsprechenden religiösen Akzent auf (519 f.), indem er Merkur als das

<sup>28</sup> Das ist die römische Wertung griechischer Athletik, die Prudentius hier von seinem Standpunkt aus aufnimmt. Vgl. Scipio bei Cicero *rep.* 4. 4. 4: *iuventutis vero exercitatio quam absurda in gymnasiis! quam levis epheborum illa militia!* Und ganz in diesem Sinne läßt Lucan seinen Caesar vor der Truppe sprechen (7. 269 ff.): *... nec sanguine multo / Spem mundi petitis: Grais delecta iuventus / Gymnasiis aderit studioque ignava palaestrae / Et vix arma ferens* ... eqs. Die entgegengesetzte Sicht des Verhältnisses athletischer und militärischer Tüchtigkeit liegt den Versen Stat. *Theb.* 4. 227 ff. zugrunde.

<sup>29</sup> Im *Thesaurus* (8. 433. 53 ff.) s. v. *mastigophorus* wird die Prudentiusstelle (*c. Symm.* 2. 517) unter dem Lemma "technice i. q. apparitor" eingeordnet, neben einem Beleg aus dem Juristen Charisius (saec. IV): *mastigophori quoque qui agonothetas in certaminibus comitantur* ... eqs. Der Zusammenhang bei Prudentius (vgl. V. 519 *Lacedemone capta!*) könnte auch daran erinnern, daß einst in Sparta Jünglinge als μαστιγοφόροι dem παιδονόμος zur Seite standen und über die Zucht der Knaben wachten (Xen. *Lac.* 2. 2).

*palastrarum numen*<sup>30</sup> einbezieht und durch ein satirisches Glanzlicht: *petaso insignis (Mercurius)* hervorhebt.<sup>31</sup> In ähnlicher Weise läuft die Versreihe auch über das ausgeschriebene Stück hinaus weiter.

Man bedenke also: ausgerechnet im Zusammenhang mit kriegerischer Tüchtigkeit wird der *gymnadiis ars* und der *palestra* (vgl. 514 bzw. 520) in abfälligstem Tone gedacht, dazu noch ihre Verbindung mit dem heidnischen Kult bloßgelegt! Und man blicke hinüber zu den früheren Zeilen desselben Gedichts, von denen wir ausgingen! Drängt sich da nicht die Frage auf: wie soll man "nervige Kraft" in der Palaestra erwerben bzw. Entnervtheit, Schläftheit durch erfolggekrönte Übungen in der Ringschule vermeiden — denn auf solcher Bewertung des Gymnasiums ruht ja die Bildrede der Verse 142 f.—, wenn doch andererseits diese Stätten griechischer Körperschulung geradezu als Ursachen und Sinnbilder unmännlicher Schwäche anzusehen sind? Hierdurch vor allem, meine ich, nicht bloß durch das Streben nach Explikation des metaphorischen Ausdrucks, sah sich der Diaskeuast veranlaßt einzugreifen. Er wollte einen vermeintlichen Widerspruch beim Dichter auflösen oder doch eine störende Assoziation beseitigen. Deshalb mußte unbedingt der verräterische Begriff fortfallen: *in nullo luctamine* (143b) klang ihm unbestimmter und gerade darum besser als das echte Dichterwort: *sine laude palestrae* (143).

Daß der Anteil des Hypothetischen bei Erörterung möglicher Motive einer Interpolation bisweilen spürbar bleibt, wird niemand leugnen wollen. Und so mag sich auch hier vielleicht mancher lieber für emendatorische oder bloß simplifizierende Tendenz des Interpolators entscheiden. Aber daß der Fall nicht befriedigend behandelt ist, wenn die vorgetragenen Überlegungen überhaupt nicht angestellt, die Möglichkeit einer harmonisierenden Textänderung nicht wenigstens erwogen wird, scheint mir klar. Und unabhängig davon behält die Gegenüberstellung der Verse 142 f. und 512–20 einen eigenen Reiz. Denn aus ihr läßt sich deutlich eine verbreitete Darstellungsweise wahrnehmen: die Einbindung gewisser Elemente (Motive, Gedanken, Formen) in typische Kombinationen. Bestimmte Gedanken oder Formen gehören fest in einen Gedankenzusammenhang oder in eine Bildkomposition. Sie haben darin ihren angestammten Platz. Und die einigende Kraft dieser typischen Zusammenhänge ist nicht selten stärker als das Bedürfnis, ihre einzelnen Elemente über die Grenzen der Komplexe hinweg

<sup>30</sup> So heißt Mercurius im Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 227. Vgl. etwa Hor. c. 1. 10. 1–5 (und dazu Nisbet–Hubbard 129 f.) oder Ov. *fast.* 5. 667: *laete lyrae pulsu, nitida quoque laete palaestra*. Eine Herme oder Hermesstatue stand nahezu in jeder Palaestra (Cic. *ad Att.* 1. 10. 3; in *Verr.* II 5. 185). Vgl. femer: K. Schneider, Art. "παλαιστρα," *PW* 18. 2 (1942) 2472–98, ebd. 2495; H. Siskia, *De Mercurio ceterisque deis ad artem gymnasticam pertinentibus* (Diss. Halle 1933), wo (p. 3–5) Prudentius fehlt.

<sup>31</sup> Gebildet natürlich in Analogie zu den hochepischen Wendungen *armis insignis, spoliis insignis*, aber etwa auch: *ramis insignis olivae* (Verg. *Aen.* 6. 808) oder *lituo . . . insignis . . . et hasta* (ibid. 6. 167, über Misenus) u. dgl. Zum πέτασος: E. Schuppe, *PW* 19. 1 (1937) 1119–24, ebd. 1121.

aufeinander abzustimmen. Die Palaestra hat ihren Platz im Zusammenhang der Idee einer *palestra spiritalis* des Christen, sie hat ihn aber auch—mit entgegengesetzter Bewertung—im Verbund der Polemik gegen heidnische Unmoral. Es gehört zu den Überraschungen prudentianischer Dichtkunst, daß das Gegensätzliche derart nebeneinandertreten kann, weil eben der typische Zusammenhang seine Herrschaft ausübt. Im ersten Buch gegen Symmachus wendet Prudentius sieben Verse auf, um die Vergänglichkeit des Materials, aus dem die Götterbilder gefertigt sind, anschaulich zu machen (c. *Symm.* I. 435–41). Aber was hier noch *cariorum . . . monstra deorum* sind (434), das sind wenig später *pulcherrima . . . ornamenta* (503 f.), die aufbewahrt werden und das christliche Rom schmücken sollen. Beiderlei steht in derselben Rede zusammen, die Prudentius den Kaiser Theodosius d. Gr. halten läßt (415–505). F. Solmsen nahm das als Beweis, daß die Verse 501–05 als späterer, mißglückter Zusatz des Dichters anzusehen seien.<sup>32</sup> Zu Unrecht. Es obwaltet nur wieder dieselbe Unbefangenheit in der Wahrung des Typischen. Die Hinfalligkeit des Materials gehört fest in die Polemik gegen die Götzen aus Stein, Stuck und Bronze;<sup>33</sup> aber die Schönheit der Kunst und die Leistung des Künstlers zu loben, liegt dem Christen gleichfalls nicht fern.<sup>34</sup> Heidnische Superstition zu bekämpfen und Teile der göttlichen Schöpfung anzuerkennen: das sind nur eben verschiedene Zusammenhänge. Aber man kann sich leicht denken, welcher Reiz zur

<sup>32</sup> F. Solmsen, *Philol.* 109 (1965) 310–13. Dagegen W. Steidle, *Vig. Chr.* 25 (1971) 272<sup>115</sup>, dem S. Döpp, ebd. 40 (1986) 73 zustimmt. Beide wehren allerdings nur den vermeintlichen Widerspruch zwischen Buch I und Buch II (v. 39 ff.) des Gedichts ab, ohne die von Solmsen angenommene Unstimmigkeit innerhalb der Theodosiusrede zu berühren. Das entscheidende Argument gegen Solmsen liegt in der Tatsache, daß die Theodosiusrede mit besagten Schlußversen (c. *Symm.* I. 501–05) in einer Art Ringkomposition zu ihrem Ausgangspunkt zurückkehrt; denn dort (407–26) wird geschildert, wie die Dunstschwaden der Dämonen das Haupt der reichgeschmückten Roma umwölken, und es ist nur eine konkrete Ausführung des in diesen Versen enthaltenen allgemeinen Postulats der Reinigung der *urbs*, wenn dann am Schluß die Aufstellung der (vom Opferblut) gereinigten Bildnisse in der Stadt gefordert wird.

<sup>33</sup> Diese drei Materialien bei Prud. c. *Symm.* I. 435–41. Vgl. H. Funke, Art. "Götterbild," *RAC* 11 (1981) 786 f. Den "Topos" als solchen bemerkt auch Solmsen a. O. 311<sup>2</sup>, der u. a. darauf hinweist, daß er durch den Wortlaut des kaiserlichen Edikts *Cod. Theod.* 16. 10. 12. 2 (vom 8. Nov. 395) hindurchschimmere: *mortali opere facta et aevum passura simulacra*.

<sup>34</sup> Ich erinnere hier nur an einen Passus in Augustins Confessionen. Der Autor fragt (*conf.* 11. 5. 7), wie Gott die Welt erschaffen habe—sicher nicht so, meint Augustinus, wie ein Künstler einem schon vorhandenen Stoff (Ton, Stein, Holz, Gold etc.) Form und Schönheit gibt. Gleichwohl stammen auch alle Mittel und Fähigkeiten des Künstlers von Gott und dienen daher dem Lob des Schöpfers: "Tu fabro corpus, Tu animam membris imperitantum fecisti, Tu materiam, unde facit aliquid, Tu ingenium, quo artem capiat et videat intus quid faciat foris, Tu sensum corporis, quo interprete traiciat ab animo ad materiam id quod facit, et renuntiet animo quid factum sit, ut ille intus consulat praesidentem sibi veritatem, an bene factum sit. *Te laudant haec omnia creatorem omnium.*" Dies steht—in allgemeinerer Weise—auch hinter den Prudentiusversen (c. *Symm.* I. 501–05), die weit mehr sind als Ausdruck einer kulturpolitischen Konzession. Die Schönheit der Kunstwerke bekundet die *ars summa* des allmächtigen Schöpfers, die durch den Künstler wirkt: *Aug. div. quaest.* LXXXIII 78 (PL 40. 89 f.).

Erklärung oder Beseitigung des scheinbar Widersprüchlichen von solchen Verhältnissen allezeit ausgehen mochte.

Ich sagte: auf vergleichende Beobachtung solcher Erscheinungen komme es an. Und dabei gilt es, über Prudentius hinaus auf die entsprechenden Verhältnisse auch bei anderen Autoren zu schauen. Jachmann forderte einst, vom Ausonius-Text ausgehend, vergleichende Studien für Prudentius und Paulinus v. Nola.<sup>35</sup> Man kann Claudian hinzufügen<sup>36</sup>—und vor allem Juvenecus.<sup>37</sup> Zu seinem Bibeleos sind ganze Zeile Interpolamente in beträchtlicher Zahl überliefert: die sog. "Plusverse." Der Ausdruck trifft freilich schlecht, weil er die Tatsache verdunkelt, daß es sich bei den gefälschten Zeilen größtenteils um Ersatzfassungen handelt, also um Verse, die nach Absicht ihres Verfassers zum originalen Text nicht im Verhältnis des Plus stehen, sondern ihn eben in bestimmtem Umfang ersetzen sollen. Und zwar ist es gerade der älteste Textzeuge, der Codex Collegii Corporis Christi Cantabrigiensis 304 (= C bei Huemer), welcher die meisten Doubletten und Zusätze mitführt. Er gehört in die erste Hälfte des achten Jahrhunderts.<sup>38</sup> Durch die Existenz der gefälschten Verse in C und in anderen Codices karolingischer Zeit sowie durch die Überlieferungslage insgesamt wird der antike Ursprung der Interpolamente zwingend nahegelegt<sup>39</sup> und die verbreitete Anschauung, derartige Fälschungen seien das Erzeugnis der "Leser," "Schreiber" oder "Erklärer" (Glossatoren) mittelalterlicher Zeit, für diesen Autor in unlegbarer Weise ausgeschlossen. Aber die besonderen Verhältnisse, die den Juvenecus-Text eigentlich zum Übungsfeld für das Studium des antiken Interpolationswesens hätten machen müssen, nützen wenig. Denn man suchte hier mit umso größerem Eifer die Ausflucht in umgekehrter Richtung und wähnte, was da an "Plusversen"—von der umfassenden Kleininterpolation, die über das Werk hinweggegangen ist, nicht zu reden—in den Handschriften auftaucht, müsse mindestens teilweise dem Autor selbst zugetraut werden. Die Theorie der Autorvariante, bei Prudentius längst zurückgedrängt, behauptet sich bei Juvenecus heute

<sup>35</sup> Jachmann 490.

<sup>36</sup> Hierzu verweise ich auf meine "Beobachtungen zum Claudian-Text," *Studien zur Literatur der Spätantike*, Antiquitas, Reihe 1, Bd. 23 (Bonn 1975) 45–90. Der neue Editor Claudians, J. B. Hall, hat weder in der Ausgabe (Leipzig: Teubner 1985) noch in seinen *Prolegomena to Claudian* (London 1986) etwas vorgebracht, was mich zu einer Änderung meines Urteils im Ganzen oder im Einzelnen veranlassen könnte. Übrigens ist das Binneninterpolament *Eutr.* 1. 469–70 (*inter . . . falsi*)—aufgedeckt *Riv. di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 110 (1982) 435–41—in der Ausgabe (p. 161, Appar. z. St.) falsch begrenzt.

<sup>37</sup> Jachmann ist selbst nie auf Juvenecus eingegangen, wohl deshalb nicht, weil ihm der Gegenstand zu fern lag.

<sup>38</sup> Von einer Juvenecus-Handschrift des sechsten oder siebten Jahrhunderts sind Fetzen eines Blatts in der Vaticana (Lat. 13501) erhalten: H. Thoma, "The oldest manuscript of Juvenecus," *Class. Rev.* 64 (1950) 95 f. Hier auch die Urteile über das Alter des Cantabrigiensis.

<sup>39</sup> Es scheint Einigkeit darüber zu herrschen, daß die "Plusverse" größtenteils aus dem Archetypus stammen, den Hansson a. O. (unten S. 376) 27–30 ins 5. oder 6. Jh. setzt. Vgl. dazu auch unten Anm. 54.

unangefochten. Die beiden kritischen Ausgaben, die dieser erste bedeutende Dichter der christlichen Latinität erhielt, liegen mehr als hundert Jahre zurück. In kurzem Abstand erschienen damals die Teubneriana von Karl Marold (1886) und Johannes Huemers Edition im *Corpus Vindobonense* (*CSEL* 24, 1891). Während Marold die "Plusverse" allesamt für unecht hielt, glaubte Huemer sie größeren Teils als authentische Doppelfassungen dem Autor selbst vindizieren zu können.<sup>40</sup> Schon bald erkannte man freilich, daß das ganze Problem einer neuerlichen Behandlung bedürfe,<sup>41</sup> aber es dauerte mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert, bis die Aufgabe in Angriff genommen wurde: Nils Hansson, *Textkritisches zu Juvenecus* (Lund 1950), 60 ff. Leider hat sich Hansson in der Gesamtauffassung des wichtigen Überlieferungsbefunds von Huemer, den er im Einzelnen, vor allem in der Darbietung des handschriftlichen Befunds zu wichtigen Stellen, verbessert, nicht zu lösen vermocht: wie Huemer nimmt er zwar unechte Verse an, hält aber andere, und zwar offenbar die Mehrzahl, für echt, wobei er noch unter den Doubletten die vermeintlich frühere und spätere Fassung des Dichters zu scheiden sucht, so daß sich mit dem Echtheitsproblem jeweils ein Prioritätsproblem verbindet: ein Unterfangen, dessen Aussichtslosigkeit schon Marold völlig richtig erkannte<sup>42</sup> und dessen Scheitern sich bei Hansson selbst durch die scheinbar abwägende, in Wahrheit aber unsichere Art, mit der die Ergebnisse vorgetragen werden, deutlich zu erkennen gibt.

Hanssons Hauptfehler lag darin, daß er von vorgefaßten, ungeprüften Kriterien der Echtheit ausging bzw. solche Kriterien allein aus den 32 "Plusversen" bei Juvenecus (von denen er überdies nur einen Teil behandelte) gewinnen wollte. Wie bitter rächte es sich, daß er darauf verzichtete, aus dem reichen Vorrat einschlägiger Beobachtungen zu schöpfen, den

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. Huemer praef. p. XXXVII sq.

<sup>41</sup> M. Petschenig in der Rezension der Huemerschen Ausgabe, *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.* 11 (1891) 137–44, ebd. 138: "Ich halte es daher für unbedingt notwendig, daß diese zweifachen Lesarten gründlich untersucht werden." Selbst wies er allerdings auch den Weg, der tiefer in die Irre führen mußte, indem er, jeweils nach zweifelhaften Kriterien, gewisse Parallelverse in C für unecht, andere für echt erklärte. Marold dagegen ließ sich nicht beeindrucken, vgl. *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.* 12 (1892) 845: "Meiner Meinung nach ist auch nicht eine der Doppellesarten und auch nicht einer der Plusverse auf den Dichter zurückzuführen."

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. Marold, *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.* 12 (1892) 843–47, ebd. 844: "Ein stichhaltiger Beweis dafür (d. h. dafür, daß die Mehrzahl der Plusverse auf Juvenecus zurückgehen) wird sich schwer beibringen lassen, und auch Huemer kann nur sagen, daß der Dichter mit großer Mühe arbeitete und jene Plusverse oft an Stellen stünden, wo ein Glossator keine Ursache zur Änderung oder Erklärung hatte." Es verdient durchaus Anerkennung, daß Marold—der freilich unpassenderweise vom Glossator redet statt vom Interpolator—die Hohlheit jenes Echtheitskriteriums erkannte, das in der Begründbarkeit oder Nichtbegründbarkeit einer Fälschung liegen soll. Denn Huemer, *Ausg.* p. XXVII nahm es ebenso unbedenklich an wie später Hansson, vgl. unten S. 378. Wie sich denken läßt, hat Hanssons Verfahren auch bei manchem Rezensenten Bedenken ausgelöst—vgl. etwa J. H. Mozley, *Class. Rev.* N. S. 2 (1952) 90—, aber es fehlt doch, soweit ich sehe, der entschiedene Widerspruch, der umso nötiger erscheint, als gerade gewisse Verdienste dieser Arbeit über ihre methodische Schwäche in Behandlung der Hauptfragen hinwegtäuschen können.



Jachmanns Forschungen angesammelt hatten! Wo Hansson auf eine schwächere, ungefüge oder dunkle Formulierung stößt, wie etwa im Falle der Verse 1. 696a oder 4. 30a, glaubt er einen "ersten Entwurf" des Dichters oder eine "ältere Version" des Verses zu greifen (pp. 66, 75). Er operiert also mit stilistischen Kriterien, deren Nutzen für die Diagnose interpolatorischer Arbeit hundertfach erprobt ist, deren Anwendung auf die Feststellung verschiedener Schaffensperioden des Juvencus dagegen pure Willkür bedeutet. Unklarheit in Wort und Gedanke ist ein Merkmal der Falsifikation bei Vergil ebenso wie bei Juvenal, bei Ausonius ebenso wie bei Prudentius.<sup>43</sup> Aber wer sagt uns, daß derlei für einen "frühen" Juvencus gelte? Der Dichter, der in Prolog und Epilog höchsten Anspruch anmeldete, der sich wahrhaft ewigen Ruhm erhoffte (1. 15 ff.), der dem göttlichen Gesetz durch seine Verse Schmuck verleihen wollte (4. 805: *ornamenta . . . terrestria linguae*), soll gleich reihenweise schlechte oder verbesserungsbedürftige Verse vorgelegt haben? Daß das starke Selbstgefühl des Dichters eine Ausgangslage schafft, die der Theorie der Autorvarianten besonders wenig entgegenkommt, hat ebenfalls schon Marold ausgesprochen.<sup>44</sup> Weiter legt Hansson großen Wert auf Übereinstimmungen mit dem Sprachgebrauch des Autors.<sup>45</sup> So wertvoll auch seine diesbezüglichen Mitteilungen sein mögen, für die Echtheit der Verse ergibt sich daraus gar nichts. Gerade hierüber hätten ihm Jachmanns Abhandlungen vielfachen Aufschluß erteilen können.<sup>46</sup> Wie das vorhin besprochene Interpolament nicht etwa deswegen echtes Dichterwort ist, weil darin das Substantiv *luctamen* vorkommt, das auch der echte Prudentius hat, und zwar sogar in ähnlichem Kontext,<sup>47</sup> so zeugen auch sonst sprachlich-stilistische Verwandtschaften zwischen dem angezweifelten und dem zweifelsfreien Textbestand weder für die Echtheit noch gegen sie. Denn die Redaktoren kennen mitunter ihren Autor recht gut und rüsten sich mit seinen Mitteln. Und Gleiches gilt auch für die

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. Jachmann *passim*, z. B. 801<sup>1</sup> anlässlich des Oxforder Fragments zur sechsten Satire Juvenals: "Die *obscuritas* war eben bei diesen Quasidichtern eine weitverbreitete Eigenschaft . . ."

<sup>44</sup> Marold, *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.* 12 (1892) 845.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. etwa Hansson a. O. 76 zu den Doublettenversen 2. 28a, 29a: weil *ventorum rabies* als Hexameteranfang in 3. 230 wiederkehrt; weil die Junktur *abruptas . . . montes* in 1. 397 *abrupti montis* und 3. 318 *abruptum montem* "so gute Parallelen" hat; weil der hyperbolische Ausdruck *trans sidera* auch andermorts (bei Juvencus 1. 495; 2. 222; bei Verg. *Aen.* 1. 102) vorkommt, sollen wir in alledem Indizien der Echtheit sehen.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. etwa Jachmann 213.

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. Prud. *c. Symm.* 2. 143b und *per.* 5. 215 (ausgeschrieben oben S. 371). Mit diesem Hinweis trat einst Alfonsi für die Echtheit des Interpolaments ein, vgl. den Widerspruch bei Schmid a. O. (oben Anm. 22) 184<sup>21</sup> bzw. 376<sup>21</sup>: ". . . antike Rezensoren bestreiten ihre Extratouren nicht selten mit dem sprachlichen Material des betreffenden Autors . . ." Das Argument war freilich in jenem Fall besonders schwach, weil die Substantiva auf *-men* in der hexametrischen Dichtung allgemein beliebt sind.

Reminiszenzen aus Vergil und anderen Klassikern, mit denen die Interpolatoren aufwarten.<sup>48</sup>

Entschiedenem Widerspruch erfordert schließlich—und damit lenke ich zu unserem Ausgangspunkt zurück—Hansson's Verfahren, den (wirklichen oder vermeintlichen) Mangel eines Motivs der Fälschung zum Kriterium der Echtheit zu erheben. Kaum eine Lehre hat Jachmann so oft und so entschieden bekämpft wie eben diese: daß jede Fälschung ihr Motiv müsse erraten lassen, um als Fälschung durchzugehen. Die Unbefangenheit, mit der Hansson gerade diese Voraussetzung macht, beweist, daß er in Sachen der Echtheitskritik nicht auf der Höhe war.<sup>49</sup> "Wir müssen anerkennen, daß die Interpolatoren mitunter ganz aus freien Stücken und aus reiner Spielerei ihr Wesen an den Texten trieben," erklärte Jachmann<sup>50</sup> schon i. J. 1935, und gerade weil auf den vorstehenden Seiten erheblicher Raum aufgewandt wurde, um das Motiv einer Interpolation im Prudentiustext aufzuhellen, sei diese Erkenntnis Jachmanns hier in Erinnerung gebracht. Nun steht es allerdings nicht so, als ob sich für die Interpolamente im Juvenecus in der Regel kein Motiv ausfindig machen ließe! Die Regel lautet vielmehr auch hier umgekehrt: "Allein in der weit überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle . . . sind ihre Motive (d. h. die Motive der Interpolatoren) durchsichtig."<sup>51</sup> Ich greife einen einfachen Fall heraus, der sich kurz abmachen läßt. Die Berufung und Aussendung der zwölf Apostel nach Mt. 10. 1 ff. (*et convocatis duodecim discipulis suis dedit illis potestatem . . . hos duodecim misit Jesus, praeicipiens eis, dicens: . . . eqs.*) wird im C-Text des Juvenecus folgendermaßen wiedergegeben (2. 430–32):

430      haec fatus populo ex omni delecta seorsum  
431      fortia conglomerat bis seno pectora coetu.  
431a     bis sex consociat fidorum corda virorum.  
432      hos ubi delegit, praeceptis talibus inplet:  
         . . . eqs.

<sup>48</sup> Christine Ratkowitzsch, "Vergils Seesturm bei Juvenecus und Sedulius," *JbAC* 29 (1986) 40–58, ebd. 43 f. zeigt, daß auch der Verfasser der Verse Juvenec. 2. 28a, 29a nach bekannten Vorlagen arbeitete (s. oben Anm. 45). In der Echtheitsfrage übt sie Zurückhaltung. Zur Vergilbenutzung der Interpolatoren vgl. auch *Vivarium, Festschrift Th. Klauser, JbAC Erg.-Bd. 11* (1984) 140 f.

<sup>49</sup> Bereits einleitend zu dem ganzen Problem bemerkt er (a. O. 61): "In zahlreichen Fällen sind klare Gründe für eine stilistische Umarbeitung nicht zu erkennen." In der Praxis wird daraus ein Argument, vgl. a. O. 67 zu 2. 452 a, b: "Außerdem ist nicht der geringste Grund für eine fremde Umarbeitung von 451 f. zu entdecken."

<sup>50</sup> Jachmann 377. Vgl. dens. 450, 543, 560<sup>1</sup>, 630 (gegen Kirchhoff) u. ö., bes. 542: "Vor allem, immer wieder die verfehltete Denkweise, die man bedauert mitunter sogar bei Wilamowitz zu treffen, daß nämlich jede Interpolation nach Anlaß und Zweck durchsichtig sein müßte. In Fällen, wo man allein auf innere Kriterien angewiesen ist, vernichtet dieses trügerische Postulat gewöhnlich die Früchte der kritischen Einsicht. Andererseits pflegen die zahlreichen Fälle, wo es selbst durch urkundliche Zeugnisse vernichtet wird, unbeachtet zu bleiben." Jachmann sagte noch zu wenig. "Das trügerische Postulat" wird sogar, wie Hansson vorführt, gegen das urkundliche Zeugnis eingesetzt, um Echtheit zu erweisen.

<sup>51</sup> Jachmann 377.

In anderen Handschriften geht der Doublettenvers (431a) dem echten (431) voraus, in zwei weiteren steht er an Stelle des echten im Text<sup>52</sup> — Verhältnisse wie sie bei Juvencus immer wiederkehren und wie sie ja auch aus der Prudentiusüberlieferung bekannt sind. V. 431a ist zweifellos interpolierter Ersatz, entstanden aus dem trivialsten aller diaskeuastischen Motive: dem Streben nach Simplifikation. *Fidorum corda virorum*, gesagt von den Jüngern, ist einfacher als *fortia . . . pectora, consociat* schwächer als *conglomerat* (dies nur hier bei Juvencus), *bis sex . . . corda* im Vergleich zu *bisseno . . . coetu* ohne jede Kühnheit. Nicht immer läßt sich aber eben die Absicht des Fälschers mit solcher Klarheit fassen. Das gilt gleich für den nächsten Fall. Er betrifft die Worte des Herrn an die Jünger Mt. 10. 11 ff.:

in quacumque civitate intraveritis, interrogate, quis in ea dignus est; et ibi manete, donec exeatis. intrantes autem in domum, salutate eam, dicentes: pax huic domui. et si fuerit domus illa digna, veniet pax vestra super eam; si autem non fuerit digna, pax vestra ad vos revertetur. et quicumque non receperint vos neque audierint sermones vestros, exeuntes foras de domo vel civitate, excutite pulverem de pedibus vestris.

C gibt dazu folgenden Juvencus-Text<sup>53</sup> (2. 445 ff.):

- 445 ingressi muros urbis perquirite semper,  
hospitio quorum par sit succedere iustus;  
ingressisque dehinc pacem sub tecta vocate.  
si tranquilla domus fuerit, pax illa manebit,  
sin erit indignis habitantium moribus horrens,  
450 diffugiet vestrumque abitum pax vestra sequetur.  
451 *excludet quicumque ferus vos limine tecti,*  
452 *auribus aut duris spernet vitalia verba,*  
452a *sin adversa Dei famulos succedere tectis*  
452b *hospitiique focos miscere gravata vetabit,*  
excutite egressi domibus vestigia vestra,  
haereat iniustae ne vobis portio vitae.

Will man nicht annehmen, daß der Verfasser der gefälschten Verse mit Vers 451 auch Vers 452 ausräumen und folglich die Herrenworte: . . . *neque audierint sermones vestros* ohne Wiedergabe lassen wollte, wird man die beiden Verse 452 a, b trotz ihrer Stellung hinter V. 452 als doppelzeiligen

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. die Angaben bei Hansson a. O. 83. Der Vers gehört zu denjenigen, die Hansson nur registrierend abmacht (ihre Bezeugung in den Handschriften sowie ihre Beurteilung durch seine Vorgänger verzeichnend). Solches Vorgehen ist in einer Spezialuntersuchung an sich schon unbefriedigend. Es zeigt, wie wenig dem Verfasser an einer Zusammenschau der Vorgänge gelegen war. Er hat sein Verfahren dann auf "Varianten zu Phrasen und einzelnen Wörtern" (85 ff.) ausgedehnt, indem er auch hier Autorvarianten aus den "sicheren Fälschungen" auszusondern versucht: eine Arbeit, die im Einzelnen nützlich ist, im Ganzen verfehlt.

<sup>53</sup> Die Verse 452a, b sind allerdings in C "fast völlig getilgt," vgl. Hansson a. O. 66 f. mit den weiteren Angaben. C hat im übrigen V. 452a *sin* nicht *sive*, wie Huemer angibt.

Ersatz des *einen* Verses 451 anzusehen haben.<sup>54</sup> In Hanssons Beweisführung zugunsten der Echtheit der Ersatzverse vereinen sich seine beiden trügerischen Kriterien: das der Übereinstimmungen mit dem Sprachgebrauch des Autors und das der Grundlosigkeit der Umdichtung.<sup>55</sup> Beide Feststellungen, auch die letztere, könnte man, wie gesagt, durchaus anerkennen, ohne daraus dieselbe Folgerung ziehen zu müssen wie Hansson. Bei näherem Zusehen zeichnet sich freilich auch hier ein Motiv der Textänderung ab. Denn die Zeilen 452a, b gehören in den weiten Bezirk der "syntaktischen Interpolation."<sup>56</sup> In der echten Fassung:

451       excludet *quicumque* ferus vos limine tecti  
          auribus et duris spernet vitalia verba,  
          *excute* egressi domibus vestigia vestra,  
          . . . eqs.

fehlt dem verallgemeinernden Relativum ein Beziehungswort (wie bei Matthaeus). Der Satz gehört zu den Relativsätzen ohne Bezugsmasse (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Gr.* II p. 555 f.). Vergleichbar ist Horaz *serm.* 2. 5. 51 f.:

51       *qui* testamentum tradet tibi *cumque* legendum,  
          abnuere et tabulas a te removere *memento*.

Housman hat gezeigt (zu Lucan 6. 550), wie solche Konstruktion gelegentlich von modernen Kritikern mißverstanden wurde, und es läßt sich leicht denken, daß sie hier den antiken Redaktor zur Änderung und (mühsamer) Angleichung an die Syntax der vorausgehenden Zeilen (448 f. *si* . . . *sin*) herausforderte.<sup>57</sup> Vielleicht hat auch noch das eine Wort *ferus* (V.

<sup>54</sup> Zu diesem Ergebnis scheint auch Hansson a. O. 68 zu gelangen, nachdem er allerdings zuvor die Doublettenverse so behandelt hat, als seien sie als Ersatz für V. 451 und für V. 452 gedacht. Es verdient im übrigen Beachtung, daß die Ersatzverse in C sonst jeweils als einzelne hinter dem zu ersetzenden Vers stehen, und zwar auch dann, wenn (wie im Falle von 2. 28-29; 385-86) zwei oder (wie im Falle von 2. 522-24) gar drei echte Verse neben einer gleichen Anzahl interpolierter Zeilen geführt werden. Solche Organisation geht letzten Endes—ganz gleich, welche Vorstellung man sich vom Archetypus macht (vgl. Huemer praef. p. XXXVII: "archetypus non solum verba discrepantia, sed versus totos vel in margine adscriptos habuisse videtur . . ." etc., ebenso Hansson a. O. 28 f.)—nicht auf Interlinear- oder Marginalglossen zurück, sondern auf die Anlage einer kritisch annotierten Gelehrtenausgabe der Spätantike, die das echte und unechte bzw. zweifelhafte Textgut vereinte, vgl. etwa Jachmann 380-84 sowie oben Anm. 14. Und es dürfte im Bereich der lateinischen Literatur kaum eine Urkunde geben, die ihre Abkunft von einer solchen Ausgabe deutlicher offenbart als der Cantabrigiensis des Juvencus (trotz der fortlaufenden Schreibung der Verse). In der modernen Juvencus-Philologie wird freilich solche Erklärung des auffälligen Befunds nicht einmal als Möglichkeit in Betracht gezogen, obschon man spätestens seit Ribbecks Prolegomena zur Vergilausgabe (Leipzig 1866, p. 153) über die Folgen des Zerfalls kritischer Editionen der Antike hätte Bescheid wissen können.

<sup>55</sup> Hansson a. O. 67 f., vgl. das Zitat oben Anm. 49.

<sup>56</sup> Zum Begriff s. Jachmann 215<sup>8</sup>, 244 f., 595 u. ö.

<sup>57</sup> Syntaktische Interpolationen ganzer Verse, die sich aus dem Bestreben erklären, dem Relativum eine fehlende Stütze zu geben: Jachmann 822<sup>1</sup> (zu Juvenal). Übrigens sind die von

451) mitgewirkt. Gerade weil der echte Vers schlicht ist und dem Bibeltext deutlich folgt (vgl. *quicumque*), sticht das Wort hervor: es ist stark, kühn, geht über den biblischen Wortlaut hinaus. Daß ein einzelner Ausdruck zu einer doppelzeiligen Umdichtung reizen konnte, lehrte ja auch die *palestra*-Metapher bei Prudentius. Wieviel blasser und verschwommener nehmen sich jedenfalls die Wörter *adversa* und *gravata*, sc. *domus* im interpolierten Text aus! Überhaupt kann ich an den beiden Zeilen 452a, b nichts entdecken, was die Auffassung rechtfertigte, sie stellten "eine spätere Formulierung des Juvencus" dar (Hansson), also eine verbesserte. Mitnichten. Auch wenn man die Wortwiederholungen (*succedere*, *hospitium*: vgl. V. 446) für unerheblich crachtet, so bleiben doch andere Mängel: Flecken, die Hansson zum Teil selbst gesehen, aber nicht als solche hat gelten lassen. Die Wendung: *hospitiique focos miscere* (451b) wirkt verschoben. Die Formulierung beim echten Juvencus 2. 39: *illi inter sese timidis miracula miscent Conloquijs, quae . . . eqs.* (*miracula* für *admirationem*, vgl. Mt. 8. 27: *mirati sunt dicentes*) ist noch nicht einmal "einigermaßen vergleichbar" (Hansson), da es hier um ein Austauschen und Mitteilen (*miscere*) im Gespräch geht. Desgleichen bei Sen. *epist.* 3. 3 (von Hansson als beste Parallele außerhalb des Juvencus genannt): . . . *cum amico omnes curas, omnes cogitationes tuas misce*. Außerdem verschiebt sich der Gedanke, da der Eindruck erweckt wird, als gehe es irgendwie um Aufnahme oder Verweigerung *gegenseitiger* Gastfreundschaft.<sup>58</sup> Mit 451a *Dei famulos* fällt der sprechende Christus zudem seltsam aus der direkten Anrede Seiner Sendboten heraus, welche sonst die gesamte Rede beherrscht und prägt (vgl. bes. 437 *vobis*, 439 *vobis*, 440 *vos*, 442 *vos* [Acc.], 450 *vestrumque abitum*, 451 *vos* [Acc.], 453 *vestigia vestra*, 454 *vobis*, 458 *vos*, 460 *vobis*, 462 *vos* [Acc.], 464 *vos* [Acc.] usw.). Auch in der Abfolge der Konjunktionen: *si* (448), *sin* (449), *sin* (451a) kann ich keine Eleganz erblicken, da hier (anders als 3. 419 ff.) *sin* kurz hintereinander in ungleichem Sinne zu stehen kommt: rein adversativ in V. 449, überleitend in V. 451a (= *et si*, vgl. Hansson p. 67). Die Wirkung der klaren Alternative in V. 448–50 wird dadurch gemindert. Vollends unerträglich ist die Fügung: *Sin adversa* (sc. *domus*!) . . . *vetabit, Excute egressi domibus vestigia vestra*. Fürwahr kein Anzeichen reiferen Formwillens!

Mit Recht hat man in jüngster Zeit eine vergleichende Behandlung der sog. "Plusverse" bei Juvencus und der entsprechenden Erscheinungen in der Prudentiusüberlieferung vermißt.<sup>59</sup> Die Grundlage solcher Studien ließe sich

Hansson a. O. 67 aus Juvencus beigezogenen Parallelen für *quicumque* gleich *si quis* (1. 493; 2. 504) unserem Fall nicht voll kommensurabel.

<sup>58</sup> Also *h. focos miscere* etwa wie *consortia, conubia, convivia, mores, ritus miscere* (Pfligersdorffer, *ThLL* 8. 1084. 34 ff.), vgl. *Cypr. Gall. iud.* 134 (CSEL 23, 184): *nec solos sociant ritus, consortia miscent* (sc. *Iudaei cum gentibus*) . . . eqs.

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. R. Herzog, in: *Restauration und Erneuerung. Die latein. Lit. von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.*, hrsg. von R. Herzog u. a. (München 1989) 335. Daß wir allerdings in den Autorvarianten

ohne sonderliche Mühe<sup>60</sup> gewaltig verbreitern, wofern man bereit wäre, die Untersuchungen Jachmanns zu Rate zu ziehen.

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(als solche werden sie ohne weiteres angenommen) das "Ergebnis erbaulicher Darstellungstendenz" zu sehen hätten, wie Herzog unter Hinweis auf seine *Bibelepik I* (München 1975) 144<sup>344</sup> lehrt, ist eine seltsame und verkehrte Devise, deren Befolgung nur dazu führen würde, die Phänomene in der Textgeschichte christlicher Autoren vom allgemeinen Zusammenhang mit dem antiken Interpolationswesen zu lösen und erneut zu isolieren. Die Motive, soweit erkennbar, sind eben vielfältig. Herzogs weitere Mitteilung, die Doppelfassungen bei Juvencus seien "seit O. Kom" (*Beiträge zur Kritik der Historia evangelica des Juvencus*, Progr. Danzig 1870) zum größten Teil als Autorvarianten gedeutet worden, führt irre; denn gerade Kom vertrat entschieden die Auffassung, daß jeweils nur eine der parallelen Versionen echt sein könne (Kom a. O. 22 f.; vgl. Hansson a. O. 72<sup>38</sup>).

<sup>60</sup> Gute Dienste würden allerdings Sach- und Stellenregister zu den beiden Bänden der Jachmannschen Schriften (s. oben Anm. 7 und 8) leisten, welche seine Theorie und deren Ergebnisse entschlüsseln. Solche Register liegen vor (angefertigt von R. Henke), sind aber noch ungedruckt.

## Proserpina's Tapestry in Claudian's *De raptu*: Tradition and Design

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### Pictures of Different Worlds

Clearly, there are links between the description of the tapestry and Proserpina's life, starting, as it does, with her father's house, and ending with her husband's. These two homes are, at the same time, different realms of the universe. Her tapestry gives an outline of the cosmos, and shows the order in which its elements are arranged. Within this order, earth takes pride of place, and rightly so since the tapestry is dedicated to Ceres, whose love for the earth sometimes borders on identification with it (cf. 3. 71 f. with 2. 171 f., and 2. 203).

It is especially appropriate that Claudian, in his first book, draws this picture of the universe, since, from the very beginning of the main action, the order of the world is at stake, Pluto threatening to undo it (1. 115 f.).

As a new stage of Claudian's representation of the world, the general outline given on Proserpina's fabric will be enlivened in Book II by a more dynamic approach: on Proserpina's dress is to be seen the birth of sun and moon, and her walk through the meadows has the reader witness the birth as well as the death of flowers. Thus, in completion of the static image on the tapestry, in Book II the dimension of time and change is introduced, which is essential to the life of nature and man on earth.

The plucking of flowers, which is constantly related to the deaths of mythic youths, foreshadows the rape of Proserpina. The young goddess, who "loses the light of heaven," changes from Jupiter's world (the macrocosm) to Pluto's realm which, in his speech, and in the last part of Book II, is described as a microcosm of its own. Significantly, the unchanging flowers of Elysium will be opposed to those of Henna (2. 289), which are subject to the law of birth and death.

With Book III, a new chapter is opened: Ceres' wanderings over the earth which will finally result in her giving agriculture to mankind. From heaven and underworld, the scenery is now narrowed down to earth; Jupiter's speech sets a new perspective: the historical development of civilization. This second cycle of the work exhibits striking parallels to the first: Pluto's initial rebellion (1. 32 ff.) is matched by Ceres' sacrilegious violation of the

sacred grove (3. 332 ff.). Pluto, in Book I, had threatened to release the Titans (1. 66; cf. 1. 114). Mount Aetna, which had been thrown on to a giant, serves Ceres to kindle her torches. While Books I and II show Pluto changing from fury and anger to mildness and serenity, in Book III Ceres is furious to become calm only at the ending which, though lost, is known to us from the outlines given in Books I and III (1. 30 *unde datae populis fruges* together with Ceres' change from sorrow to joy, and 3. 50 f. *luctu . . . laetata*). The "world" of Book III is "our" earth seen as the stage of suffering, history, and civilization.

From this overview we see that the description of Proserpina's tapestry, far from being an otiose embellishment, is tightly interwoven with her own life and that of the dedicatee;<sup>1</sup> moreover, it reflects one of the author's main interests: to give a series of pictures of the universe in different aspects; of this chain, it is the first and basic link.

#### Society: structure of scenes

Having shown that the poem might be called "cosmic poetry" in different aspects—physical, vegetal, cultural—let us now turn to the social sphere. In Claudian's Olympus, a strictly hierarchical order reigns; there is no room for spontaneous activity; everything, down to the playful plucking of flowers, has to be ordered from above. The supreme monarch, without any discussion, can impose sufferings on others; he can compel even the entire community of the gods to lie, and turn away from a clearly innocent person. Since everything has been ordained by the Parcae, or by Jupiter, who loves to quote them, discussion and even dialogue become almost impossible. These social conditions are reflected in the structure of scenes, which, quite consequently, break off after the authority has spoken.

#### Speeches (Excursus)

Consequently, instead of dialogue, we get speeches which, at their best, reflect the speaker's mind, or, at their worst, are proclamations. To both types of speech, usually an answer is superfluous.

Of neither type of speech is persuasion the immediate goal: Jupiter need not persuade anybody since he will be obeyed no matter how he speaks. Ceres cannot persuade anybody since she will not be obeyed no matter how she speaks. The function of the first type of speech, therefore, will be to convey some ideas, not so much to the interlocutor as to the reader; the second type of speech will portray the character and her emotions. Ceres' speeches in some ways prefigure what much later will be called the "inward monologue."

<sup>1</sup> Arachne's tapestry had reflected her heretical view of the gods, without immediate reference to her own life (her punishment is foreshadowed on Minerva's fabric): *Ov. Met.* 6. 70–128.



## Similes

## 1. Connection with the larger context

Our scene is framed by two important similes. In the introduction, Venus' path shines like a comet foreboding disaster.<sup>2</sup> The simile makes the reader aware of the fatal purpose of Venus' seemingly playful mission, thus putting the scene into a larger context.

The weaving scene ends with the appearance of the goddesses and with Proserpina blushing like ivory stained with purple. This simile, which is transferred from Virgil's Lavinia<sup>3</sup> to Proserpina, indirectly shows her to be a bride, as is confirmed by 2. 325, where *sollicitum pudorem* refers to the bride's blushes. In his story of the weaver Arachne, Ovid had mentioned the maiden's blushing, but with a different meaning: the blush is rather a sign of pride, and the details of the simile are different (*Met.* 6. 46 f.). The fact that Claudian knew the Arachne story is confirmed last but not least by the introduction of a spider which will try to complete the abandoned tapestry (3. 158). The place of the blush within the story is analogous to Ovid, but the details and the meaning of the simile are closer to Virgil: thus, Claudian shows us that he will rectify Ovid's heretical approach. His "carpet of Proserpina" in a sense is a palinode of Arachne's tapestry: while in Ovid we have two competing views on world, society, and art, in Claudian there is only one. On the other hand, Claudian is able to change Ovid also the reverse way, as we will see from his treatment of the Erysichthon legend.

The use of similes—which cannot be separated from the reference to certain predecessors—shows the primordial importance of similes and of their meanings in their traditional contexts to create for the reader a framework of reference into which to put a given scene, and to make him aware of the way it is related to the larger context. References to older poets are relevant here, since they help to give the reader some signal as to the meaning.

The similes discussed hitherto were used by Claudian in functions or contexts roughly analogous to those of his predecessors, and the very parallels were meant to be helpful to the reader.

The rainbow simile, however, which is very prominent in Ovid's Arachne story (*Met.* 6. 63 ff.), is displaced by Claudian. Ovid had shown Pallas and Arachne both weaving and using an entire palette of shades so similar that they are hard to distinguish: as in a rainbow there are a thousand different colors, but the eye cannot detect the change from each one to the next; adjacent colors are very close but the extremes are plainly different.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Aen.* 10. 272, Aeneas' shield as seen by the Rutulians.

<sup>3</sup> *Aen.* 12. 67 ff.; Statius *Ach.* 1. 308.

While Ovid had introduced this simile during the process of weaving, in Claudian it appears in a different scene: together with a peacock simile, it crowns the creation of flowers by Zephyrus (2. 97-100). This simile is not the only element which connects the second book with the tapestry in Book I, thus showing that the description of the world is continued on a new scale. There is also the description of Proserpina's garment in Book II which, showing the birth of sun and moon, introduces the principle of time and change relevant to this section.

## 2. Interchange of Spheres

Let us now illustrate, in an excursus, a more sophisticated relationship between the main narrative and a simile, a relationship shedding light on the structure of the poem as a whole.

In Book III, which evidently starts a new main section of his epic (very probably what was meant to be the second half), Claudian compares Ceres to Megaera, now using for a simile what had been part of the main action in Books I and II. There, the Furies were roused by Pluto (1. 38 ff.),<sup>4</sup> and at the marriage banquet they mixed the wine, and their snakes dangling into it partook, and were soothed with a gentle song; then the Furies kindled the wedding torches. This last description is part of the "reverse world" sketched by Claudian at the end of Book II. The relaxing of the Furies is the opposite extreme to the situation at the beginning, when they had been stirring up a revolution. Tisiphone's ominous torch of war (1. 40) is replaced by the unwonted wedding torches (2. 347). What had been the sphere of action in the first half of the work becomes the sphere of image in the second half: Ceres setting out to light her torches from Aetna is likened to Megaera who kindles her torches from the Phlegethon to punish Thebes or Mycenae. By her grief, the goddess' character has been transmogrified: she is now an infernal monster. The technique of interchanging the spheres of action and of image had been used by Virgil: the real sea storm of Book I is matched by an entire series of wind and water images in Book VII of the *Aeneid*.<sup>5</sup> In Book I Juno, through the forces of nature, had attacked the Trojans; in Book VII she changes her tactic and sows madness in human hearts through Allecto. Claudian clearly understood this pattern and adopted it. While in Book I Pluto and the Furies try to attack Olympus from the outside, in Book III, it is the goddess Ceres herself, possessed by grief, who becomes like a Fury.

<sup>4</sup> Pallas thinks that they induced Pluto to rape Proserpina (2. 216).

<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the real fire of Troy in Book II is reflected in the numerous light and fire similes of Book VIII.

## Imitation

Let us now compare Claudian to his predecessors, and ask what use he makes of them.

## 1. Virgil

For a work involving the underworld, the first model to be thought of is the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*. Claudian who, for an epic poet, lays unusual stress on inspiration, assumes the role of Virgil's Sibyl who is possessed by Phoebus (*Rapt.* 1. 6; *Aen.* 6. 77); like her he urges the uninitiated to leave (1. 4; *Aen.* 6. 258); Proserpina even had been mentioned in the same Virgilian context (*Aen.* 6. 251). Besides the role of the Sibyl, Claudian also takes the role of Virgil, invoking the gods of the underworld, as his great predecessor had done (1. 20; *Aen.* 6. 264). The new stress laid on the poet's identity with the inspired Sibyl reveals Claudian's intention to uncover the mysteries of the world. Correspondingly, the *sedes beatae* (*Aen.* 6. 39) take an important place in the *De Raptu*. This is especially clear in Pluto's speech to Proserpina which, for obvious reasons, starts with that blissful site, quoting, almost literally, the lines devoted to the special sun and stars belonging to those places (2. 285 f.; *Aen.* 6. 640 f.). The meadows mentioned by Pluto (2. 287 f.), remind us of *Aeneid* 6. 638; 642; 679; 684; the flowers (2. 289), however, seem to be a hybrid of the bee simile in *Aeneid* 6. 708 and the flowers of the Golden Age, Ovid *Met.* 1. 108. The tree bearing gold is mentioned as Proserpina's property in *Aen.* 6. 139 ff., and in Claudian 2. 290 ff. The idea of Proserpina judging the dead seems to be influenced by Ovid's Orpheus story, where she decides to release Eurydice.

No less important is the relationship of Ceres' dream of Proserpina (3. 80 ff.) to Aeneas' dream of Hector (*Aen.* 2. 268 ff.): Proserpina, once beautiful and happy, now looks wretched and mournful—as had Hector in Aeneas' dream. In both cases, though for different reasons, the apparition exhorts the dreamer to leave Troy.

Book IV of the *Aeneid* is used to characterize both Proserpina and Ceres. Proserpina's reproaches to Ceres strike notes similar to those of Dido to Aeneas (consider the mention of the tigress, 3. 105, *Aen.* 4. 367); Ceres, in her grief, metaphorically becomes a Maenad (*bacchatur* 3. 269), as Dido had done (*Aen.* 4. 301).

In many cases the relationship of Claudian's figures to Virgil's exhibits analogy of type, and can be called "typological." In the inferno scene, however, there is deliberate contrast. The idea of introducing a blissful break by stopping the machinery of punishment for some happy moments had been anticipated by Virgil in the *Georgics*, and by Ovid, to whom we now turn.

2. The *Georgics* and Ovid

When Orpheus descended to the underworld, he changed it by his song: in the *Georgics* (4. 481 ff.) we read: "The very halls of Death were spell-bound, and inmost Tartarus, and the Furies with livid snakes entwined in their locks. Cerberus held agape his triple mouths, and Ixion's wheel was stayed by the still wind" (transl. H. R. Fairclough, Loeb).

And in the *Metamorphoses*: "As he spoke thus, striking the chords in accompaniment to his words, the bloodless spirits wept; Tantalus did not grasp at the fleeing wave; Ixion's wheel stopped in wonder; the vultures did not pluck at the liver; the Danaids rested from their urns, and you, Sisyphus, sat upon your stone. Then first, tradition says, conquered by the song, the cheeks of the Eumenides were wet with tears; nor could the queen, nor he who rules the lower world refuse the suppliant." (*Met.* 10. 40-47). By Orpheus' song, the laws of the underworld are changed; the sinners can rest from their punishments, and Pluto himself becomes mild. These ideas are expanded by Claudian throughout his underworld scene.

The passage from the *Georgics* is also echoed in the silence preceding Pluto's speech (1. 84 ff.), where it is combined with the epic tradition of the silence preceding the words of Jupiter (c. g. *Aen.* 10. 101 ff.). Yet there is clear evidence of Ovidian influence, too: in Ovid, the cause of Pluto's mildness had been Orpheus' reminding the regal pair that it was love which had joined them (10. 29). In Claudian too, the change in Pluto's character is effected by love. It was the later poet's idea to expand the short-lived effect of Orpheus' song into a rather long festival, on the occasion of Pluto's marriage to Proserpina, thus almost turning hell into paradise. He might have felt entitled to do so, all the more since Ovid's Orpheus had evoked the rape of Proserpina in the same context. Claudian enjoyed recreating the great primeval event of which Orpheus' momentary success was but a faint reflection. From the same scene, in which Proserpina is the first to be asked and the first to be moved, Claudian deduces Pluto's chivalrous idea to let his queen judge the dead (2. 302-04).<sup>6</sup> Orpheus' speech (*Met.* 10. 17; 32-35), with its unconditional recognition of the universal power of death (and, therefore, of Pluto) is interestingly revived in the speech directed by Lachesis to Pluto (1. 55-62). This speech soothes Pluto for the first time and in doing so prefigures his later change. A second reminiscence of the same passage from Ovid turns up in Pluto's speech to Proserpina (2. 294-304), where it is meant to console her by pointing out the extent of her future power. Ovid's Orpheus scene seems to be behind much of the invention of the *De Raptu*. The change of the underworld effected by Claudian makes him a rival to Orpheus, and, in fact, throughout the elegiac preface to Book II, Claudian likens himself to the mythical bard.

<sup>6</sup> A gesture quite in accord with the teachings of the *Art of Love*, to let one's mistress feel important as a benefactress (*Ars* 2. 287-94).

In addition, there are meaningful references to the Golden Age (*Met.* 1. 89 ff.) whose people, according to Claudian, dwell in Elysium (2. 285 ff.). The everlasting flowers (2. 289), and their "better zephyrs" are strongly reminiscent of Ovid (*Met.* 1. 107 f.); but Claudian adapts the motif to his main idea of opposing two worlds: we remember how he contrasted the everlasting flowers of Pluto's realm to the ephemeral flowers of Henna (2. 289).

While this development of Ovidian motifs, though powerful and original, does not contradict the predecessor's intentions, Claudian's variation of the Erysichthon theme puts him into radical opposition to Ovid and Callimachus (*Rapt.* 3. 332 ff.; Callim. *Hymn VI*; Ovid, *Met.* 8. 738 ff.). Claudian has Ceres commit the very sin for which she had severely punished her worst enemy Erysichthon. This daring reversal of what had been the central and most edifying tale of the Ceres hymn is, at the same time, highly pathetic and deeply ironical. By alienating a motif which traditionally had served to enhance Ceres' majesty, the poet, with the utmost clarity, reveals the goddess' metamorphosis: her grief has made her completely unlike herself. In this case the imitation by contrast conveys a meaning which is essential to both content and structure of the poem.

### 3. Statius

Let us now turn to Statius. The introduction of Proserpina in her nubile maidenhood is strongly reminiscent of the way Statius had presented Deidamia to his readers. The parallel is all the more revealing since, later on, Claudian, unlike Statius, will stress innocence rather than the bloom of youth. The three goddesses to which Statius had likened Deidamia are really present in Claudian.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, he cannot resist the temptation to use them also for a simile. To make the comparison more believable, Statius imagines Minerva without her armour, whereas Claudian imagines the young girl with the accoutrements of the goddesses, as Ovid had done (*Met.* 1. 695 ff.). Tellingly, he omits Venus from the comparison as being incongruous with Proserpina's virginity, while, in Statius, the daring comparison to Venus is excused by the fact that the entire scene is viewed through the eyes of the young lover. If in Statius there is still room for personal feeling, in Claudian everything is arranged by the authorities, and Pluto has not even seen the girl he will have to rape and marry.

Even more important is the change of character produced by love. By love Pluto has become *mitior* (307); the verb *mollescere* (313) is suggestive of Statius' *Achilleid* (1. 272 *mitescere*; 326 *mollit*), where the wild Achilles is changed by love, even to the point of putting on women's

<sup>7</sup> The idea of two virginal deities assisting Venus in preparing a rape is, to say the least, surprising: later we are told that the honorable company of Pallas and Diana helped to disguise Venus' wiles.

clothes. The interchange of specific characteristics of gender brought on by love<sup>8</sup> produces a shift in Pluto's temper, thus reestablishing cosmic harmony. The idea of a metamorphosis brought on by love is common to both Claudian and Statius. Yet, the later poet uses reminiscences from Statius to achieve his own different goals.

#### Claudian's new approach

Claudian's picture of the world and society reflects the hierarchical structure of the late Roman Empire; the absence of discussion and often even of dialogue is a consequence of this situation; the same is true of his turning scenes almost into isolated pictures. There is no competition of different world views, as there had been in Ovid, but there is the idea of unfolding the world in different aspects successively.

Much of Claudian's art in his description of different "worlds" is explained by his looking at things from an unusual point of view. He even defamiliarizes them to the point of making them appear completely new to the reader. Such is the case with the underworld, which, first seen with Pluto's loving eyes, looks almost like a paradise, and then, on the unusual occasion of Pluto's and Proserpina's wedding, is turned upside down, becoming a rather jolly prison. Even more shocking is the reversal of Ceres' cult legend.

Also in detail, unusual perspectives add to the charm of the narrative: Jupiter is seen with the hate-filled eyes of his younger brother, who comments on his cruelty and polygamy (1. 93 ff.), and with the eyes of his mother, who knows the nature, if not the extent, of his slothfulness (3. 134 f.).

Despite the use of different techniques and the assimilation of many traditions, Claudian's epic has a unity of its own. This is made possible by his basic idea of writing a "cosmic poetry" in different successive aspects, rivalling, among other epic poems, the *Aeneid* and also—considering the theme (agriculture), the planned size (probably four books), and the relationship of the basic idea to Orpheus—the *Georgics*.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf., for instance, pseudo-Apuleius *Asclepius* 21, in a Platonic tradition.

## Die Überlieferungsgeschichte von Claudians Carmina maiora

PETER L. SCHMIDT

### I

Ein Mythos geht um in der Claudian-Philologie—der Mythos einer von Stilicho verantworteten Gesamtausgabe der dem Kaiser Honorius und ihm selbst gewidmeten größeren Fest- und Gelegenheitsgedichte, die nach dem Tode des Dichters und vor dem eigenen, also vor 408 anzusetzen sei.<sup>1</sup> Diese Hypothese ist bekanntlich von Th. Birt in seiner monumentalen Textausgabe<sup>2</sup> aufgestellt worden, die gleichwohl, wie zutreffend formuliert worden ist,<sup>3</sup> "voller Leben, Anregungen, ja auch bewußter Unfertigkeiten" steckt. Birts Vermutung basierte auf der Annahme ("videtur"), daß Claudians erstes and für seine weitere Karriere entscheidendes<sup>4</sup> Festgedicht, der Panegyricus für Olybrius und Probinus, die Konsuln von 395, von dieser Gesamtausgabe ausgeschlossen gewesen sei; das Konsulatsgedicht für Mallius Theodorus sei hingegen wegen eines Seitenblicks auf Stilicho (v. 265 ff.) berücksichtigt worden.<sup>5</sup> Diese Folgerung wiederum zieht Birt aus dem Bestand und der Anordnung von Claudians Poesien in der von ihm privilegierten "besten Handschrift," einem in zwei Florentiner Kollationen (E<sup>1</sup>/e;<sup>6</sup> Excerpta Florentina bzw. Gyraldina bei Hall<sup>7</sup>) des 15./16. Jh.

<sup>1</sup> Diese *Communis opinio* etwa bei P. Fargues, *Claudian* (Paris 1933) 38; A. Cameron, *Claudian* (Oxford 1970) 252, 418, 421, 454; J. B. Hall, *Prolegomena to Claudian*, BICS Suppl. 45 (London 1986) 55 erwägt diese Möglichkeit nur für die *Carmina minora*, vgl. aber u. S. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Carmina*, rec. Th. Birt, *MGH, AA* 10 (Berlin 1892), hier lxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Gnllka, "Beobachtungen zum Claudiantext," in: Ders. und W. Schetter (Edd.), *Studien zur Literatur der Spätantike* (Bonn 1975) 45–86, hier 45.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. c. min. 41. 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cameron, 126 f.

<sup>6</sup> L. Jeep, "Die Kritik des Claudianus," *RhM* 30 (1875) 2 ff.; ed. Claudian, Bd. 2 (Leipzig 1879) xvii ff.; Birt, lxxxii ff.; zu den verschiedenen Serien und ihrer Bewertung nach dem Maßstab von e vgl. cxxviii ff., hier cxxx: "Quantum autem auctoritatis inde (sc. ab hoc optimo codice) haec series acquirat, qui non caecutiē pervidebit"; zu unserer Differenzierung von E<sup>1</sup> und E<sup>II</sup> vgl. u. S. 400 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Hall, *Prolegomena*, 36 f., 121, 129, der bedauerlicherweise keine Möglichkeit gesehen hat, Birts Siglen beizubehalten; Halls Konkordanz (S. 45 ff.) geht, wie natürlich die gleichgeordnete Serie seiner Beschreibungen (S. 4 ff.), wiederum nur von den eigenen Siglen aus, obwohl die

benutzten "vetustissimus codex" (hier e genannt). Die Bevorzugung von e führte Birt nicht allein zu der Behauptung, der mittelalterlichen Überlieferung läge für Carmina maiora und minora ein gemeinsamer Archetyp voraus, sondern auch zu der Entscheidung für die von ihm I (etwa gegenüber VI) genannte Anordnung von Claudians Gedichten in den Codices, die er als die des Archetyps versteht, sowie zu der Abwertung der Varianten anderer Handschriften.<sup>8</sup>

Birts Fixierung auf e beruht indes auf Voraussetzungen, bei denen Wissenschaftsgeschichte und damals gültige textkritische Methode in bemerkenswerter Weise ineinander greifen. Schon Jeep, dem bei aller Willkür in der Textbehandlung das Verdienst zukommt, sich als erster Philologe der Neuzeit intensiver um die Claudian-Überlieferung bemüht zu haben, rekurriert dort, wo er die Rangfolge seiner Codices ebenfalls mit E/e beginnen läßt, auf die Autorität von Nicolaus Heinsius, der schon in der ersten Auflage seiner Claudianausgabe auf der Qualität der Kollationen insistiert und sie in der zweiten sogar über Vat. Lat. 2809 (V/R) gestellt hatte.<sup>9</sup> Die Festlegung auf einen "optimus veterrimusque codex" (so hatte Heinsius die Kollationsvorlage der Excerpta qualifiziert) als das einzig sichere Fundament der Recensio<sup>10</sup> entsprach der Praxis einer Philologengeneration ab etwa 1850, die unter dem Einfluß Lachmanns ihr Heil bei einer sog. "besten," meist der ältesten Handschrift, suchte, einer Generation, die angesichts der andrängenden Flut neuen Materials und ohne überlieferungsgeschichtlich oder methodisch hinreichend gerüstet zu sein, aus dieser Not eine Tugend machte.<sup>11</sup> Jeep erwies sich auch darin als guter Lachmannianer, daß er in der Tradition von dessen Rekonstruktion des Lukrez-Archetyps einen Archetyp mit 29 Zeilen pro Seite für Carmina maiora, minora und De raptu Proserpinae aufspüren zu können meinte.<sup>12</sup>

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umgekehrte Anordnung praktischer gewesen wäre. Wir versuchen dies hier nachzuholen, indem wir—außer in den Stemmata—stets zuerst Birts und dann Halls Sigle geben.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. etwa cix f., vorsichtiger Hall, *Prolegomena*, 121 ff.; zur Abwertung von R/Δ in den c. min. vgl. Birt, cxii f., zu der eines "vetus (codex) Cuiacii" (hier c, s. Anm. 49) excv ff. vgl. W. Schmid, "Ein verschollener Kodex des Cuias und seine Bedeutung für die Claudiankritik," *Ausgew. Philol. Schr.* (Berlin 1984) 378 ff., hier 381, 384 ff. (zuerst 1956).

<sup>9</sup> Jeep, *Quaestiones criticae ad emendationem Claudiani panegyricorum spectantes* (Diss. Leipzig 1869) 13 ff.; Heinsius, ed. Claudian (Leiden 1650; Amsterdam<sup>2</sup> 1665); der Text der Vorreden in der Ausgabe von P. Burman (Amsterdam 1760), hier 21 f. Speziell zu V/R, das für Hall ganz oben steht, vgl. *Prolegomena*, 23 ff., 105 ff. Wir übergehen hier eine Korrekturschicht, die aus einer I-Handschrift stammt, vgl. etwa Jeep, "Die Handschriften" (Anm. 12) 353.

<sup>10</sup> Jeep, *Quaestiones*, 13: "... si nolimus totam ... quaestionem omni carere certo fundamento."

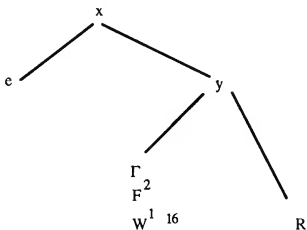
<sup>11</sup> Vgl. Verf., "Lachmann's Method: On the History of a Misunderstanding," in: *The Uses of Greek and Latin* (London 1988) 227–36, hier 234.

<sup>12</sup> Ausgehend von einer Vermutung von L. Müller (*RhM* 22 [1867] 91) zu dem Epithalamium Laurentii (c. min. app. 5, 10 ff.), die allenfalls für die Vorlage von V/R + Ambr. M 9 sup. (M/K<sup>6</sup>) gilt, vgl. aber Jeep, *Quaestiones*, 27 ff.; Ders., "Die Handschriften von Claudian's Raptus Proserpinae," *Acta soc. philol. Lips.* 1 (1872) 378 ff., Ergänzungen *RhM* 27 (1872) 618



Selbst nach der Entdeckung des Veronensis Capit. 163 (R/Δ)—nur mit Carmina minora—oder des Bruxellensis 5380–84 (C/Γ)<sup>13</sup>—nur mit Invektiven (Ruf. Eutr.) und Zeitepen (Gild. Poll.)—kam die Frage nicht auf, ob nicht die kleineren mit den größeren Gedichten erst im 12. Jh.—aus dieser Zeit stammen die ersten gemeinsamen Codices—kombiniert bzw. ob nicht auch die eigentlichen Festgedichte, Panegyriken und Hochzeitsgedichte, einmal gesondert umgelaufen und erst sekundär mit jenen vier vereinigt worden sein könnten.

Eine solche Methode mußte ein Stemma ergeben, das nicht an dem historischen Ort der Haupthandschriften, sondern an ihrer Qualität als direkter Entscheidungshilfe bei der Selektion der Varianten interessiert, das also nicht überlieferungsgeschichtlich, sondern "axiologisch"<sup>14</sup> orientiert war. Lassen wir die nur für die c. min. bedeutsamen Handschriften beiseite und stellen wir auf die heute üblichen Siglen (Hall) um, so ergibt sich folgendes, von Jeep selbst allerdings nicht ganz klar konturiertes Bild:<sup>15</sup>



ff.; "De Claudiani codice Veronae nuper reperto," in: *Philologos ... Lipsiae congregatos ... saluant scholae Thom. magistri* (Leipzig 1872) 48; "Die älteste Textesrecension des Claudian," *RhM* 28 (1873) 292 f.; ed. rapt. (Turin 1875) v ff. Vgl. die Kritik bei Cameron, 115, Anm. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Jeep, "De codice," 45 ff.; "Textesrecension," 295.

<sup>14</sup> Zu diesem im 19. Jh. verbreiteten Prinzip der Handschriftenklassifikation vgl. S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, Nachdr. der 2. Aufl. (Padua 1985) 38 f., 52, 58, 139.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. *Quaestiones*, 29 f., 36 ff.; "De codice," 52 ff.; "Textesrecension," 294 ff.; "Die Kritik," 8 ff.; ed. Claudian, Bd. 1 (1876) xxxvii f. Einigermaßen ratlos bleibt Hall, *Prolegomena*, 60 ff., vgl. aber M. Bonnet, *RCr* 11 (1877) 1, 189, Anm. 3. Als "jüngere Classe" faßt Jeep die Handschriften, die Ruf. 2 pr. vor Gild. (mit *Gildonis* statt *et Geticam* in v. 12, vgl. Hall, ed. Claudian [Leipzig 1985] app. ad loc.) lesen, unter der Sigle Z zusammen, vgl. *Quaestiones*, 36 ff.; "Die Kritik," 18 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Flor. Laur. S. Marco 250 (L/F<sup>2</sup>); Wolfenbüttel, Gud. Lat. 220 (Gu/W<sup>1</sup>). Eine Übersicht über die je benutzten Codices geben Jeep, *Quaestiones*, 7 ff.; "Die Kritik," 2 ff.; ed. 1, xxx ff.;

Die Wertigkeit der einzelnen Zweige läßt sich für Jeep nach ihrer Stelle im Stemma bestimmen, also e vor y, C/T vor V/R etc.<sup>17</sup>

Bei allen, z. T. auch zeitbedingten Schwächen, ist die Arbeit Jeeps zumal bei der Sammlung, Sichtung und Selektion der Codices für die folgende Forschungsgeschichte grundlegend geblieben, auch wenn sein Nachfolger Birt dies in keiner Weise zu würdigen bereit war. Birts eigentlicher Beitrag zu den Kriterien der Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Differenzierung besteht zumal in der Profilierung verschiedener konstanter Serien, nach denen sowohl Carmina maiora (I–VI) als auch minora (A–F)<sup>18</sup> angeordnet sind, ohne daß er allerdings (wie zu zeigen sein wird) die Entwicklung und das komplizierte Zusammenspiel der Serien richtig zu deuten oder gar eine Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Stematik konsequent auf dies doch so handgreifliche Fundament zu basieren gewillt war. So sind etwa die größeren Gedichte unabhängig von bzw. vor den Kleingedichten hauptsächlich in drei Anordnungen tradiert:

<u>Serie I</u>	<u>Serie III</u>	<u>Serie VI</u>
In Rufinum	Ruf.	Ruf.
De bello Gildonico	Fesc.	Pan. de cons. Olyb. et Prob.
In Eutropium	Epith.	3. cons.
Fescennina	Gild.	4. cons.
Epithalamium	Stil.	Fesc.
Pan. de 3.	6. cons.	Epith.
cons. Honorii		
Pan. de 4.	Eutrop.	Theod.
cons. Honorii		
Pan. de cons.	3. cons.	Gild.
Mallii Theod.		
Laudes Stili- chonis	4. cons.	Eutrop.
Pan. de 6.	Theod.	Stil.
cons. Honorii		
De bello Pollentino	Poll.	Poll.  6. cons.

An dieser Stelle ist als erstes bedeutsames Problem der Claudianüberlieferung die Frage nach der Herkunft von Olyb.<sup>19</sup> zu klären. Für Birts Hypothese einer von Stilicho verantworteten postumen Gesamtausgabe des

Birt, lxxxii ff.; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 4 ff., 51 f. (eine nach den ihrerseits korrekturbedürftigen Beschreibungen zu ergänzende Übersicht), 140 f.; ed. Claudian, xiv ff., xxvi f. Im übrigen werden seine (bei der Datenmenge nur zu begreiflichen) Versehen nur notiert, wofem sie für unsere Argumentation von Belang sind.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. "De codice," 54; "Die Kritik," 8, 25.

<sup>18</sup> S. cxxviii ff. (Korrekturen bei Hall, *Prolegomena*, 67), cxxxiv ff.

<sup>19</sup> Zu der Reihenfolge der Namen im Titel vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 111, Anm. 1.

Dichters war, wie gesagt, die Behauptung entscheidend, daß dieser erste lateinische Panegyricus Claudians (wo Stilicho nicht figurierte) gesondert ediert und tradiert worden sei.<sup>20</sup> Dafür fehlt allerdings ein unmittelbarer Beweis, d. h. Olyb. ist nirgends—anders als etwa die *Carmina minora* in R/Δ oder die vier Nicht-Panegyriken in C/Γ—außerhalb anderer Werke Claudians überliefert. Implizit scheint Birt damit argumentieren zu wollen, daß Olyb. in den Reihen I, III und VI an verschiedenen Stellen stehe, also mehrfach unabhängig ergänzt worden sei. "Where to find a place for the newcomer was evidently a problem" (Hall).<sup>21</sup> Man kann allerdings Birt den Vorwurf nicht ersparen, daß er bei seiner Vorstellung der Serie VI<sup>22</sup> das Material so präsentiert (um nicht zu sagen manipuliert), daß eine kritische Überprüfung außerordentlich erschwert ist. Er geht von einer relativ späten Handschrift (Vat. Lat. 2807 / Reg. Lat. 2080, 13./14. Jh.<sup>23</sup>) aus, die in der Tat Olyb. nicht enthält, gibt aber nur indirekt zu erkennen,<sup>24</sup> daß von den zehn älteren Codices des 12./13. Jh. mit Olyb. sechs zu der Ser. VI gehören und daß umgekehrt von den älteren dieser Reihe nur zwei den Panegyricus nicht haben.<sup>25</sup> Von jenen sechs geben vier—und unter diesen drei der ältesten<sup>26</sup>—Olyb. an zweiter Stelle, d. h. nach Ruf. und vor 3. cons. Es muß einigermaßen erstaunen, daß die Forschung bisher übersehen hat,<sup>27</sup> daß Olyb. im Rahmen der Panegyriken chronologisch an dieser Stelle richtig steht—und die chronologische Anordnung der Festgedichte ist eben das Kennzeichen von VI! Es kann, wie ich meine, kein Zweifel sein, daß der frühe Panegyricus in dieser Position ein authentisches Charakteristikum der Ser. VI (und damit ein erste Indiz für deren Qualität) darstellt und daß sich die Endstellung von Olyb. in Handschriften von I<sup>28</sup> oder III<sup>29</sup> einer sekundären Kombination verdankt, deren bildungsgeschichtlicher Ort in der vor allem in Frankreich seit dem späten 12. Jh. intensiven Claudian-Rezeption zu suchen ist, die das Etikett "aetas Claudiana" wohl verdient.

<sup>20</sup> Birt, lxxviii; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 55.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. Birt, clix; Cameron (Anm. 1), 421; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 109, der mit einer Entdeckung im Italien des 12. oder (so in: *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L. D. Reynolds [Oxford 1983] 145) 11. Jh. rechnet; vgl. auch die (sonst sorgfältig gearbeitete) Spezialausgabe von W. Taegert (München 1988) 57 f., der indes trotz Birt und Hall seine eigenen Siglen festlegt, so daß ein auf Transparenz hoffender Benutzer sich z. T. mit drei oder (wo schon Birt für Olyb. eigene Wege gegangen war) vier Siglen konfrontiert sieht.

<sup>22</sup> S. cxxxiii f.

<sup>23</sup> Zu Details vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 25.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. auch S. clix, Anm. 1; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 109.

<sup>25</sup> Escorial S. III. 29 bricht nach Stil. ab, hat also auch Poll. und 6. cons. nicht.

<sup>26</sup> Florenz Laur. Acq. 672 (C/F); Neapel Naz. IV. E. 47 (B/n<sup>1</sup>); Aberystwyth 21589 C (C/q), diese beiden mit c. min. 32 als pietätvoller Klausel. Alle drei stammen aus Italien und wohl noch vom Ende des 12. Jh., während Leiden, Voss. Lat. Oct. 39 (Vo/J<sup>3</sup>)—mit c. min. B und rapt.—die Corpus-Bildung im Frankreich des frühen 13. Jh. spiegelt.

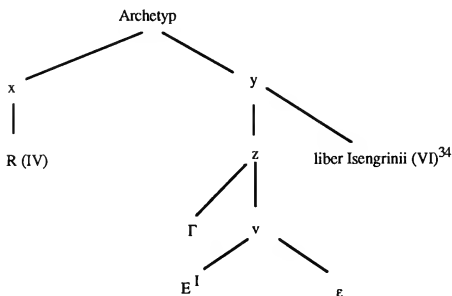
<sup>27</sup> Birt, cxxxiv; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 72, Anm. 3; Taegert, 58.

<sup>28</sup> Zürich C. 134; Parma Pal. 2504 (Pm/Z, mit rapt. am Anfang); vgl. auch Leiden BPL 116 (Ld/J<sup>6</sup>, Olyb. zwischen Eutr. 1 und 2 eingeschoben), alle drei erst aus dem 13. Jh.

<sup>29</sup> Arras 438 (Ars/θ); Olyb. nach Taegert, 53 "nachträglich beigegeben."

Ähnlich, d. h. nach dem Einfluß der dominanten Ser. I, ist wohl auch die Endstellung in wenigen (französischen?) Handschriften von VI zu erklären.<sup>30</sup> Mit der festen Bindung von Olyb. an die spärlich, nämlich nur in acht—gegenüber 42 von I—älteren Repräsentanten vertretene Ser. VI erklärt sich auch seine gleichfalls beschränkte Verbreitung, die also wiederum nicht als Indiz einer ursprünglich gesonderten Tradierung zu beurteilen ist.<sup>31</sup> Die neue Bewertung von Olyb. im Kontext von VI bedeutet indes auch, daß nicht die Präsenz hier, sondern das Fehlen in den Reihen I und III erklärungsbedürftig ist.<sup>32</sup>

Eliminieren wir auch in Birts Stemma die Codices der Carmina minora, deren mit den größeren Gedichten gemeinsamer Archetyp erst zu beweisen gewesen wäre, sowie die Gruppe—hier w—mit Ruf. 2 pr. vor Gild., so ergibt sich für seine Argumentation folgendes Stemma:<sup>33</sup>



Daß in dieser Konstellation, anders als bei Jeep, die Excerpta Florentina gemeinsam mit C/T eine Familie gegen V/R bilden, wird nicht einmal

<sup>30</sup> Florenz, Naz. VII. 144 (Fl/F<sup>17</sup>, am Ende c. min. 32, 50) und Laur. Med. 33. 4 (St/F<sup>3</sup>, Olyb. nach den c. min. und vor rapr.), beide erst s. XIII.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. aber Hall, *Prolegomena*, 109; Taeger, 58.

<sup>32</sup> So schon eine Anregung meiner Antrittsvorlesung (*Politik und Dichtung in der Panegyrik Claudians* [Konstanz 1976] 51), die von Hall (trotz seiner Rezension, *CR* N. S. 30 [1980] 206 ff.) in den *Prolegomena* nicht weiter diskutiert oder gar widerlegt worden ist.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. S. xcvi ff., zumal ciii und dazu Hall, *Prolegomena*, 62 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. u. S. 404.

festgestellt, geschweige denn begründet, ebensowenig der Verzicht auf L/F<sup>2</sup> und Gu/W<sup>1</sup>. So führt bei Birt eine breitere Kenntnis des Materials und der historischen Daten letztlich doch zu einer Verarmung der Selektion, und das Stemma bedeutet für Überlieferungsgeschichte oder Textgestaltung wenig: "Hanc tamen cognationis magis umbratilem adumbrationem esse scias quam certissimam imaginem. Neque stemmata picta multum valent."<sup>35</sup>

Die Schere zwischen breiter Materialkenntnis und einer gewissen Askese bei der überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Auswertung öffnet sich noch weiter bei Hall. Wer eine textgeschichtliche Rekonstruktion versucht,<sup>36</sup> die von den postumen Prototypen der Gedichte Claudians über die frühmittelalterlichen, je nur Teile seines Oeuvres enthaltenden Codices bis zur Corpusbildung im 12./13. Jh. reichen könnte und müßte, erlebt bei der Lektüre der "Prolegomena" eine herbe Enttäuschung. Bei genauerem Zusehen ergibt sich allerdings, daß Halls Verzicht auf eine begründende Diskussion der möglicherweise mittelalterlichen Überlieferungsstufen durchaus Methode hat. Der Dynamik und Vitalität eines im 12. Jh. fast explosionsartig aufbrechenden Rezeptionsprozesses, den Birt wenigstens registriert, wengleich stemmatisch nicht eigentlich ausgewertet hatte,<sup>37</sup> wird nun in seiner Bedeutung für die Textentwicklung, wie es scheint, gar nichts mehr zugetraut, als mittelalterlich nur die vermeintliche Einfügung von Olyb. verstanden, die in der Tat omnipräsente Kontamination als spätantike begriffen; mit der Möglichkeit auch gelungener mittelalterlicher Konjekturen als Gegenstück von sog. Interpolationen wird nicht gerechnet.<sup>38</sup> Die verschiedenen Serien von Carmina maiora und minora und ihre Kombinationen, die in den 64 Handschriften der eigentlichen actas Claudianea (12./13. Jh.), anzutreffen sind, sollen demnach jeweils in direkter Linie auf die Spätantike zurückführen.<sup>39</sup> Die Argumente, die im Sinne eines traditionellen Stemmas als Ordnungskategorien der mittelalterlichen Überlieferung dienen könnten und müßten, werden deshalb auch nur sporadisch und verstreut angeführt.<sup>40</sup> Was indes zunächst wie eine generelle Polemik gegen eine stemmatisch veranschaulichende Genealogie der

<sup>35</sup> S. ciii.

<sup>36</sup> Wie es der Vf. für den Claudian-Abschnitt einer neuen lateinischen Literaturgeschichte (HLL VI, § 623) getan hat.

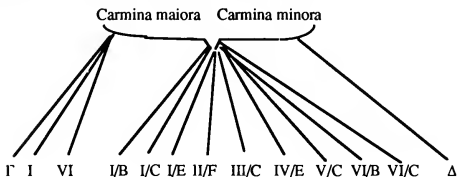
<sup>37</sup> S. lxxxii, vgl. auch Schmidt, *Politik*, 5 mit Anm. 1; A. K. Clarke and H. L. Levy, *Claudius Claudianus*, Cat. transl. et comm. III (Washington, D.C. 1976) 145.

<sup>38</sup> Etwa in dem Abschnitt "The survival of the truth," S. 73 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. S. 55, 59 ("... I canvass the possibility of the independent descent of the surviving MSS from a number of ancient exemplars"), 67 ff., hier 67 f.: "Much the most likely explanation... is unsystematic, indeed largely unthinking, transference of single poems from separate codices or loose sheets (or, for that matter, papyrus rolls, if Claudian still clung to that form of book) to composite codices on a number of occasions, the process of compilation being at all events initiated not in the medieval period... but soon after the poet's demise." Vgl. auch S. 103 und die "speculation" 107, Anm. 1. Erstaunlicherweise zustimmend H. Hofmann, *Philologus* 132 (1988) 107 f., ähnlich schon Cameron (Anm. 1), 422.

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. *Prolegomena*, 96 ff., 107, Anm. 1, 110 f. etc.

Claudian-Codices aussieht, basiert in Wirklichkeit implizit ebenfalls auf einer genealogischen Grundvorstellung, die sich stemmatisch abbilden läßt; wir setzen dabei in der Linie von Halls Argumentation alle selbständig auftretenden Reihen der größeren bzw. kleineren Gedichte sowie alle nachgewiesenen Kombinationen beider als eigene Linien an:



Das Motiv für die Projektion fast der gesamten Textentwicklung auf die Ebene der Spätantike wird von Hall selbst mit schöner Offenheit formuliert: Sie steht im Dienst eines "untrammelled eclecticism"<sup>41</sup> bei der Selektion der Varianten für die Konstitution des Textes. Jede in diesen 13—3 + 9 für die größeren, 9 + 1 für die kleineren Gedichte—präsumtiv spätantiken Traditionslinien nachgewiesene Variante hat nach ihm die Chance, als authentisch zu gelten. Zumal in der Berufung auf Heinsius<sup>42</sup> findet hier also die postmoderne Recensio den Weg zur prämodernen zurück. Die krasse Unwahrscheinlichkeit einer so hohen Zahl von spätantiken Codices, die sich im Original oder in frühmittelalterlichen Umschriften bis ins 12. Jh. hinein gerettet haben sollen, widerspricht indes jeder Erfahrung beim Umgang mit "normalen"—Vergil etwa ausgenommen—Traditionen.

## II

Es gilt also, sich einmal von den Denkmodellen der Vorarbeiten und ihrer Aprioris, der Fixierung auf e bei Jeep und Birt, der Unterschätzung der mittelalterlichen Überlieferungsdynamik bei Hall, freizumachen und von der (fast banalen) Arbeitshypothese auszugehen, daß die im Frühmittelalter nur isoliert nachweisbaren Einzelwerke und Teilgruppen von Claudians Werken eine frühere Überlieferungsstufe repräsentieren, d. h. erst im 12. Jh. zu umfassenderen Corpora kombiniert worden sind.

1. Daß das unvollendete Epos *De raptu Proserpinae* seit seiner postumen Publikation bis ins Mittelalter (*Claudianus minor*) autonom

<sup>41</sup> *Texts and Transmission* (Anm. 21), 144.

<sup>42</sup> Ed. Claudian, x f.

überliefert wurde, ist nur von Jeep<sup>43</sup> bestritten worden und kann heute als *Communis opinio* gelten. Dafür sprechen die Notizen in karolingischen Bibliothekskatalogen (Sankt Gallen, Reichenau)<sup>44</sup> sowie der Befund der mit dem 12. Jh. einsetzenden Handschriften—die älteste wohl Florenz, Laur. 24 sin. 12—, die rapt. im 12./13. Jh. häufiger allein (23x), in 22 (von 64) Fällen vor bzw. nach den *Carmina maiora* (am häufigsten mit I) bzw. deren Verbindung mit den *minora* (am häufigsten mit I/B) enthalten.<sup>45</sup>

2. Gegenüber Jeep<sup>46</sup> und Birt,<sup>47</sup> die nach E<sup>1</sup>/ε wie selbstverständlich von der Annahme eines spätantiken Archetypus für die *Carmina maiora* gemeinsam mit den *minora* ausgehen, wie gegenüber Hall, der mit einer beliebig großen Anzahl von solchen spätantiken, dem Mittelalter weitergegebenen Kombinationen rechnet, darf der simple Augenschein, daß die separate Tradition der beiden Bestandteile älter ist als ihr gemeinsames Auftreten, bereits als Arbeitshypothese genommen werden: Der *Veronensis* (R/Δ) der Kleingedichte stammt aus dem 8., der *Bruxellensis* (C/Γ) der größeren Gelegenheitsgedichte aus der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jh., die Hauptfamilien I und VI der *maiora* sind jeweils häufiger ohne die *minora* als mit ihnen überliefert,<sup>48</sup> die Verbindung und gar die Verschmelzung beider Gruppen ist wiederum erst im 12. Jh. belegt. Ein Blick auf das Stemma der nach Bestand und Anordnung verschiedenen Traditionslinien der Kleingedichte<sup>49</sup> kann veranschaulichen, daß sich feste Kombinationen mit

<sup>43</sup> "Die Handschriften" (Anm. 12), 353, 376 ff., vgl. indes Birt, lxxvii f.; Hall, ed. rapt. (Cambridge 1969) 53 f.

<sup>44</sup> Vgl. Hall, ed. rapt., 67 f. Auch in dem Katalog der karolingischen Hofbibliothek (vgl. B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 3 [Stuttgart 1981] 165 f., zuerst 1964; Ders., Faks. der Sammelhandschrift Diez. B Sant. 66 [Graz 1973] 39, 218), wo rapt. (in einem Buch mit der horazischen *Ars*) vor der Vierergruppe von C/Γ steht, spricht die Anlage der Notiz wohl dafür, daß es sich um zwei separate Bücher handelte, vgl. auch Birt, cxlviii f.; B. L. Ullman, *Scriptorium* 8 (1954) 26 f.; R. G. Babcock, "A Revival of Claudian in the Tenth Century," *C&M* 37 (1986) 216, Anm. 58 gegen die z. B. von Cameron (Anm. 1), 421 f. vertretene Position (rapt. und die Vierergruppe in einem Codex); vgl. aber unten S. 404 zu i<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. die Listen bei Jeep, "Die Handschriften" (Anm. 12), 348 ff.; ed. rapt. (Anm. 12), viii ff.; ed. *Claudian* 1 (Anm. 15), xlix ff.; Birt, cxlviii ff.; Hall, ed. rapt., 3 ff., 53, Anm. 2; *Prolegomena*, 4 ff., 51 f.

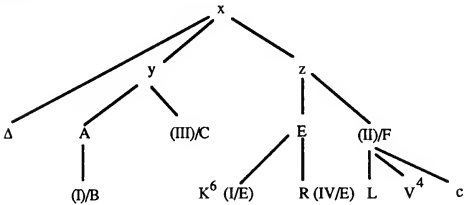
<sup>46</sup> Auch nach der Entdeckung von R/Δ ("De codice" [Anm. 12], 49 ff.) und C/Γ ("Textesrecension" [Anm. 12], 295, vgl. aber 292).

<sup>47</sup> S. lxxvii (gemeinsamer Archetyp des 5./6. Jh.), wo die mittelalterliche Gesamtbezeichnung *Claudianus maior* (gegenüber rapt. als *minor*, vgl. M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* [Leipzig 1935] 221 ff.; ungenau Hall, *Texts and Transmission* [Anm. 21], 143, Anm. 3) als Argument zu gelten scheint, vgl. auch cxliii und dagegen Hall, *Prolegomena*, 69 f. Entsprechend werden auch die nur c. min. umfassenden Handschriften den "*Claudianus maioris codices*" eingereiht, vgl. xcii ff. und ciii. Implizit zustimmend etwa Gnllka (Anm. 3), 46, 84 ff., vorsichtiger Clarke and Levy (Anm. 37), 144.

<sup>48</sup> Kombinationen wie I/C (Par. Lat. 8079), VI/B (Vo/J<sup>3</sup>) und VI/C (St/F<sup>3</sup>, vgl. Birt, cxxxviii) sind deshalb als Ergänzungen der ursprünglich autonomen Hauptcorpora zu verstehen.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Birt, cxxxiv ff. Eine genauere Begründung dieses Stemmas, die von der Echtheit der Mehrzahl der sog. Appendix-Gedichte ausgeht, muß einer anderen Gelegenheit vorbehalten

den politischen Gedichten erst in den unteren Rängen der Genealogie herausgebildet haben:



Bezeichnend sind die charakteristischen Verbindungen I/B, II/F und III/C, die sich jedoch auf den höheren Stufen, sowohl was die maiora wie die minora betrifft, stemmatisch nicht zusammenführen lassen. Auffällig ist auch, daß die Reihe E unabhängig mit I sowie mit IV kombiniert erscheint. Bei der nur von den Florentiner Exzerpten repräsentierten Reihe A ist die Rekonstruktion einer Entwicklung I/A zu III/C bzw. I/B nicht angängig, wie eine genauere Betrachtung der komplizierten kodikologischen Situation ergibt: E<sup>1</sup> bedeutet eine marginale bzw. interlineare Kollation eines von einem "amicus quidam Lucensis" vermittelten "vetustissimus codex," der von dem Fortsetzer der Kollation "antiquus B" genannt wird;<sup>50</sup> Kollationsvorlage war ein Exemplar der Editio princeps (Vicenza 1482), heute in der Florentiner Bibl. Nazionale unter der Sigle A. 4. 36 aufbewahrt. Dasselbe "vetustissimum exemplar" ist später noch einmal, und zwar von G. Giraldi auf der Basis der Aldina von 1523 (heute Leiden, UB 757. G. 2) verglichen worden; diesmal stellte es ein Aeneas Gerardinus zur Verfügung. Giraldis Kollation, "excerpta Gyraldina" genannt, ist vollständiger und textlich genauer, so daß—sicher zu Unrecht—die Identität der gemeinsamen

bleiben. Zu II/F, das durch ein altes Inhaltsverzeichnis und die Kollationen von c (vgl. J. Koch, *De codicibus Cuicacianis, quibus in edendo Claudiano Claverius usus est* [Diss. Marburg 1889] 41 ff.; Birt, cxciv ff.; Schmid [Anm. 8], 381 ff.), BL Bum. 167 (Bs/L, nur bis c. min. 32) und den jüngeren Vind. Lat. 3246 (Vi/V<sup>4</sup>, bis Olyb. 200) vertreten ist, vgl. Birt, cxviii f., cxxxii, cxl ff.; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 15, 32.

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. Jeep, "Die Kritik" (Anm. 6), 2 ff.; Birt, lxxxii ff.; der erste, von Birt A<sup>2</sup> genannte, der nur in Ruf. 1 und 2 pr. tätig war, benutzte dieselbe Vorlage wie der eigentliche Bearbeiter E<sup>1</sup>, vgl. Birt, lxxxvi; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 121. Da der Freund aus Lucca die Handschrift überall gefunden und die Vergleichung in Florenz stattgefunden haben kann, ist die von Heinsius initiierte Bezeichnung "Lucensis" entschieden voreilig.



Vorlage bezweifelt worden ist.<sup>51</sup> Auffällig ist vor allem, daß E<sup>I</sup> die Kollation vor dem (in der Vicentina wie sicher auch in dem alten Codex vorhandenen) *Bellum Gildonicum* abbrach<sup>52</sup> und auch zu Olyb. wie zu rapt.—im Gegensatz zu ε—keine Varianten hat. Daraus folgt einmal, daß die Vorlage mit den *Carmina maiora* einschließlich Olyb. und rapt. eine Kombination bot, wie sie im 12. Jh. etwa Pm/Z aufweist. Jedenfalls war die Handschrift mit rapt. zu Ende; in keinem erhaltenen Codex steht das Epos zwischen den größeren und kleineren Gedichten, sondern stets, wie bemerkt, entweder ganz zu Beginn oder ganz am Ende.

Ebensowenig wie dieser alte Codex die kleineren hatte ein weiteres Exemplar die größeren Gedichte, das wohl erst später, wie die Beendigung der Kollation vor *Gild.* zu beweisen scheint, zur Ergänzung von E<sup>I</sup> herangezogen wurde; weil in der Vicentina die *Carmina minora* fehlten, mußte der Text nunmehr ganz abgeschrieben werden (heute Florenz, Laur. Med. 33. 9 = E<sup>II</sup>).<sup>53</sup> Die Vorlage enthielt vor den *Claudianea*, indes ebenfalls unter dem Namen *Claudianus*,<sup>54</sup> das erste Drittel des ps.-vergilischen *Aetna*-Gedichtes. Davon sind die v. 268–75, 279–86 auf dem mit *Claudian* einsetzenden ersten Blatt des *Laurentianus* noch erhalten.<sup>55</sup> Ein weiteres Blatt mit v. 138–257, 276–78, 258–67, also 133 Versen—entsprechend den 66 Zeilen auf der ersten Seite des *Laurentianus*—war schon vor 1641 in die Hände des Helmstedter, dann in Dänemark wirkenden Professors Heinrich Ernst (1603–65) gelangt;<sup>56</sup> das Anfangsblatt mit Titel und dem den v. 1–137 entsprechenden Teil scheint schon im späten 16. Jh. verloren gegangen zu sein. Jedenfalls konnte Girdali noch den vollständiger vorhandenen *Aetna*-Teil kopieren: "Composuit vero multa *Claudianus*, quae in manibus habentur . . . qua de re (sc. de crystallo versus, c. min. 33 ff.) eiusdem et Latini leguntur. Exstat item poema de *Aetna monte* . . . ex antiquissimo

<sup>51</sup> Birt, lxxxix, xci, vgl. aber Jeep, *Quaestiones* (Anm. 9), 13 ff., vorsichtiger jetzt Hall, *Prolegomena*, 37, 129. Zu den Differenzen vgl. Jeep, 17 ff.; Birt, lxxxvi ff., wobei auffällt, daß E<sup>I</sup> in diesen Fällen häufig mit der in der Aldina aufgehobenen jüngeren Überlieferung zusammengeht. Zu seiner Benutzung eines Codex "A" vgl. Birt, lxxxiii f., aber lxxxiv. Umgekehrt scheint Hall, 121, 129 die Ursache der Divergenzen bei Girdali zu suchen.

<sup>52</sup> Birt, xci, cxxx vermutet, daß die Vorlage von ε vollständiger war als die von E<sup>I</sup>, stellt aber den Faktor menschlicher Ermüdung als mögliche Erklärung für das Verhalten von E<sup>I</sup> nicht in Rechnung. Zu Varianten zu Olyb. in ε vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 111, Anm. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Der Kopist von E<sup>II</sup> ist wohl identisch mit dem Bearbeiter E<sup>I</sup>, vgl. Birt, lxxxiv ("manus prorsus eadem"); Hall, *Prolegomena*, 10, 36, 121.

<sup>54</sup> Wie aus der fehlenden Nennung des Verfassers im Übergang zu c. min. 1 (*explicit ethna. incipit ad stilichonem*) hervorgeht, der mit dem Anfang verloren sein dürfte.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. das Faks. bei Hall, *Prolegomena*, Pl. XV.

<sup>56</sup> Dies Blatt hat in der *Aetna*-Forschung reichlich Verwirrung ausgelöst, vgl. die Ausgabe von F. R. D. Goodyear (Cambridge 1965) 6 ff. Zu Ernst vgl. M. D. Reeve, *Maia* 27 (1975) 242, Anm. 53. Daß Heinsius die Varianten des Abschnittes bis v. 267 von Ernst (zwischen 1650 und 1665, vgl. Reeve a. O.) erhalten, indes (schon 1646/47, Reeve a. O.) den *Florentinus* bzw. *Mediceus* ab v. 268 selbst verglichen hatte, zeigen überzeugend P. R. Wagler, "De *Aetna* poemate quaestiones criticae," *Berl. Philol. Stud.* 1 (1884) 504 ff.; L. Alzinger, *BBG* 35 (1899) 269 ff.

certe et castigato codice, qui Francisci Petrarchae fuisse creditur, illud ego ipse exscripsi.<sup>57</sup>

Daß Giraldis Vorlage, eine alte, angeblich einst Petrarca gehörende Handschrift, mit der Vorlage von E<sup>II</sup> identisch war, braucht trotz Birts hartnäckigem Leugnen<sup>58</sup> nicht bezweifelt zu werden. Sie wurde denn auch, wie schon durch E<sup>II</sup>, von Giraldis zur Ergänzung seiner Vergleichung der *Carmina maiora* benutzt. Beide alten Codices, die gemeinsam eine Gesamtausgabe ergaben, scheinen also mindestens seit dem späten 15. Jh. in derselben Bibliothek gelegen zu haben. Damit ist indes nicht gesagt, daß es sich um ein und dieselbe Handschrift gehandelt hat.<sup>59</sup> Zunächst stellten E<sup>I</sup> und E<sup>II</sup>, wie der Abfall der beiden Aetna-Folien vom Beginn beweist, ursprünglich separate Bindeeinheiten dar. Erst Heinsius, der sie zusammengebunden sah,<sup>60</sup> hat sich durch diese sekundäre Kombination täuschen lassen und unterschiedslos beide Hälften gemeinsam als Lucensis bzw. Gyraldinus ausgegeben;<sup>61</sup> heute sind sie, wie ursprünglich, wieder getrennt. Zweitens zwingt nichts, die Provenienzangabe "Petrarca," der einen Codex der *maiora* besaß,<sup>62</sup> von der Vorlage von E<sup>II</sup> auf die erste Hälfte zu übertragen. Vor allem aber: Wie rapt. hier einen Codex beschloß, so leitete das Aetna-Fragment einen zweiten ein, und diese Zusammenstellung—Fehlzuschreibung des ps.-vergilischen Gedichts und Addition nur eines Fragmentes—ist besser als mittelalterliche denn als spätantike (vor Birts präsumtivem Archetyp) Prozedur, keinesfalls aber als Entwicklung im Zentrum eines Claudian-Corpus vorstellbar. Schließlich scheint die Vorlage von E<sup>I</sup>, die wir e nennen, wie sich ergeben wird,<sup>63</sup> italienischer Herkunft gewesen zu sein, während Petrarca's Codex aus Frankreich gekommen sein dürfte; dort wird A durch die Streichung des Aetna-Fragmentes und der Reste des Vergil-Centos *De lanario* (c. min. 52) für die Kombination I/B zurechtgestutzt, dort scheint auch der Hyparchetyp für A und C gewirkt zu haben.

Daß größere und kleinere Gedichte nicht schon eine spätantike Verbindung eingegangen sind, vielmehr gesondert ins Mittelalter gelangt sind und erst dort vereinigt und verschmolzen wurden, ergeben die—ihrerseits sekundären—Serien II<sup>64</sup> und IV (V/R), wo die Kleingedichte gleichsam von hinten her in das Corpus der größeren eingedrungen sind.

<sup>57</sup> *De Latinis poetis dialogus* (1545), hier zitiert nach der Ausgabe der *Opera omnia*, Bd. 2 (Basel 1580) 193.

<sup>58</sup> S. lxxxix ff., der erstaunlicherweise auch die Identität des von Ernst bzw. Heinsius kollationierten Aetna-Stückes mit dem ehemals bzw. heute noch in E<sup>II</sup> vorhandenen leugnet, obwohl beide mit v. 286 abbrechen.

<sup>59</sup> So aber Birt, lxxxiv f.; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 121.

<sup>60</sup> 1650 (Anm. 9), bei Burman, 21.

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. in der Vorrede der 2. Auflage seines Claudian (1665), bei Burman, 22.

<sup>62</sup> Par. Lat. 8082 (Π/p<sup>2</sup>), vgl. P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme I* (Paris<sup>2</sup> 1907) 202 ff., der von der Giraldis-Notiz nichts weiß.

<sup>63</sup> Vgl. auch Hall, *Prolegomena*, 121.

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 15, die Fortsetzung bis Olyb. 200 in Vi/V<sup>4</sup>, und c nach Koch (Anm. 49), 46 ff.; Birt, cxxxi.

Besonders aufschlußreich für diese abschließende Stufe des Kombinationsprozesses ist zumal die Serie III, die allerdings—wir hatten ähnliches schon bei Ser. VI gesehen—von Birt nach einem sekundären Stadium in Par. Lat. 18552 (P) vorgestellt wird.<sup>65</sup> In Wirklichkeit wird auch in III zunächst an eine Reihe von größeren Gedichten eine Ergänzung von kleineren (= C) angefügt; so zeigen es (in verschiedenen Variationen) London, BL Add. 6042 (Br/L<sup>3</sup>), L/F<sup>2</sup> und Flor. Laur. Med. 33. 5 (p/F<sup>19</sup>).<sup>66</sup> In einer späteren Phase wird Poll. in den Block der *minora* hinein transponiert (so etwa in P, Vat. Lat. 5157 (Ve/R<sup>32</sup>) und Matr. Nac. 10082<sup>67</sup>), noch später in Gu/W<sup>1</sup> Fesc. mit Epith. ganz ans Ende gestellt (= Ser. V bei Birt<sup>68</sup>).

3. Wir müssen also von den Kleingedichten als einem spätantiken Bestandteil eines Archetypus hier absehen. Daß weiterhin auch die größeren Gedichte Claudians in ihren so divergierenden Serien nur einen einzigen spätantiken, gar auf Stilichos Gcheiß hin zusammengestellten Kern voraussetzen, darf mit Fug bezweifelt werden: Eine Widerlegung dieses bisher fundamentalen Axioms der claudianischen Überlieferungsgeschichte und Recensio muß von der Vierergruppe in C/T ausgehen, einer Handschrift, die in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jh. (nach 1021) im belgischen Gembloux kopiert worden ist.<sup>69</sup> Der damit gegebenen Autonomie des Quartetts Ruf. Eutr. Poll. Gild. entspricht umgekehrt eine ursprüngliche Autarkie der Festgedichte in Ser. VI, wie sich aus folgendem Argument ergibt: Alle Codices mit dieser Reihe enthalten die Brüsseler Vier in der Anordnung Ruf. . . . Gild. Eutr. . . . Poll., und zwar ohne Ausnahme mit der Praefatio von Ruf. 2 vor Gild. (entsprechend mit der Lesung *Gildonis* für *et Geticam* in v. 12). Diese Umstellung und Interpolation gehören, wie sich ergeben wird, zur Ser. I (Ruf. Gild. Eutr. . . . Poll.); in VI muß sie sekundär sein, weil die beiden, in I nebeneinander stehenden Titel Ruf. Gild. hier weit voneinander getrennt figurieren.<sup>70</sup> Das Quartett ist also von I (hier I<sup>1</sup>) zur Ergänzung der (mit Olyb., wie wir sahen, vollständigeren) Serie VI (hier VI<sup>1</sup>) übertragen und eingearbeitet worden.

<sup>65</sup> S. cxxx f.; in der Beschreibung von Hall, *Prolegomena*, 19 f. fehlt die Erwähnung der c. min.

<sup>66</sup> Vgl. Birt, cxxxii, cxxxv, cxxxviii f. Es trifft also nicht zu, daß "the cam. min. . . . in MSS of Series III normally follow Mall." (Hall, *Prolegomena*, 35), oder daß in den Reihen II–V, also auch in III, die c. min. stets am Ende mit den *maiora* vermischt sind (S. 67).

<sup>67</sup> Hall, *Prolegomena*, 19 f., 28 übergeht bei P und Ve/R<sup>32</sup> die c. min.

<sup>68</sup> Die Beschreibungen bei Birt, cxxxii, cxxxix sind unvollständig, vgl. aber Jeep, *Quaestiones* (Anm. 9), 9 f.

<sup>69</sup> Vgl. M.–R. Lapière, *La Lettre ornée dans les manuscrits mosans d'origine bénédictine (XIe–XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1981) 22 und fig. 30, 32, 356; Babcock (Anm. 44), 213, 220.

<sup>70</sup> Vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 71 (besser als Birt, cxxxiv), wo ich nur "Series VI, in which Gild., almost (Unterstreichung von mir) always preceded by 4 (d. h. Ruf. 2 pr.)" nicht verstehe: seine Liste der Ruf. 2 pr. an der korrekten Stelle bietenden Handschriften enthält keine der Ser. VI

Die Legitimität, dieses Quartett als ursprünglich isoliert zu betrachten, resultiert auch daraus, daß e, wie die Angaben von E<sup>1</sup> zeigen,<sup>71</sup> die Vierergruppe ebenfalls in der Brüsseler Anordnung Ruf. Eutr. . . . Poll. Gild. bietet, sie also aus einem älteren Codex transponiert und gleichsam schalenförmig um die Festgedichte der Reihenfolge I herumgelegt haben dürfte. Zur Qualität gerade dieses Abschnittes in e<sup>o</sup>, wie wir die betreffende Vorlage von e nennen wollen, darf Hall zitiert werden:<sup>72</sup> "Among the best of the new contributions it makes are six true readings in Ruf. I . . . , where generations of readers had tolerated a superficially satisfactory vulgate." Umgekehrt finden sich Übereinstimmungen von e mit den I-Codices Flor. Laur. S. Marco 245 (F<sup>21</sup>) und Vat. Chis. Lat. H. VI. 212 (R<sup>45</sup>) gerade in diesem Bereich,<sup>73</sup> d. h. e<sup>o</sup> scheint hier kontaminierend eingewirkt zu haben.

Zwei Konfigurationen der Vierergruppe stehen sich also gegenüber, die von I, die chronologisch korrekt ist (Ruf. Gild. Eutr. Poll.), und die von C/T und e<sup>o</sup>, in der Gild. als Epos, aber chronologisch sowohl allgemein wie in Relation zu Poll. falsch eingeordnet ist (Ruf. Eutr. Poll. Gild.). Damit scheint I den Vorrang zu verdienen, und die beiden anderen wären durch einen auffälligen Bindefehler als näher zusammengehörig ausgewiesen. Diese Vermutung wird indes durch die Verteilung der Varianten nicht bestätigt, die im Gegenteil I mit C/T zusammenschließen.<sup>74</sup> Als weiterer enger Verwandter von C/T ist in diesem Zusammenhang einer der beiden von dem Herausgeber (M. Bentinus) der Baseler Edition von 1534 (M. Isengrin)<sup>75</sup> benutzten Codices zu erwähnen. Hall nennt zwar seine Annahme, daß eine dieser Handschriften nur rapt. und die andere die Carmina maiora enthalten haben könnte, "a not unreasonable assumption,"<sup>76</sup> erwägt aber die Alternative nicht, daß i<sup>1</sup> rapt. und die Vierergruppe umfaßt haben könnte, wie sie in dem Aachener Exemplar<sup>77</sup> nebeneinander standen, obwohl er die textliche Nähe von i<sup>1</sup> zu C/T durchaus nicht übersieht. Das Stemma ist also zunächst so zu rekonstruieren:

<sup>71</sup> Vgl. Birt, cxxx, von Hall, *Prolegomena*, 124, Anm. 2 Ser. Ia genannt.

<sup>72</sup> *Prolegomena*, 123.

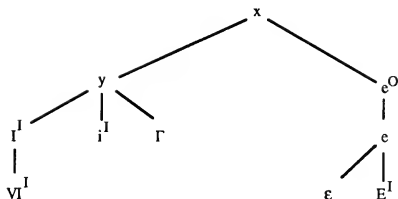
<sup>73</sup> Vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 127 f., 151 ff.

<sup>74</sup> Vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 85 f., 89, 91, 93, 101. Unergiebig für unsere Zwecke das Stemma der Edition von Gild. durch E. M. Olechowska (Leiden 1978) 31 ff., die die Birtschen Reihen zu ihrem Schaden ignoriert; vgl. auch die Kritik von Hall, *Prolegomena*, 64 ff.

<sup>75</sup> Birt, clxxxvi ff.; J. Koch, ed. Claudian (Leipzig 1893) vi ff.

<sup>76</sup> *Prolegomena*, 135 (ff.), vgl. auch ed. rapt., 77 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Vgl. Anm. 44.



Das bedeutet, daß die postume Ausgabe dieser vier Gedichte Claudians nach Gattungen, Invektiven und Zeitepen, wenn auch mit einem chronologischen Versehen, angelegt war. Umgekehrt kann nunmehr, was Birt und Hall<sup>78</sup> der antiken Ausgabe zuschrieben, nämlich das Verständnis von *Gild.* als einer Invektive, sehr wohl der jetzt als sekundär erwiesenen, mittelalterlichen Umorganisation I zugetraut werden. Die Inhaltsangabe von Richard von Fournivals Claudian-Handschrift, die der Ser. I zugehört,<sup>79</sup> hat jedenfalls diesen Aspekt hervorgehoben bzw. *Gild.* nicht eigens erwähnt: *Claudianus liber invectivarum in Ruphinum et Eutropium atque preconiorum ipsius pro Honorio, Theodoro et Stilichone consulibus.*<sup>80</sup> Daß es sich bei der Vorziehung in der Tat um eine mittelalterliche, nicht um eine noch spätantike Transposition handelt, ergibt eine Reflexion auf den möglichen Hyparchetyp von I und C/Γ: Die neuere Forschung<sup>81</sup> hat wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß C/Γ (aus Gembloux) auf einen verlorenen, aber in einem bedeutenden (und hervorragend kommentierten<sup>82</sup>) Katalog aus dem belgischen Kloster Lobbes nachgewiesenen Claudian-Codex des späten 10. Jh.<sup>83</sup> und über diesen auf ein Exemplar der karolingischen Hofbibliothek<sup>84</sup> zurückführt,

<sup>78</sup> S. cxxx, der die Kombination von C/Γ als eine mittelalterliche Verkürzung mißversteht; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 67.

<sup>79</sup> Wenn sie, wie ich vorschlagen möchte, mit Leningrad, Publ. Bibl. Lat. O. v. 3 zu identifizieren ist, vgl. deren Index (Hall, *Prolegomena*, 35, vgl. auch *PACA* 14 [1978] 16 f.): "*liber invectivarum . . . claudiani in ruphinum, pro honorio, theodoro et stilicone . . .*" Rapt., in der *Biblionomia* und im Inhaltsverzeichnis des Petropolitans erwähnt, fehlt heute.

<sup>80</sup> Manitius (Anm. 47), 222, identisch mit dem Sorbonne-Exemplar von 1338 (Manitius, ib.): *Liber invectivarum Claudiani*. Auch der Invektiven-Titel *In Gildonem* findet sich nur in Handschriften der Ser. II, III und VI (vgl. Hall, ed. Claudian, app. ad loc.), die auf I zurückgehen.

<sup>81</sup> Vgl. Babcock (Anm. 44), 212 ff.

<sup>82</sup> Von F. Dolbeau, *RecAug* 13 (1978) 3 ff. (hier 30); 14 (1979) 191 ff. (hier 219 f.).

<sup>83</sup> Auf den auch die Claudian-Exzerpte in München, Clm 6292, s. XI zurückgehen, vgl. L. Jeep, *RhM* 29 (1874) 74 ff.; R. G. Babcock, *Heriger of Lobbes and the Freising Florilegium* (Diss. Duke Univ. 1983) 74 ff., 150 ff., 177 ff.

<sup>84</sup> Vgl. o. Anm. 44.

zurückführt, das sich als letzter Anlaufpunkt auch der in Frankreich wirkenden Serie I geradezu anbietet.

Die nunmehr als sekundär erwiesene Trias Ruf. Gild. Eutr. bildet eine Art von Ariadne-Faden, mit der wir unseren Weg durch das Labyrinth der Familie I im französischen, durch das Spannungsverhältnis von Paris und Orléans gekennzeichneten Kernbereich der Klassikerrezeption des 12. Jh. finden können. Ordnen wir etwa die Serien II-IV-V, d. h. Gu/W<sup>1</sup>, war bereits als Sonderfall von III erwiesen—in Relation zu I, so läßt sich "rhyme or reason," die Hall "in these arrangements" vermißt,<sup>85</sup> ohne Mühe entdecken:

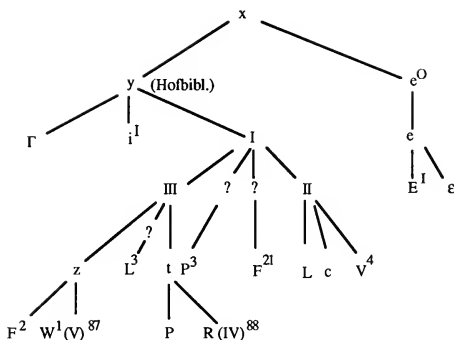
Ser. I	II	III	IV
1. Ruf.	1	1	2
2. Gild.	2	4	4
3. Eutr.	5	7	8
4. Fesc.	6	2	1
5. Epith.	7	3	3
6. 3. cons.	8	8	—
7. 4. cons.	9	9	—
8. Theod.	10	10	7
9. Stil.	4	5	5
10. 6. cons.	11	6	6
11. Poll.	3	11	—

II zieht Poll., die Gigantomachie aus der Serie F der c. min. (53) und Stil. von hinten her vor und ordnet diese drei nach Gild. ein, vielleicht um die Epen zusammenzuführen und dem Preis Stilichos eine etwas profiliertere Position zu geben; dann folgt alles nach I.<sup>86</sup> III privilegiert ähnlich die Hochzeitsgedichte, die auf Position 2/3 vorrücken, und wie II wieder Stil., nun aber mit dem in I anschließenden Panegyricus 6. cons.; der Rest bleibt wie bei I. IV basiert auf III, gibt aber nun Fesc. die Ehre von Platz I und zieht zusätzlich mit einigen c. min. noch Theod. an die 7. Stelle vor.

Setzen wir dafür gleich die entsprechenden Codices ein, so ergibt sich für die Vierergruppe und von ihr ausgehend für I und seine Ableitungen vorläufig folgendes stemmatische Gesamtbild:

<sup>85</sup> *Prolegomena*, 67, differenzierter Birt, cxxxiii ("cum in prioribus [sc. quam VI] aut nullam rationem aut eius quae in serie I valet vestigia deprehenderimus"), vgl. auch cxxxii.

<sup>86</sup> 6. cons. Theod. bieten allerdings c (Koch [Anm. 49], 47) und Vi/V<sup>4</sup> (Birt, cxxxii).



Ein anschaulicher Bindefehler für den gesamten Bereich I ist die Kurzform der Verse Stil. 3. 347 f. (*qui mox in tabulas inscriptio consule secti*), die in I selbst wohl marginal notiert war, so auch in III figurierte und infolgedessen in P<sup>89</sup> und V/R das originale Verspaar im Text verdrängt hat, ebenso in einigen I-Codices; in Ars/θ, in anderen der Ser. I und in Bs/L, d. h. II hat sich die Interpolation zwischen 347/48 bzw. 346/47 (Ld/J<sup>6</sup>, Ser. I) gedrängt. Wir haben außerdem Br/L<sup>3</sup>, Par. Lat. 8295 (Ti/P<sup>3</sup>) und F<sup>21</sup> dem Stemma provisorisch eingefügt. Hall hat sie nicht berücksichtigt, weil er die Transposition der Vorrede von Ruf. 2—anders als Jeep und Birt, die danach ihre Familien Z und w konstituiert hatten—als stemmatisches Argument unterschätzt.<sup>90</sup> Wir fassen an diesem Punkte erneut seine prinzipielle Vernachlässigung der mittelalterlichen und seine Überbewertung der spätantiken Textbewegung: Danach wird Ruf. 2. pr. nicht als neue Einleitung zu Gild., sondern als Appendix von Ruf. 2 gedeutet, die sich der Unsicherheit der spätantiken Editoren verdanke. Eine solche Deutung verbietet sich indessen, da alle Codices, die diese Versetzung im Text haben, durch die harmonisierende Lesung *Gildonis* (v. 12) statt *et Geticam* den

<sup>87</sup> Zu Bindefehlern von L/F<sup>2</sup> und Gu/W<sup>1</sup> vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 95, 97.

<sup>88</sup> Zu Bindefehlern von P und V/R (Wiederholung von epith. pr. 17–22; Auslassung von Eutr. 1. 476 bzw. 477 bis 491; Nachtrag von 6. cons. 142—Br/L<sup>3</sup> mg.—vor 152; Hall, ed. Claudian, app. ad loc. notiert versehentlich P<sup>2</sup>, vgl. aber Birt, app.) vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 107, Anm. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Dort aber der Anfang des echten v. 347 (*qui secti ferro*) in margine.

<sup>90</sup> *Prolegomena*, 70 f.

Anschluß an den neuen Kontext herstellen;<sup>91</sup> Umstellung und Interpolation gehören also als zwei Aspekte desselben gezielten Eingriffes untrennbar zusammen. Damit erübrigt sich die bei Birt mechanisch<sup>92</sup> und bei Hall editionstypologisch motivierte Ansetzung einer (im übrigen nicht nachweisbaren) Zwischenstufe (Umsetzung ohne Textänderung), die erst "sooner or later" zur Textkorrektur geführt habe.

Das Schwanken der spätantiken Ausgaben reflektiert nach Hall das Problem, daß die strittige Vorrede keinen organischen (?), sondern nur (!) als Rezitationseinleitung einen Zusammenhang mit Ruf. 2 hatte. Wenn dies aber so war, so hatte sie in Claudians Manuskript ihren Platz eben vor Ruf. 2, und kein antiker Herausgeber hätte sich auch nur im geringsten Gedanken um eine andere Lokalisierung zu machen brauchen. Die Erklärung des Phänomens ist, wie ich meine, viel simpler, und natürlich im mittelalterlichen Kontext zu suchen: Wenn, wie zunächst in I, Gild. auf Ruf. folgte, ging ein Werk mit einer Einleitung (Ruf. 1 pr.) einem ohne Einleitung voran. Was lag näher, als dies Ungleichgewicht durch eine Umstellung eines Textes zu korrigieren, der in der Tat dem ersten Blick keinen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang zu dem in Ruf. 2 Folgenden aufwies? Ein solcher Horror vacui hat auch im Falle von rapt. zu einer Ergänzung—in Analogie zu den Vorreden von B. 1 und 2—von 6. cons. pr. vor B. 3 geführt—und hier hat Hall die richtige Erklärung: "Patently the interpolation of the preface could have been made whenever (!) the desire for an introduction to book III (hier also: to Gild.) made itself felt . . ."<sup>93</sup>

Nicht das unwichtigste Argument für die späte Entstehung dieses Texteingriffes ist e contrario die Qualität der Handschriften, die die richtige Anordnung bieten: Zwar handelt es sich nach Hall nur um "a tiny minority of just nine MSS"<sup>94</sup> (höre ich hier eine quantitative, d. h. unstemmatische Emphase durch?) gegenüber einer "vast majority" mit der Translozierung, indes um eine qualifizierte Minderheit, die C/T, V/R, zudem e<sup>95</sup> und, wie sich aus Bs/L ergibt, auch c und die gemeinsame Vorlage II einschloß. Schauen wir auf unser Stemma zurück, so dürfen wir mit Sicherheit davon ausgehen, daß y, II und zunächst auch I und III von dem willkürlichen Eingriff noch frei waren, der später in I vorgenommen und auf Vertreter von III per contaminationem übergegangen ist. Hier ist nun wirklich das

<sup>91</sup> Vgl. Hall, ed. Claudian, app. ad loc., wo zugleich die richtige Darstellung des Sachverhaltes steht: "Hanc praefationem . . . post eum librum (sc. II in Rufinum), vel potius ante lib. In Gildonem (exhibit)."

<sup>92</sup> S. cxxx f.

<sup>93</sup> Ed. rapt., 54.

<sup>94</sup> *Prolegomena*, 71; davon entfällt Ambr. H 57 inf., vgl. Hall, 14.

<sup>95</sup> Wie daraus hervorgeht, daß der erste Bearbeiter der Vicentina Ruf. 2 pr. suo loco ergänzt, vgl. Birt, lxxxiii, 33 app. ("Praefatio in antiquo habetur ante secundum librum in Rufinum. ante hunc—sc. librum De bello Gildonico—nulla habetur"), 53 app. Auch c las *et Geticam*, hatte also wohl die Vorrede an der richtigen Stelle, vgl. den Hauptzeugen (s. Anm. 49) S. Claverius, ed. Claudian (Paris 1602) 105: "Ita optimus cod.": M/K<sup>6</sup>, der zweite von Claverius benutzte Cuiacianus, hat Umstellung und Interpolation.



Schwanken, indes eines mittelalterlichen Kopisten zu vermerken: Der Kopist von P läßt—offenbar unter dem Einfluß eines I-Codex—die Vorrede an ihrer richtigen Stelle weg und trägt sie vor Gild., allerdings am Rande, und nun mit der falschen Lesung von v. 12 nach.<sup>96</sup>

4. Die Bewertung der Überlieferung der eigentlichen Festgedichte, die sich in e (als e<sup>II</sup>) und VI (als VI<sup>II</sup>) im Kontrast zu der Vierergruppe als autonom ergeben hatte, hat nun von VI<sup>II</sup> auszugehen: Mit Olyb. an erster Stelle fassen wir hier die vollständigste Serie; die chronologische Anordnung Olyb. 3. cons. 4. cons. Fesc. Epith. Theod. Stil. 6. cons. darf ohne weiteres als ursprünglich gelten, und auch die Tradierung von 4. cons. 14 und 315 nur in dieser Serie<sup>97</sup> sagt genug über ihre Qualität. Wenn Hall gegen Birt<sup>98</sup> VI zu Recht "the product of ancient scholarship" nennt, wenn er betont, daß eine chronologisch korrekte Umordnung von I jenseits der Absichten und Möglichkeiten eines mittelalterlichen Bearbeiters gelegen haben dürfte, so müßte er zugleich den sekundären Charakter der betreffenden Partie in I (Fesc. Epith. 3. cons. 4. cons. Theod. Stil. 6. cons.) zugeben. Im Kontrast zu VI und in Fortsetzung des gattungsorientierten Anfangs (Ruf. Gild. Eutr. als Invektiven) werden hier die Hochzeitsgedichte vorgezogen und Olyb. dieser Umstellung geopfert; die unbekannt Namen—anders als der des Mallius Theodorus, dessen Kurzmetrik im Mittelalter als Handbuch weit verbreitet war—mochten kaum interessieren. Die Serie der dann verbleibenden Konsulatspanegyriken geht weiter mit VI parallel, und die Reihe wird mit Poll. als einem zeithistorischen Epos abgeschlossen.

Mindestens zwei weitere Lücken in 4. cons., und zwar v. 432 und 636 f. werden durch die zweite Handschrift der Isengrin-Ausgabe von 1534 (i<sup>II</sup>) geschlossen und damit VI und I negativ verbunden.<sup>99</sup> Wenn rapt. und die Vierergruppe, wie oben vermutet,<sup>100</sup> die eine der beiden von M. Bontinus benutzten Handschriften ausmachten, so bleiben für die zweite die Festgedichte, und in diesem Zusammenhang ist die Notiz aus einem Bibliothekskatalog des 12. Jh. (Cluny) von Interesse: *Claudianus de consulatibus versifice*.<sup>101</sup> Das Stemma im Bereich der Festgedichte muß außerdem die

<sup>96</sup> Auch Vi/V<sup>4</sup> hat die Vorrede an keiner der beiden möglichen Stellen. Als kontaminiert scheinen die Translozierung zu haben auch p/F<sup>19</sup>, Ve/R<sup>32</sup> und Ars/θ, obwohl sie in den Beschreibungen von Hall, *Prolegomena*, 9, 28, 35 nicht eigens notiert wird.

<sup>97</sup> Vgl. Birt, cxvii f., clxii; Hall, *Prolegomena*, 96; in beiden Fällen steht der Vers in B/n<sup>1</sup> und C/q im Text, in Cl/F, FV/F<sup>17</sup> und Vo/I<sup>3</sup> am Rande; Kontamination zeigt ihre Präsenz an in Codices der Gruppe I (in M/K<sup>6</sup> und Par. Lat. 18551 am Rande, so 315 auch in Wolfenbüttel, Helmst. 538) bzw. II (Bs/L). Für Jeep war die Echtheit der Satzverse noch nicht entschieden, vgl. etwa M. Bonnet, *RCr* 13 (1879) 2, 310 f.

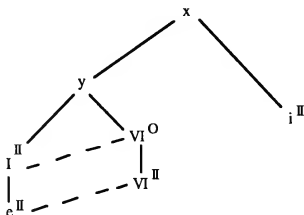
<sup>98</sup> *Prolegomena*, 68; S. cxxxiii f.

<sup>99</sup> Vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 138 f., auch zu Olyb. 50 (*rimatur*) und 3. cons. 26 als potentiell original. Zur Übereinstimmung von Codices der Ser. VI und I mit i<sup>II</sup> im Richtigen oder möglicherweise Richtigen (epith. 163, 281; Stil. 1. 263; 2. 186; 6. cons. 628) vgl. *Prolegomena*, 137.

<sup>100</sup> Vgl. S. 404.

<sup>101</sup> Manitius (Anm. 47), 222.

Tatsache einbeziehen, daß  $e^{\text{II}}$  (Fesc. Epith. . .) von  $i^{\text{II}}$  abhängt,<sup>102</sup> und zudem mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, daß bei der Ergänzung von Olyb. in  $e^{\text{II}}$  sowie in französischen Codices der Serien I und III<sup>103</sup> Varianten, die älter als die der erhaltenen VI-Codices sind, durch Kontamination auch in die anderen Festgedichte übertragen wurden:



Dies Bild würde sich auch dann kaum ändern, wenn Bentinus über  $i^{\text{II}}$  hinaus die Handschrift Fl/F<sup>17</sup> (mit 4. cons. I4, 315 und außerdem 509 in margine) benutzt haben sollte,<sup>104</sup> die 1509 in Basel und noch im 17. Jh. in der Schweiz lag. Ebenso würden die Verse Olyb. 201–04, wenn echt, die Sonderposition von  $i^{\text{II}}$  bestärken, wenn unecht, eine Interpolation nur in diesem Zweig und nicht, wie Gnilka annimmt, im Archetyp darstellen. Auf keinen Fall aber trifft zu, daß es sich hierbei um ein “durch den urkundlichen Befund so schwer diskreditierte(s)” Textstück handelt.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Zur Übereinstimmung von  $e$  mit Codices der Ser. VI in der Vierergruppe wie in den Festgedichten, die als Kontaminationsspur im Zusammenhang mit der Hinzufügung von Olyb. am Ende (s. o. S. 395 f.) zu deuten ist, vgl. die Materialien bei Hall, *Prolegomena*, 125 ff. Dort, wo  $e$  in den Festgedichten gegen den Rest allein das Richtige bietet (Hall, *Prolegomena*, 122), mag dies also aus seiner VI-Quelle stammen.

<sup>103</sup> Vgl. S. 395 f.

<sup>104</sup> Vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 138.

<sup>105</sup> Vgl. Gnilka (Anm. 3), 55 ff., hier 57, zustimmend Taegert (Anm. 21), 199 ff.; vgl. aber Hall, *Prolegomena*, 96, 109, 138. Auch Claverius (Anm. 95), 211 las die vier Verse “in alio (sc. manuscripto).” Zur Qualität der einzelnen Vertreter von VI vgl. noch Hall, 84 (Vo/J<sup>3</sup>, B/n<sup>1</sup>, Cl/F), 109 f.; Taegert, 59.

## III

Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Gedichte Claudians, und hier zumal seiner größeren, politischen Rezitationen, läßt sich danach in großen Zügen folgendermaßen rekonstruieren: Nach seinem Tode wurde das Oeuvre, soweit noch greifbar, in vier selbständigen Codices mit *De raptu*, den *Carmina minora*, Invektiven/Zeitepen und Festgedichten publiziert, die bis ins frühe Mittelalter je getrennte Wege gingen. In diesem Zusammenhang sei nur angedeutet, daß die kleineren ebensowenig wie die größeren auf Geheiß Stilichos zusammengestellt wurden:<sup>106</sup> Fesc. 3 steht als Nr. 1 nur in der speziellen Selektion der Reihen A/B. Damit ist auch "the strongest single argument"<sup>107</sup> dafür hinfällig, daß das erstaunliche Verschwinden von Claudian aus der Geschichte nach 404 nichts mit einer Ungnade Stilichos zu tun haben könne.

Man wüßte natürlich gerne, was sich hinter den *libros Claudiani poetae quatuor*<sup>108</sup> eines Bobienser Katalogs aus dem 9. Jh. verbirgt; immerhin ist die Zahl vier suggestiv. Auch läßt sich bisher die Frage nicht sicher beantworten, ob hinter den beiden Reihen der politischen Gedichte jeweils ein in das Mittelalter hinüberführender Archetyp steht. Birt hatte dies pauschal angenommen, Hall ebenso eindeutig negiert.<sup>109</sup> Seine für Olyb. angenommenen Bindefehler<sup>110</sup> würden indes, auf die ganze Reihe der Festgedichte übertragen, mindestens für diese Gruppe eine solche Zwischenstufe wahrscheinlich machen. Im Mittelalter ist zunächst die Wirkung des Exemplars mit der Vierergruppe aus der Hofbibliothek in Lobbes (und danach in Gembloux), in einem von Bentinus (1534) benutzten Exemplar und dann in dem nordfranzösischen Kerngebiet der hochmittelalterlichen Klassikerrezeption nachzuweisen. Die Verschmelzung (ohne Olyb.) mit VI<sup>o</sup> zu I, d. h. die Neuorganisation unter gattungssystematischen Aspekten, mag noch im 11. Jh. stattgefunden haben, so daß die Notiz aus dem Katalog der

<sup>106</sup> So, nach Birt, cxxxvi f., cxlv, Cameron (Anm. 1), 203, 417 f. Auch Hall, *Prolegomena*, 55 bleibt trotz seiner Relativierung der Ser. A (S. 70) bei der *Communis opinio*, vgl. aber 69. Vorsichtiger Clarke and Levy (Anm. 37), 144.

<sup>107</sup> Cameron, 227.

<sup>108</sup> Manitius (Anm. 47), 223.

<sup>109</sup> S. civ f.; *Prolegomena*, 58 f., 63 f., 103; auch für *rapt.* setzt Hall (S. 55 f.) jetzt keinen Archetyp mehr an.

<sup>110</sup> *Prolegomena*, 110 f. Wie gewichtig die auch von ihm (S. 59) zugegebenen 15 gemeinsamen Fehler der ganzen Tradition sind bzw. wie sie sich verteilen, läßt sich in Ermangelung ihrer Angabe nicht beurteilen. Sollte Gnlika (Anm. 3) mit seiner Athetese einerseits von Stil. 1. 304 (S. 47 ff.), andererseits von Poll. 128, 477 f. (S. 58 ff.) recht behalten, würde dies allerdings nur für eine Editionsphase ganz nahe an der Erstpublikation bzw. für diese selbst etwas bedeuten. Immerhin kann auch in dem Titel *De bello Pollentino sive Gothico*, der sich aus II (*Pollentiacio* in c und Vi/V<sup>4</sup>) und V/R bzw. E<sup>1</sup>, C/I, Cambridge, Trin. Coll. O. 3. 22 und Gu/W<sup>1</sup> ergibt, die Explikation nicht von Claudian stammen, der die Goten stets *Geten* nennt. Der Titelansetzung *De bello Gethico* in zwei bedeutungslosen Codices der Ser. I (Bern 472 und London, BL Egerton 2627) geht jedenfalls jede Autorität ab, vgl. auch das Schwanken von Birt, cviii.

Bibliothek von St. Oyan (s. XI<sup>111</sup>) den Anfang sowohl eines Ablegers des Aachener Claudian oder auch der neuen, hochmittelalterlichen Edition I meinen könnte. Sie bestimmt jedenfalls quantitativ<sup>112</sup> und geographisch (bis nach England<sup>113</sup>) die weitere Textentwicklung (bis zu II und III) und bildet somit die Voraussetzung für eine breite Rezeption und Wirkung der claudianischen Gedichte zumal seit dem 12. Jh.

Von der originalen, chronologisch geordneten und Olyb. einschließenden Serie der Festgedichte lag vielleicht ein altes, dann von Bentinus 1534 herangezogenes Exemplar in Cluny. Die Reihe wurde im Italien des 12. Jh. gleichsam neu entdeckt,<sup>114</sup> einerseits nach einem aus Frankreich importierten Exemplar von I zu VI vervollständigt und andererseits in Frankreich zur Vervollständigung von I und III herangezogen. Ebenfalls in Italien entstand mit e ein Codex, der in der Kombination von e<sup>o</sup> (für die Vierergruppe), I (für den Hauptteil der Festgedichte) und VI<sup>o</sup> (für Olyb.) ein Maximum an Kontamination aufweist, wie sie für all diese Corpusbildungen charakteristisch ist; damit sind zugleich die Schwierigkeiten bei der Bewertung der Varianten von e gekennzeichnet. Schließlich sind die verbreiteteren Reihen I, II und VI mit den verschiedenen Serien der Kleingedichte vorübergehende oder feste Verbindungen (I/B, II/F, III/C) eingegangen oder gar mit ihnen verschmolzen (so im Verlaufe von III und in V/R). In beiden Fällen, dem der Vierergruppe und der Festgedichte, handelt es sich um in der Hauptsaltung "bifide" Stemmata, weil neben den Hauptfamilien I bzw. VI von den älteren, kaum wirkenden Linien mit e<sup>o</sup> bzw. i<sup>l</sup> je eine sozusagen "übrig gebliebene" Handschrift nur die editorische Tradition beeinflußt hat. Bei den Festgedichten spiegelt die Zweispaltigkeit auf der nächstunteren Stufe die Entwicklung in Frankreich bzw. Italien wider.<sup>115</sup>

Diese überlieferungsgeschichtliche Skizze und die Stemmata, auf die sie sich stützt, muß sich natürlich an Hand der Varianten immer wieder bestätigen, gegebenenfalls auch modifizieren lassen. Immerhin empfiehlt die neuere stemmatische Diskussion<sup>116</sup> als Kraut gegen Kontamination und die "Auswirkungen wohlgeheimer Textpflege" (sog. Interpolationen), die "außertextlichen Komponenten" stärker zu berücksichtigen, und nennt als

<sup>111</sup> Manilius, 222.

<sup>112</sup> Dieses überlieferungsgeschichtliche Argument wird von Birt, cxxx als rezensionales mißverstanden: "... hanc seriem I ... (quae) ... manusciporum quibus traditur multitudinē ac pretio commendatur."

<sup>113</sup> Hierhin dürfte die von Hall, *Prolegomena*, 97 f. zusammengestellte Gruppe weisen.

<sup>114</sup> Vgl. Hall, *Prolegomena*, 96, 109.

<sup>115</sup> Zum methodischen Problem zuletzt M. D. Reeve, "Stemmatic Method: 'Qualcosa che non funziona'?", in: P. Ganz (ed.), *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture* (Turnhout 1986) 57 ff.; seinen Schlußfolgerungen (S. 69: "... many bipartite stemmata are both textually and historically as certain as one can hope ... 'It is not what we expect to find, but what we do find, that really matters'") ist nachdrücklich zuzustimmen.

<sup>116</sup> Vgl. A. Kleinogel, "Archetypus und Stemma," *Ber. zur Wiss. Gesch.* 2 (1979) 53–64, hier 59.

“Details, die an den Textträger gebunden waren,” die stärker als die Varianten selbst den Texten “Kontinuität und Invarianz verliehen,” als “kodikologische Merkmale, die von den substituierenden Einflüssen der Textkorrektur vielfach verschont blieben,” ausdrücklich auch die Corpusbildung (“Einbettung in ein umfassenderes Corpus”), mit der hier als unmittelbar greifbarem und fundamentalem Faktum argumentiert wurde.

Welche Konsequenzen resultieren aus dem hier Vorgeschlagenen zunächst für die Selektion der editorisch zu privilegierenden Handschriften? Für Hall gehören Birts “misapplication of stemmatic theory” und die entsprechende “unjustified eliminatio . . . of manuscripts” ebenso zusammen wie die eigene “recognition of the inapplicability of stemmatics” mit der “full exploitation of the wealth of the tradition.”<sup>117</sup> In Wirklichkeit hat auch die mit dieser Position gegebene Auswahl<sup>118</sup> zur Nichtberücksichtigung bestimmter Handschriften (F<sup>21</sup>, Br/L<sup>3</sup>, Ti/P<sup>3</sup>, Vi/V<sup>4</sup>) geführt, die unter stemmatischen Gesichtspunkten (Stellung von Ruf. 2 pr.!) durchaus vor den von ihm bevorzugten Codices Π/P<sup>2</sup> und Krakau, Kapit. 71 (beide I) den Vorrang verdienen, ohne daß jene Zurücksetzung bzw. diese Präferenz begründet würde. Was als “wealth of the tradition” bestimmt bzw. ausgeschieden wird, hängt also offenbar mit der jeweils eingenommenen Grundposition zusammen.

Auch die Konturen und das Gewicht einzelner Überlieferungsträger erhalten durch ihre Position in den von uns angenommenen Stemmata ein eindeutigeres Profil: Dies gilt einmal für ε, das, obwohl von VI und I her eingreifend kontaminiert, im Zusammenhang damit interpoliert und in E<sup>I</sup> schlechter als in ε repräsentiert, dennoch wegen der Beziehung auf e<sup>o</sup> in den Varianten der Vierergruppe als dem Rest potentiell gleichrangig bewertet werden muß.<sup>119</sup> Birt hatte Heinsius' Hochschätzung der Florentiner Exzerpte gedämpft, aber Hall<sup>120</sup> verfolgt diesen Weg wohl zu weit, wenn er Ruf. 2. 479 das exzellente *rigidi (fratris)*; gemeint ist der Höllenrichter Rhadamanthys), das v. 480 ff. expliziert wird, mit dem isolierten *saevi*—so von den älteren Codices nur Fl/F<sup>17</sup>—als “audacious interpolation” auf eine Stufe stellt und dafür im Apparat seiner Ausgabe das nichtssagende *validi* vorschlägt, um die Entwicklung zu *mala* (C/Γ, P ante corr., d. h. y) bzw. der metrischen Auffüllung *mala mox* in I plausibel zu machen. Aber die Wege der Kopisten sind bekanntlich unerforschlich. Ähnlich ist stets damit zu rechnen, daß ε allein das Richtige bewahrt hat, wie ganz ähnlich im Fall der Festgedichte i<sup>II</sup> eine entsprechende Hervorhebung verdient.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> *Texts and Transmission* (Anm. 21), 144.

<sup>118</sup> *Prolegomena*, 140 f.; ed. Claudian, xxvi.

<sup>119</sup> Birt, *cix* ff. In der Auswertung von Hall sind *Prolegomena*, 122 ff., die Belege aus den c. min., weil nur E<sup>I</sup> betreffend, getrennt zu halten.

<sup>120</sup> Allgemein *Prolegomena*, 121 ff., speziell 57 f.

<sup>121</sup> In Olyb. unterschätzt von Hall, *Prolegomena*, 109, vgl. aber S. 137 f. die interessanten Varianten, die i<sup>II</sup> überwiegend gemeinsam mit VI, bisweilen auch (über y oder VI<sup>o</sup> vermittelt) mit I bietet.

Am Schluß ist es ein Gebot der Fairness zu betonen, daß dieser Artikel ohne die Vorarbeiten von Hall, sein Bemühen um eine vollständige Präsentation und Deskription des handschriftlichen Materials, die übersichtlich zusammengestellten Tabellen und die Hervorhebung der für die Beweisführung entscheidenden Argumente und Stellen, nicht hätte geschrieben werden können. Andererseits wird von uns postuliert, daß all diese Materialien und Argumente im Rahmen eines stemmatischen Modells, das die Ausdifferenzierung der verschiedenen Familien und Werkserien erst im Mittelalter ansetzt, besser erklärt werden können, wenn man Interpolation und Kontamination als Kennzeichen der Claudian-Rezeption des 11.–13. Jh. und zugleich als "Störfaktoren" ernst nimmt und zugleich im Einzelfall noch mit Varianten in den auf die Antike zurückführenden Linien rechnet.<sup>122</sup> In dieser Optik werden Kategorien wie Stemma und, sofern nachweisbar, Archetypus sowie Hyparchetypen nicht als Symbole einer "rigidity of the straightjacket,"<sup>123</sup> sondern, um eine andere Metaphorik zu wählen, als Strahlen eines Lichts betrachtet, das das Dunkel der Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte erhellt.

Was unseren Ansatz indes am weitesten von dem Halls trennt, ist nicht eine die historische Realität als Bedrohung oder Chance reflektierende Metaphorik, sondern die prinzipiell andere Sicht der spätantiken gegenüber den mittelalterlichen Überlieferungsverhältnissen. Hall versteht jene Phase in einer fast romantisch zu nennenden Vorstellung als die einer beliebigen Freiheit der Textentwicklung, in der also die einzelnen Werke, ggf. in den Originalhandschriften des Dichters, als Rollen oder Codices beliebig lange und jedenfalls isoliert verfügbar waren und in immer wieder anderen Kombinationen der *Carmina maiora* und *minora* oder beider zusammengestellt sowie durch Konjekturen und Kontamination eingreifend verändert werden konnten.<sup>124</sup> Dies stimmt so wenig zu dem, was die zunehmend konkretere und zur Synthese drängende Forschung zur spätantiken Editionstechnik und Buchproduktion erbracht<sup>125</sup> und sich mir selbst bei der Untersuchung der Ausonius-Tradition<sup>126</sup> ergeben hat, daß Hall die allgemeineren Aspekte seiner These jedenfalls hätte diskutieren und begründen müssen. Vielmehr scheint es, als ob die spätantike literarische Reproduktionstechnik sehr viel geregelter verlief, die einzelnen Exemplare sehr viel weniger divergierten als im Mittelalter, und daß die entscheidenden

<sup>122</sup> Dies gilt etwa für die von Hall, *Prolegomena*, 65, 102 hervorgehobenen Übereinstimmungen im Richtigen von C/T und V/R (Ruf. 2. 244, 325, 462), von e und B/m<sup>1</sup> (Ruf. 1 pr. 17 f.), von V/R und P (Gild. 234, auch Pm/Z), von V/R, e und c (Gild. 519, nicht "R alone," Hall, 65, vgl. aber seinen app. ad loc.).

<sup>123</sup> Hall, *Prolegomena*, 65.

<sup>124</sup> *Prolegomena*, 55, 59, 67, 103 etc.

<sup>125</sup> Vgl. etwa O. Pecere, "La tradizione dei testi Latini tra IV e V secolo attraverso i libri sottoscritti," in: A. Giardina (ed.), *Tradizione dei classici—trasformazioni della cultura* (Bari 1986) 21 ff.

<sup>126</sup> *HLL* V (München 1989) 270 ff.

Textveränderungen im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter oder im Mittelalter selbst stattgefunden haben. Man fragt sich auch, ob die auktoriale Variante in dem von Hall angenommenen, etwa gleichzeitigen und omnipräsenten Chaos wirklich eine so viel bessere Chance zu überleben hatte als im Mittelalter, wo die zeitlich und lokal so unterschiedlich rasche Textentwicklung älteren Stufen stets die Chance ließ, außerhalb der Zentren zu überleben.

Abgesehen von einzelnen vagabundierenden Varianten scheint außerdem die Kontamination in der Spätantike längst nicht in dem Ausmaß praktiziert worden zu sein wie Hall annimmt. Die Subskriptionen lassen erkennen, daß die Emendatio sich im wesentlichen auf die Korrektur nach der Vorlage beschränkt hat, daß die—auch dann quantitativ kaum ins Gewicht fallende—Heranziehung einer weiteren Kontrollvorlage die Ausnahme bildete.<sup>127</sup> Da es sich um sprachlich unmittelbar zugängliche Texte handelte, solange und soweit Latein noch gesprochen wurde, schien ja eine Kontrolle durch das direkte Verstehen immer gegeben. Anders im Mittelalter, das mit den Texten seine sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten hatte, sich der Fehlerhaftigkeit der durchschnittlichen handschriftlichen Kopie, die nun einige Jahrhunderte mehr hinter sich hatte, sehr wohl bewußt war und angesichts des zunehmend dichteren Netzes von Kloster- und Kathedralbibliotheken und der geregelten Korrekturpraxis im eigenen Skriptorium, zumal im 12. Jh., stets die Möglichkeit hatte, zur Sicherheit zu kollationieren, d. h. Varianten in kontinuierlichen Reihen zu übertragen, ohne sich viel um ihre historische Richtigkeit kümmern zu können.

Es versteht sich, daß bei dieser aktiven Aneignung auch Banalisierung und, wenn auch seltener, historisch "richtige" Textverbesserungen nicht ausbleiben konnten.<sup>128</sup> Kontamination und Interpolation sind also zwei Seiten ein und desselben intensiven mittelalterlichen Rezeptionsprozesses. Mit seiner Weigerung, sich auf die direkt faßbare, konkrete Realität des hochmittelalterlichen Umgangs mit dem Claudiantext einzulassen statt nach spätantiken Schatten zu haschen, hat Hall, wie es scheint, sich der Chance begeben, die Grenze zwischen Authentizität und Bearbeitung als unabdingbare Basis seiner Textkonstitution genauer zu ziehen. Die Diskussion wird weitergehen, und man darf auf die Resultate des von ihm angekündigten<sup>129</sup> textkritischen Kommentars gespannt sein.

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<sup>127</sup> Vgl. J. E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (New York 1981) 206 ff.

<sup>128</sup> Vgl. allgemein Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission* (Anm. 21), xxxv und speziell meine *Überlieferung von Ciceros Schrift De legibus* (München 1974) 211 ff.

<sup>129</sup> *Prolegomena*, vii.





Prosper, *De ingratis*: Textual Criticism

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH

The text of St. Prosper's eloquent and elaborate but obscure polemical poem against the Pelagians and Semipelagians, *Περὶ ἀχαρίστων*, most probably composed in late 429 or early 430 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> still presents difficulties of understanding and interpretation. While Hincmar of Rheims (ca. 860) quoted a total of 36 lines from Prosper (*Prosper in libro de ingratis contra Pelagianos*),<sup>2</sup> no manuscript of the poem has survived,<sup>3</sup> so that we have to rely on the *editio princeps* of the works of St. Prosper as prepared by Sébastien Gryphe (Lyon 1539).

One century later, I.-L. Le Maistre de Sacy corrected many errors of the previous editions in his French translation of the poem (Paris 1647), but no modern scholar has contributed to the understanding of Prosper's text more than Martin Steyaert, in his posthumously published Commentary on the poem (Louvain 1703).<sup>4</sup> The standard text of Prosper is the Maurist edition as prepared by J.-B. Le Brun des Maurettes and L.-U. Mangeant (Paris 1711), which was reprinted by Migne in 1846.<sup>5</sup> The edition of *De ingratis* prepared by Charles T. Huegelmeyer (Washington, D.C. 1962) is not critical enough and is marred by gross printing errors. His dissertation,

<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, in his *encomium Augustini* (lines 90–113 of our poem), Prosper speaks of St. Augustine as still alive (he died on August 28, 430). On the other hand, Prosper's line 148 clearly echoes a letter of Nestorius sent to Pope Celestine in early 429. See L. Valentin, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine. Étude sur la littérature latine ecclésiastique au cinquième siècle en Gaule* (Toulouse 1900) 167; Dom M. Cappelain, "Le premier représentant de l'augustinisme médiéval: Prosper d'Aquitaine," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 1 (1929) 309–37, esp. 316 n. 19; R. Helm, in *RE* XXIII (1957) 882–84; Ch. T. Huegelmeyer, *Carmen De Ingratis S. Prosperi Aquitani: A Translation with an Introduction and a Commentary*, The Catholic University of America, Patristic Series 95 (Washington, D.C. 1962) 11 f.; Aimé Solignac, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, s. v. Prosper d'Aquitaine, XII (1986) 2446–56.

<sup>2</sup> In his treatise *De praedestinatione dissertatio posterior*, *PL* CXXV, Hincmar quotes lines 623 (*omnibus una est*) to 627 and 681–83 on p. 426, and lines 955–63, 971–78 (*cui Deus est rector*) and 354–65 on p. 442.

<sup>3</sup> On the transmission of *De ingratis* compare M. P. McHugh, in *Manuscripta* 14 (1970) 179–85.

<sup>4</sup> Published as Vol. 12 of the *Appendix Augustiniana*.

<sup>5</sup> *PL* LI, 91–148. This text is quoted below (but with my punctuation).

however, is valuable for its learned but selective Commentary and for the first English translation of the poem.<sup>6</sup>

### 1. A Poem of One Thousand Lines

In his Preface (1-4), the poet promises a poem of one thousand lines:

Unde voluntatis sanctae subsistat origo,  
unde animis pietas insit et unde fides,  
adversum ingratos falsa et virtute superbos  
*centenis decies versibus excolui.*

But the point is that the extant poem has 1002 lines. To make things worse, one line was dropped after 737, since the fifth antithesis is obviously missing, as already de Sacy had noticed:

*His regnare datum est, illos servire necesse est;* 730  
*hos decor et vires validae viridisque senectus*  
*suscipit, hos species inhonora et debile corpus;*  
*his viget ingenium praeclaris artibus aptum,*  
*horum tarda premit gelidus praecordia sanguis;*  
*quosdam nec licitus calor incitat ad generandum,* 735  
*ast alii insanum nequeunt frenare furorem;*  
*hunc mitem et placidum tranquilla modestia comit.*

Steyaert improvised as line 737<sup>b</sup>, *asperitas istum genii intractabilis urget* (adopted by the Maurist edition). Clearly one line is missing, so that the extant poem has 1003 lines.

I suggest that somebody in the Middle Ages meddled with Prosper's text by producing two spurious lines (714 and 893). As for line 911, it is an unnecessary addition by Steyaert (followed by the Maurists and Huegelmeyer). Consequently, the original poem consisted of exactly one thousand lines, as stated by the poet himself.

First, the passage 709-20 should read:

*Multa etenim bene tecta latent nescitaque prosunt,*  
*dum mansueta fides quaedam dilata modeste* 710  
*sustinet et nullo ignorat non edita damno.*  
*Sic quando electum ex cunctis populum Deus unum*  
*lege, sacris, templo, unguento signisque fovebat,*  
*[quod fuit occultum mundique in fine resectum est]*  
*non oberat nescire omnes quandoque vocandas* 715  
*in regnum aeternum gentes totumque per orbem*  
*donandum quod spes parvae tunc plebis habebat.*  
*Sic postrema dies, qua mundi clauditur aetas,*  
*notitiae nostrae non est data, nec tamen huius*  
*secreti impatiens sanctorum turba laborat.* 720

<sup>6</sup> See the exhaustive review of the book by Richard T. Brùère, *CP* 59 (1964) 203-06.

"For many things concealed (from mankind) lie hidden for our own good (*bene latent*) and remain unknown to our own benefit, as long as an obedient faith humbly bears with whatever events have been delayed, and remains ignorant, without any personal harm, of whatever has not been revealed. Thus, when God was fostering one single people (chosen among all the peoples) with His law, rites, temple, anointings, and miracles, it did no harm (to mankind) not to know that one day all the nations were to be called to the eternal kingdom, and that the whole world was to be given what the hope of one small people then possessed. Thus, the last day, on which the world's age will come to its end, has not been made known to us, and yet the throng of the saints does not labor with impatience because of this secret."

Line 714 simply does not fit into this context. It was printed between parentheses by Gryphius, but I think it is a *gloss*, in which *mundique in fine* was inspired by the neighboring line 718, *Sic postrema dies, qua mundi clauditur aetas* (which, however, deals with a different motif).<sup>7</sup>

Second, the passage 891–98 should read:

Verbum homo fit<sup>8</sup> rerumque Sator sub conditione  
 servilis formae<sup>9</sup> dignatur Virgine nasci.  
 [inque infirmorum cunctos descendere sensus.]  
 Vexatur virtus, sapientia ludificatur;  
 iustitia iniustos tolerat, clementia saevos; 895  
 gloria contemptum subit et tormenta potestas;  
 inque crucis poenam nulli violabilis usquam  
 Vita agitur . . .

The traditional topic of the salvific sufferings of the Incarnate God Christ does not allow for the strange idea of a Christ "descending into all the senses of the weakened men," expressed by line 893. Clearly, the line is an interpolation. This is confirmed by the description of Christ's passion in Prosper's earlier poem, *De providentia Dei* (composed in A.D. 416):

Rex Ille et rerum Dominus, sed pauperis egit 516  
 in specie, nec veste nitens, nec honore superbus.  
 Infirmitas fortis, rex servus, dives egenus:  
 iustitia iniustus cedit, sapientia brutus.  
 Sacrilegis manibus percussus, non parat ictum 520

<sup>7</sup> In my opinion, Huegelmeier's translation is simply wrong: "For it is good that many things lie hidden, and what is unknown is of great benefit, as long as we are sustained by a calm and broad faith, a faith that does not soar too high, and we are ignorant, without harm to ourselves, of what is not revealed. Thus, when God was cherishing a single people, whom He had selected from among all the nations, with its holy rites, its temple, anointings, and its miracles, it was no obstacle not to know what was secret and to be revealed only at the end of that era, namely, that one day all nations were to be called to the eternal kingdom, and there was to be given to the whole world the hope then possessed by one small nation . . ." (pp. 85–87).

<sup>8</sup> Compare John 1. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Philipp. 2. 7–8.

reddere, nulla refert avidae convicia linguae.  
 Damnatur Iudex, Verbum tacet, inspuitur Lux.  
 Ipse ministerium Sibi poenae est: felque et acetum  
 dulcius Ille favis haurit. Sanctus maledictum  
 fit crucis, et moritur Christus vivente Barabba.<sup>10</sup>

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The most likely source of inspiration for the interpolator was the neighboring lines 902–03, *agnoscant quali conclusi carcere, quove / obsessi fuerint morbo* ("let men realize in what kind of prison they have been confined and with what a great disease they have been afflicted").

Finally, the ghost-line 911. De Sacy marked a lacuna after line 910, and Steyaert improvised line 911, adopted by the Maurists, Migne, and Huegelmeier, so that their text reads:

aut cum hebetes visus longa ex caligine tandem  
 <in caelum attollunt et vera luce fruuntur,><sup>11</sup> 910  
 naturae hoc potius libertatique volendi,  
 quam Christo tribuant . . .

But *tandem* is a line-end corruption of *pandent*, and nothing is missing in the text: ". . . or when men shall open their blunted eyes after such a long darkness, let them *not* (907 f. *non ita . . . ut*) ascribe this to their own nature or their free will rather than to Christ . . ." The way of corruption was: *pandent* > *pandem* > *tandem* (a makeshift). For the expression, *pandere oculos*, "open one's eyes," compare Ennius *Annals* 546 Skutsch (532 Vahlen), *Pandite sulti genas et corde relinquite somnum*; Cyprian *Epist.* 58. 8 (p. 663. 17 Hartel), *oculos suos pandens* (sc. *Deus*). For *cum* with the future tense compare 965 f., *cum transformatis fiet Deus unica sanctis / gloria*; 352 f., *cum se . . . in altum / extulerit*.

In conclusion, lines 714, 893 and 911 are spurious, and the original poem consisted of one thousand lines: *centenis decies versibus excolui*.

## 2. A Few Additional Emendations

In lines 72–78 the poet alludes to the two Councils of Carthage taking place in the fall of A.D. 417 and in May of 418. The latter Council, attended by

<sup>10</sup> See M. Marcovich, *Prosper of Aquitaine, De providentia Dei: Text, Translation and Commentary*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 10 (Leiden 1989) 36–37, 93; Huegelmeier (above, note 1) 203. Compare also Prosper, *Ad uxorem* 79–82:

Ille Deus, rerum, caeli terraeque Creator,  
 me propter sacra Virgine natus homo est.  
 Flagris dorsa, alapis maxillas, ora salivis  
 praebuit, et figi se cruce non renuit.

<sup>11</sup> Steyaert's alternative supplement reads:

aut cum hebetes visus, longa ex caligine tandem  
 <crepti, accipiunt vero de lumine lumen,>  
 naturae hoc . . .

some 226 bishops, condemned the teachings of Pelagius and his disciple Celestius:

Tu causam fidei flagrantius, Africa, nostrae  
 exequeris, tecumque suum iungente vigorem  
 iuris apostolici solio fera viscera belli  
 conficis et lato prosternis limite victos. 75  
 Convenere tui de cunctis urbibus almi  
 pontifices, geminoque senum celeberrima coetu  
 decernis quod Roma probet, quod regna sequantur.

Now, while it is true that the Council of Carthage of May 418 condemned Pelagius, it is equally true that the final decision belonged to the Pope Zosimus, who in the summer of 418 called a Council of Roman bishops and finally condemned the Pelagians (compare 78, *decernis quod Roma probet*), to be banned by the Emperor Honorius (78, *quod regna sequantur*).<sup>12</sup> Consequently, read in line 75, *conficit et lato prosternit limite victos* (sc. *iuris apostolici solium*, the Holy See). In line 354, both Hincmar and Gryphius have *Et nos ista, inquit, sentimus*, for the correct *inquis* (Steyaert).

Referring to the edicts of the same Council of Carthage of 418, the poet writes (84–89):

Conditae sunt et scriptae manent quae de cataractis  
 aeterni fontis fluxere undante meatu 85  
 et ter centenis procerum sunt edita linguis,  
 sic moderante suam legem bonitate severa,  
 ut qui damnato vellent de errore reverti  
 acciperent pacem, pulsus qui prava tenerent.

The Council adopted a strict and severe law, but the goodness of the bishops softened it by offering the heretics the opportunity to repent. Thus, read in 87 *legem . . . severam*; compare 44 f. *dogmatis auctorem* [sc. *Pelagium*] *constrinxit lege benigna / commentum damnare suum*.

The rising of an alien (Semipelagian) brood within the Mother Church is depicted by the poet as follows (114–18):

Iamque procellosae disiecto turbine noctis  
 heu nova bella, novi partus oriuntur in ipso 115  
 securae matris gremio, quae crescere natis  
 visa sibi, discors horret consurgere germen,  
 degeneres pavitans inimico ex semine foetus . . .

The text as preserved cannot yield the sense suggested by Huegelmeier (p. 51): "She [the Mother] has seen this brood wax strong among her children. She shudders at this rebellious seed rising within her, shrinking with fear at

<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, he did so already on April 30, 418.

this base offspring from a hostile seed." Read instead lines 116 f. as follows:

securae matris gremio, quae crescere *natos*  
*nisa*, sibi discors horret consurgere germen . . .

"The Mother (Church), who was striving for the prospering of her children, is horrified to see the rising of an offspring alien to herself (*sibi discors*) . . ." For *nitor* employed with an intransitive infinitive, compare, e. g., Ovid *Ex Ponto* 3. 5. 33-34:

Namque ego, qui perii iam pridem, Maxime, vobis,  
 ingenio nitor non pernisse meo.

Thanks to his free will, man can live today free from sin, just as Adam could before his sin, taught Pelagius (230-34):

Et quoniam tales nascantur nunc quoque, qualis 230  
 ille fuit nostri generis pater ante reatum,  
 posse hominem sine peccato decurrere vitam,  
 si velit, ut potuit nullo delinquere primus  
 libertate sua.

With *nascantur* "men" are understood as the subject ("because men are born now in exactly the same state as the founder of the human race before his sin, man can live his whole life free from sin if he so desires . . .," translates Huegelmeier, p. 57). But the expression of 231, *nostri generis*, suggests that we should read in 230 *nascamur*, not *nascantur*: "because we are born now in exactly the same state as the founder of *our race* . . ."

Recognizing the true God—both in biblical times and today—is a work of the divine grace alone (339-41):

Non istud monitus Legis, non verba prophetae,  
 non praestata sibi praestat natura, sed unus  
 quod fecit reficit.

First, Steyaert's emendation of *praestata* into *prostrata* should be adopted (*contra* the Maurists, Migne, and Huegelmeier). For "human nature, vanquished through original sin" is a recurrent idea of the poem. Compare 526 *naturae vulnera victae*; 889 f.:

Sed prostrata semel, quanto natura profundo  
 immersa et quantae sit mole oppressa ruinae;

916 *omnes* [sc. *homines*] *prostravit* [sc. *diabolus*] *in uno*. Second, read, *sed unus / qui fecit reficit*, "only the Maker can remake (sc. his creation)": *qui fecit = factor* 879; *De prov. Dei* 155.

Thanks to divine grace, many sinners come to know God at the very end of their wretched life, and they are saved without any personal merit (439-40):

Quae merita hic numeras? Si praecedentia cernas,  
impia; si quaeris post addita, nulla fuerunt.

First, read *his* [sc. *peccatoribus*] for *hic*: “what merits can you adduce for them?” Second, read *cernis* for *cernas* (with Steyaert, *contra* all editors).

It is the mercy of Christ that selects some infants to be saved, while others perish. Take the example of a pair of twins, of whom one dies without baptism, while the other receives the grace of the sacrament of Christ and is saved (637–43):

Quid si diversum hunc finem, quo gratia Christi  
unum alio pereunte legit donatque salute,  
in geminis etiam videas? Quod dividis uno  
tempore conceptos atque uno tempore natos, 640  
non ullos potes arbitrii praetendere motus.  
Cessat opus, cessat meritum, nihil editur impar.  
Sed Deus et tales discernit . . .

I find Huegelmeier’s translation unconvincing (p. 81):

What if you see that even in the case of twins their destiny can be different, whereby the grace of Christ selects one and grants salvation, while the other perishes, inasmuch as you distinguish infants conceived at the same time and cannot postulate any impulse of the will in infants born at the same time. There can be no question of work or merit in such a case, and no real distinction is apparent. However, God distinguishes even these . . .

Read in line 639 *quos* for *quod*, in line 641 *ulli* for *ullos*, and translate 639–42 as follows: “If you single out two infants (*quos dividis*) conceived at the same time and born at the same time, you cannot possibly allege the impulse of free will for *either* of them (*ulli*): good action and merit play no role here, both infants are born *equal* in every respect (*nihil editur impar*).”

Contrary to the teaching of the Pelagians, even the infants who die without being baptized (and thus are not saved) are guilty of sin. For all men are born with original sin, which alone is sufficient to condemn anybody (648–58):

Non autem recte nec vere dicitur, illos  
qui sunt exortes divini muneris et quos  
gratia neglexit degentes mortis in umbra, 650  
peccati non esse reos, quia recte gerendi  
non data sit virtus. Naturae compede vinctos  
procubuisse negant, nec ab uno germine credunt  
omnigenam prolem cum poena et crimine nasci.  
Quod qui *non* renuit, videt huius pondera culpae 655  
tam valida pariter miseris incumbere mole,  
ut si nulla etiam cumulent mala, sit tamen unum hoc  
sufficiens scelus ad mortem nascendo luendam.

Line 655 cannot yield the required sense, "Whoever repudiates this Pelagian doctrine sees the gravity of original sin." Thus, read, *Quod qui iam renuit, videt . . .*

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## L'imitation de Stace chez Dracontius

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On a souvent admiré l'érudition de Dracontius, dont l'oeuvre révèle une connaissance approfondie des oeuvres poétiques classiques et chrétiennes.<sup>1</sup> Nous avons eu l'occasion de montrer la variété des emprunts et la diversité des procédés d'imitation auxquels le poète a eu recours dans le *De laudibus Dei*<sup>2</sup> et dans la *Satisfactio*.<sup>3</sup> Dans ces deux ouvrages les poètes profanes que Dracontius imite le plus souvent sont Virgile et Ovide; les réminiscences des oeuvres de ces deux auteurs sont aussi extrêmement nombreuses dans les poèmes profanes, *Romulea* et *Orestis tragoedia*.<sup>4</sup> Après Virgile et Ovide, c'est Stace qui a fourni le plus grand nombre de passages à l'imitation de Dracontius.<sup>5</sup> C'est le seul de ses modèles dont il cite le nom dans un de ses ouvrages: *L. D.* 3, 261–62: *Menoecia Creontis / Statius ostendit*.<sup>6</sup> Après avoir étudié la répartition des imitations de Stace dans les différents poèmes de Dracontius, nous nous proposons de montrer la variété des procédés d'imitation que le poète met en oeuvre.

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<sup>1</sup> Voir, par exemple, E. Provana, "Blossio Emilio Draconzio. Studio biografico e letterario," *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 2 (1912) 21: "Draconzio manifesta una conoscenza veramente strabiliante di tutta la letteratura anteriore classica e postclassica."

<sup>2</sup> Dracontius, *Oeuvres*, tome I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1985) 56 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Dracontius, *Oeuvres*, tome II (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1988) 149 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Outre les relevés établis par F. Vollmer dans son édition de Dracontius (*M. G. H., A. A., XIV*), on peut consulter K. Rossberg, *De Dracontio et Orestis quae vocatur tragoediae auctore eorumdem poetarum Vergilii Ovidii Lucretii Statii Claudiani imitatoribus* (Nordae 1880) et B. Barwinski, *Quaestiones ad Dracontium et Orestis tragoediam pertinentes. Quaestio I: De genere dicendi* (Göttingen 1887) (qui, pp. 81–106, complète les relevés de K. Rossberg). Sur l'imitation d'Ovide, voir plus particulièrement J. Bouquet, "L'imitation d'Ovide chez Dracontius," *Colloque Présence d'Ovide* (Paris 1982) 177–87.

<sup>5</sup> J. Bouquet, "L'imitation d'Ovide," *op. cit.*, p. 178, se fondant sur les relevés de F. Vollmer (*M. G. H.*), a dénombré parmi les passages imités environ 270 passages de Virgile, 150 d'Ovide et 120 de Stace.

<sup>6</sup> Voir *infra* p. 433.

Ce sont 124 passages de Stace que l'on peut estimer avoir été imités par Dracontius<sup>7</sup>; la répartition des imitations entre les œuvres chrétiennes et les œuvres profanes de Dracontius est très inégale. Pour un ensemble comportant 2643 vers, le *De laudibus Dei* et la *Satisfactio* ne comptent que 23 passages imités de Stace: 20 dans le premier ouvrage (2327 vers) et 3 dans le second (316 vers). En revanche, les œuvres profanes qui réunissent 3328 vers renferment 101 passages imités: 52 dans les *Romulea* (2354 vers) et 49 dans l'*Orestis tragoedia* (974 vers). Les réminiscences de Stace sont donc surtout nombreuses dans les poèmes profanes et, en proportion du nombre de vers que comptent ces divers ouvrages de Dracontius, c'est l'*Orestis tragoedia* qui concentre le plus grand nombre d'imitations.

Il convient de préciser aussi la répartition des passages imités entre les livres du *De laudibus Dei* et entre les pièces du recueil des *Romulea*. Dans le *De laudibus Dei*, 6 de ces passages concernent le livre I, 2 le livre II, 12 le livre III. Dans les *Romulea*, ce sont surtout les pièces appartenant au genre de l'*epyllion*, comme l'*Orestis tragoedia*, qui contiennent des réminiscences de Stace: 9 passages imités dans *Hylas* (*Rom.* 2), 19 dans le *De raptu Helenae* (*Rom.* 8), 15 dans *Medea* (*Rom.* 10); autrement, on ne peut guère citer que *Rom.* 6 (*Epithalamium in fratribus dictum*), avec 4 passages imités, et *Rom.* 9 (*Deliberatiua Achillis an corpus Hectoris uendat*) où l'on retrouve aussi 3 réminiscences de Stace.

Dracontius n'a pas fait un aussi grand nombre d'emprunts aux différentes œuvres de son modèle. Il a puisé surtout dans les poèmes épiques, *Thébaïde* et *Achilléide*. Mais là encore il faut faire une distinction entre les poèmes chrétiens et les poèmes profanes. Dans le *De laudibus Dei*, sur 20 parallèles textuels, 19 viennent de la *Thébaïde* et un seul de l'*Achilléide*; dans la *Satisfactio*, sur 3 réminiscences, 2 ont pour source la *Thébaïde* et une les *Silves*. Dans les poèmes profanes, les souvenirs de l'*Achilléide* sont nettement plus nombreux, tandis que ceux des *Silves* ne sont qu'en légère augmentation: dans les *Romulea* on peut relever 15 imitations de l'*Achilléide*<sup>8</sup> et 5 des *Silves*, dans l'*Orestis tragoedia* 9 de l'*Achilléide* et 2 des *Silves*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Nous n'avons pas retenu tous les parallèles textuels indiqués par K. Rossberg, B. Barwinski et F. Vollmer (voir *supra* note 4), certains nous ayant paru trop peu convaincants. A noter que dans son édition des *M. G. H. F.* Vollmer fait des rapprochements entre Dracontius et ses modèles non seulement en bas des pages où est donné le texte, mais aussi dans l'*Index verborum*.

<sup>8</sup> On notera que le *De raptu Helenae* (*Rom.* 8) présente à lui seul 7 réminiscences de l'*Achilléide*. Voir à ce propos E. Wolff, *Recherches sur les Epyllia de Dracontius* (Thèse de Doctorat inédite soutenue en 1987 à l'Université de Paris-Nanterre, qui comporte une édition commentée du *De raptu Helenae*); l'auteur (p. 302, n. 49) écrit que ces *loci similes* peuvent "suggérer un rapprochement entre Paris et l'Achille enfant que dépeint l'*Achilléide*."

<sup>9</sup> Dans les poèmes profanes, l'*Achilléide*, œuvre inachevée dont la longueur est bien inférieure à celle de la *Thébaïde*, est donc proportionnellement bien représentée; voir, à ce propos, E. Wolff, *Recherches sur les Epyllia*, *op. cit.*, p. 294 et p. 302, n. 44.

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Les procédés d'imitation mis en oeuvre par Dracontius sont divers: assez souvent les *loci similes* se limitent aux clausules ou aux débuts des vers; dans de nombreux cas, les parallèles textuels, plus ou moins étroitement calqués, s'étendent à un ou plusieurs hexamètres; il arrive plus rarement que Dracontius se soit inspiré de passages entiers.

Les clausules empruntées aux oeuvres de Stace sont nombreuses et constituent une proportion importante des *loci similes* (29 sur 124),<sup>10</sup> mais cette proportion est inégale selon les ouvrages. Ainsi dans le *De laudibus Dei*, sur les 20 passages imités 8 sont des clausules<sup>11</sup> ou des hémistiches entiers,<sup>12</sup> alors que dans les *Romulea* c'est le cas seulement dans 13 passages imités sur 52<sup>13</sup> et dans l'*Orestis tragoedia* dans 8 passages sur 49.<sup>14</sup> Dans ce type d'imitation, la part de la *Thébaïde* est dans l'ensemble prépondérante (19 clausules sur 29), mais l'*Achilléide* est bien représentée dans les *Romulea* (6 clausules sur 13). En outre, Dracontius compose parfois la clausule de son vers en s'inspirant d'une expression de Stace qui n'est pas une clausule: *Centaurica lustra* (*Rom.* 8, 323) est tiré d'*Ach.* 1, 266-67: *Centaurica reddam / lustra et quanto descendit hiatu* (*Rom.* 9, 184) est pris à *Th.* 12, 340: *quanto descendit uulnus hiatu*.

Au début des vers les emprunts sont presque aussi fréquents qu'aux clausules, puisque nous en avons dénombré 25,<sup>15</sup> mais ils sont répartis différemment de ces dernières; très rares dans les poèmes chrétiens (on en relève seulement 2 dans le *De laudibus Dei*), ils dépassent dans les poèmes profanes le nombre des clausules imitées: on en rencontre 12 dans les *Romulea* (dont 7 dans *Rom.* 8) et 11 dans l'*Orestis tragoedia*. La part de la *Thébaïde* est là encore la plus importante (16 *loci similes* sur 25), mais celle

<sup>10</sup> Nous n'avons retenu que les fins de vers dont on ne rencontre pas d'exemple avant Stace. Certaines clausules indiquées par F. Vollmer peuvent avoir été empruntées aussi bien à d'autres poètes: ainsi *more ferarum* (*L. D.* 1, 439; cf. Lucrèce 5, 932), *caelestis origo* (*L. D.* 2, 693; cf. Virgile, *En.* 6, 730).

<sup>11</sup> 1, 276: *pecus utile belli* (*Th.* 7, 66); 1, 508: *scrutator aquarum* (*Th.* 7, 720); 3, 93: *conubia natos* (*Th.* 8, 385); 3, 450: *secura sepulcri* (*Th.* 12, 781); 3, 507: *Capanea coniunx* (*Th.* 12, 545); 3, 546: *pietate magistra* (*Ach.* 1, 105).

<sup>12</sup> 2, 456: *Phrixei uelleris aurum* (*Th.* 2, 281); 3, 19: *crinitum missile flamma* (*Th.* 5, 387).

<sup>13</sup> 2, 12: *improba posco* (*Ach.* 1, 942); 2, 102: *numina Nymphae* (*Th.* 4, 684); 2, 131: *cunctas hortata sorores* (*Ach.* 1, 803); 6, 8: *pallorque ruborque* (*Th.* 1, 537); 6, 78: *iubet ire iugales* (*Ach.* 1, 58); 8, 31 et 221: *arbiter Idae* (*Ach.* 1, 67); 8, 47: *Thessalus heros* (*Th.* 6, 442); 8, 324: *Aiaxque secundus* (*Ach.* 1, 501); 10, 32: *Phrixei uelleris aurum* (*Th.* 2, 281); 10, 165: *impiger ales* (*Th.* 1, 292); 10, 313: *nupsisse marito* (*Th.* 3, 705); 10, 441: *de uertice serpens* (*Th.* 4, 555).

<sup>14</sup> 6: *tabe cerebri* (*Th.* 8, 760); 176: *sanguinis usu* (*Th.* 7, 199); 183: *iubeoque rogoque* (*Th.* 7, 506); 240: *sanguine pulcher* (*Th.* 7, 69); 480: *Thessalus heros* (*Th.* 6, 420); 623: *nocte sopora* (*Th.* 1, 403); 637: *Laertius heros* (*Ach.* 2, 30); 870: *ex more sacerdos* (*Th.* 7, 568).

<sup>15</sup> En comptant deux fois les *loci similes* qui se retrouvent dans deux oeuvres différentes: *sanguinis oblitus* (*L. D.* 3, 351) et *sanguinis oblitum* (*Or.* 894); cf. *Th.* 7, 569: *sanguinis oblitus*; *Idaliae uolucres* (*Rom.* 6, 91 et 8, 464); cf. *Th.* 12, 16.

de l'*Achilléide*, si l'on tient compte des longueurs respectives des deux épopées, est proportionnellement supérieure (8 *loci similes*); un seul début de vers des *Silves* est repris par Dracontius.

Le plus souvent l'imitation se limite à deux mots (c'est le cas dans 16 passages),<sup>16</sup> mais, à eux seuls, ils constituent souvent le premier hémistiche<sup>17</sup> et sont suivis de la penthémimère (dans 11 passages):

*Rom. 8, 192: Magnanimum Aeacidem . . .*<sup>18</sup>

ou, exceptionnellement, de la coupe au trochée troisième:

*Rom. 8, 324: Tydides Sthenelusque . . . (Ach. 1, 469).*

Quand les *loci similes* comprennent plus de deux mots, ils s'étendent jusqu'à la penthémimère:

*Rom. 8, 152: Sed quid uana cano ? . . . (Th. 3, 646)*<sup>19</sup>

la coupe au trochée troisième:

*Or. 251: atque habitus dignare . . . (Ach. 1, 260)*

ou même jusqu'à l'hepthémimère:

*Rom. 8, 550: et mecum fortasse cades . . . (Th. 5, 247)*<sup>20</sup>

Comme dans le cas des clausules, ces passages qui reprennent textuellement le début de certains vers de Stace peuvent être parfois des réminiscences de lettré plus que des imitations conscientes. Il en va autrement dans les autres *loci similes* que nous avons relevés et qui vont d'une imitation étroite à des adaptations plus libres, du emploi de détails à l'utilisation de passages entiers.

\* \* \*

<sup>16</sup> Dans un seul cas, un mot suffit à révéler l'imitation: dans *Or. 164* où le verbe *occidimus* placé en tête de vers devant une ponctuation forte constitue à lui seul une proposition comme dans *Ach. 1, 532*.

<sup>17</sup> Font exception *Rom. 10, 187: ante preces (Th. 1, 157); Or. 487: notum iter (Th. 1, 101); Or. 609: ibo libens (Th. 3, 378); Or. 694: qua meminü (Th. 9, 755).*

<sup>18</sup> Dracontius reprend ici les premiers mots de l'*Achilléide*. Autres exemples: *L. D. 1, 591: flatibus alternis (Th. 6, 873); L. D. 3, 351: sanguinis oblitus et Or. 894: sanguinis oblitum (Th. 7, 569); Rom. 6, 91 et 8, 464: Idaliae uolucres (Th. 12, 16); Rom. 8, 259: rege salutato (Ach. 1, 57); Or. 209: bellorum maculis (Ach. 1, 854); Or. 275: euersorem Asiae (Ach. 1, 530); Or. 382: imperat acciri (Th. 1, 382); Or. 536: Thesea Pirihous (Th. 1, 476).*

<sup>19</sup> Autres exemples: *Rom. 8, 224: sed si torpor inest (Silu. 5, 3, 260: sed te torpor inest); Rom. 10, 366: uentum erat ad Thebas (Th. 2, 65); Or. 670: dixit et abscedens (Th. 2, 120).*

<sup>20</sup> Autres exemples: *Rom. 10, 380: et grates electus agü (Ach. 1, 366); Rom. 10, 500: stelligeri iubar omne poli (Th. 12, 565).*

Les emprunts d'expressions sont fréquents. Comme dans les clausules ou les débuts de vers, l'imitation peut ne concerner que deux ou trois mots, mais il arrive que le calque textuel s'étende à des vers presque entiers.

Parmi les *loci similes* qui se limitent à deux mots, citons l'oxymore *dulce nefas* (*Rom.* 2, 39) que Stace utilise dans *Th.* 5, 162 et l'expression *torua parens* (*Rom.* 8, 582) prise à *Th.* 4, 249.<sup>21</sup> L'expression empruntée s'étend à trois mots dans *Rom.* 10, 436–37: *formidabile regnum / Mortis*, avec même rejet de *Mortis* que dans *Theb.* 4, 473–74.<sup>22</sup> Elle est encore plus étendue dans *Or.* 745–46: *"inanes / perdis" ait "lacrimas,"* qui reprend textuellement, avec le même contre-rejet de *inanes*, *Th.* 2, 655–56. Dans *Rom.* 8, 131: *sed quid fata ueto, quid fixos arceo casus*, c'est un vers entier (*Th.* 3, 646) qu'on retrouve, à deux mots près (*fata ueto* substitués à *uana cano*).<sup>23</sup>

Dans d'autres cas, Dracontius reprend une formule de Stace en modifiant seulement l'un des termes pour l'adapter à son vers ou à un contexte différent, soit par simple substitution d'un nom propre à un autre:

*Or.* 815: *clamantem nomen Orestis* (*Ach.* 2, 83: *c. n. Achillis*),

soit par remplacement d'un vocable par un synonyme:

*Or.* 240: *bellorum maculis rutilabat* (*Ach.* 1, 853–54: *rubebat / b. m.*),

ou même par un antonyme:

*Or.* 377: *saeuior unda maris quae* (*Th.* 9, 379: *miior u. m. q.*).

Parfois le mot substitué appartient seulement à la même catégorie grammaticale que celui qu'il remplace, sans être son synonyme ou son antonyme:

*Or.* 228: *redit illa uoluptas* (*Th.* 6, 487: *r. i. fames*).<sup>24</sup>

Il arrive aussi que Dracontius remploie les mêmes termes, et dans le même ordre, mais en leur donnant des fonctions différentes dans la phrase:

*Or.* 97: *lunata fronte iuencas* (*Th.* 6, 267: *lunatis fronte iuencis*).

<sup>21</sup> Voir aussi *L. D.* 2, 389: *mors una* (*Th.* 1, 109); *Rom.* 2, 45: *uultu mutata* (*Th.* 2, 655: *u. mutatus*); 8, 3: *meliore uia* (*Silu.* 5, 1, 71); 8, 147: *Bellona nurum* (*Ach.* 1, 34); *Or.* 195: *sexus iners* (*Ach.* 1, 848).

<sup>22</sup> Dans *Rom.* 9, 124: *caeli pelagique nepotem* (*Ach.* 1, 869: *c. p. nepos*) et dans *Or.* 246: *itur in amplexus* (*Silu.* 1, 1, 97: *ibit i. a.*) l'un des trois mots est remployé à un cas ou à un temps différent.

<sup>23</sup> Mais le premier hémistiche de *Th.* 3, 646 est repris textuellement dans *Rom.* 8, 152; voir *supra* p. 428.

<sup>24</sup> De même dans *Rom.* 8, 66: *sordent arua uiro* (*Th.* 10, 837: *s. terrena u.*) et dans *Or.* 223: *absentemque ferit pauidus* (*Th.* 6, 401: *a. f. grauis*).

Enfin le poète utilise quelquefois des expressions de Stace en changeant seulement l'ordre des mots:

*L. D. 3, 484: inter et ensiferas . . . cateruas (Th. 4, 321: . . . et ensiferas inter . . . cateruas).*<sup>25</sup>

\* \* \*

Assez souvent l'adaptation du texte imité est plus libre: Dracontius calque sa phrase sur une phrase de Stace dont il conserve simplement quelques mots. Il y a là une forme de *retractatio*.<sup>26</sup> La situation décrite dans les deux passages peut être analogue; ainsi dans *Rom. 8, 580–81: . . . uestigia . . . / insequitur praedonis equi (Th. 4, 316: praedatoris equi sequitur uestigia)*; il est question dans les deux vers d'une tigresse à laquelle ses petits ont été ravis. C'est un retour victorieux de Liber qui est décrit dans *Rom. 10, 272–73: marcidus interea domitis rediebat ab Indis / Liber*, comme dans *Th. 4, 652: marcidus edomito bellum referebat ab Haemo / Liber*.

Mais d'autres fois, il y a transposition d'un personnage à un autre: par exemple dans *Rom. 10, 490: lambere caeruleis permisit sarta cerastis*, le sujet de *permisit* est Médée, alors que dans *Th. 1, 91: lambere sulphureas permiserat anguibus undas*, celui de *permiserat* est Tisiphone. On trouve le même type de transposition dans *Rom. 10, 343–44: "quam, callide, fraudem / quodue nefas moliris?" ait "non fallis amantem,"* où Médée interpelle Jason, tandis que dans *Th. 2, 334: "quos, callide, motus / quamue fugam moliris?" ait "nil transit amantes,"* c'est Argia qui s'adresse à son époux Polynice.<sup>27</sup>

Nombreux sont les passages où Dracontius s'inspire de Stace de façon encore plus libre, reproduisant plus ou moins fidèlement une expression de son modèle. Il est parfois question d'un même personnage: ainsi dans *Rom. 10, 575: obruit infaustis crudelia semina sulcis*, où le poète évoque Cadmos, *infaustis sulcis* fait écho à *infandis . . . sulcis* de *Th. 1, 8: agricolam infandis condentem proelia sulcis*, où Stace décrit lui aussi le héros semant les dents du dragon. Mais plus souvent ni les personnages, ni les situations ne sont identiques et l'imitation ne porte plus que sur la forme: *L. D. 3, 390: ungue secans uultus (Th. 6, 624–25: ora . . . /*

<sup>25</sup> Voir aussi *Rom. 2, 18: fletu lumina tinguis (Th. 5, 304: lumina tinguere fletu)*; *2, 67: purpureus niueo natat ignis in ore (Ach. 1, 161–62: niueo natat ignis in ore / purpureus)*.

<sup>26</sup> Sur ce type d'imitation, voir A. Thill, *Alter ab illo. Recherches sur l'imitation dans la poésie personnelle à l'époque augustéenne* (Paris 1979) *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> Autres exemples de passages où le calque est très net: *Or. 255: callida funereo perfundit corpus amictu (Ach. 2, 35: callida femineo genetrix uiolauit amictu)*; *471–72: post membra solutae / si remanent animae (Th. 12, 265: errantque animae post membra solutae)*; *839: it manus ad capulum (Ach. 2, 84: illius ad capulum rediit manus)*; *904–05: cense te seuera, / Cecropidae proceres: decet ultio talis Athenas (Th. 12, 569–70: properate, uerendi / Cecropidae; uos ista decet uindicta)*.

*ungue secat*); Rom. 2, 140: *his dictis mentem pueri mulcebat amica* (Th. 3, 294: *dictisque ita mulcet amicis*); 8, 291: *iusta succensus in ira* (Th. 12, 714: *iustas belli flammatur in iras*); 10, 370: *iam cui uirginitas annis matura tumebat* (Ach. 1, 292: *uirginitas matura toris annique tumentes*).<sup>28</sup>

Enfin, un mot à lui seul peut permettre de déceler chez Dracontius un souvenir de Stace; c'est le cas de *palla* en L. D. 2, 531: *tunc niger axis erat, quem lurida palla tegebat*, "La voûte du ciel, couverte d'un voile livide, s'était obscurcie." Cet emploi imagé de *palla* pour décrire les ténèbres qui recouvraient la terre en plein jour à la mort du Christ est imité de Stace, Th. 2, 527-28: *cooperat umentis Phoebum subtexere palla / Nox*, "La nuit avait commencé à voiler Phoebus de son humide manteau."<sup>29</sup> Dracontius reprend aussi l'image de Stace dans Or. 805: *roscida somnigerum reuocabat palla soporem*, "Le manteau couvert de rosée de la nuit ramenait le sommeil père des songes."<sup>30</sup> Le contexte est tout différent, puisqu'il s'agit cette fois de la nuit qui suit la mort de Clytemnestre.

Autre exemple d'imitation difficile à reconnaître: Rom: 9, 111-12: *non docuit, quia maestus odor, quia putre cadauer / aera tellurem uentos animasque grauabit*, qu'il faut rapprocher de Th. 12, 565-67: *iam comminus ipsae / pabula dira ferae campumque odere uolucres / spirantem tabo et caelum uentosque grauantem*. Dracontius, empruntant à Stace l'idée du cadavre qui, dépourvu de sépulture, est une offense à la fois pour les hommes et pour les éléments, change tous les termes de la description, excepté le verbe *grauare*, qui est ici révélateur de l'emprunt, et le substantif *uentos*. Comme l'a justement fait remarquer Z. Pavlovskis,<sup>31</sup> Dracontius substitue *aer* à *caelum*, *tellurem* à *campum* et rend à l'aide de *maestus odor* l'idée exprimée chez Stace par *spirantem tabo*.

\* \* \*

Pratiquant la contamination,<sup>32</sup> Dracontius combine parfois les emprunts qu'il fait à plusieurs passages appartenant parfois à des oeuvres différentes de

<sup>28</sup> Ce type d'imitation est fréquent dans l'*Orestis tragoedia*: 188: *nam mecum miser ipse cades* (Th. 5, 247: *et mecum fortasse cades*); 483: *di, regitis quicumque chaos crudele* (Th. 1, 56-57: *di, sontes animas angustaque Tariara poenis / qui regitis*); 618: *frangebat murmura morsus* (Th. 11, 337: *frangunt mala murmura dentes*); 643: *transire parant* (Th. 7, 818: *transire parantis*); 746: *te expectat ad umbras* (Th. 3, 86: *expectatus ad umbras*); 795: *repetunt . . . regalia limina* (Th. 11, 756: *limen . . . regale pelebant*); 810: *nos alius uocat ecce labor* (Ach. 1, 539: *nos uocat iste labor*).

<sup>29</sup> Cet emploi imagé de *palla* ne se rencontre pas dans la littérature latine avant Stace; voir le *Thesaurus* L. L. X, 1, 1, 120, 76 sq. On le retrouve chez quelques auteurs de la latinité tardive, dont Juvencus 2, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Traduction de J. Bouquet dans son édition de l'*Orestis tragoedia*. J. Bouquet, dans son commentaire à ce vers (p. 189), rapproche l'expression d'Euripide, *Ion* 1150: "la nuit au noir péplos."

<sup>31</sup> "Stattius and the Late Latin Epithalamia," *Classical Philology* 60 (1965) 174.

<sup>32</sup> Sur le procédé de la *contaminatio*, voir A. Thill, *Alter ab illo, op. cit.*, pp. 71 sq.

Stace. Ainsi *L. D.* 1, 280: *spumat ager, mortes lunato dente minatur* reprend *Th.* 11, 532–33: *lunataque dentibus uncis / ora et Th.* 11, 295: *mortemque minatur*.<sup>33</sup> Dracontius aime ainsi réunir débuts de vers et clausules de son modèle.<sup>34</sup>

Z. Pavlovskis<sup>35</sup> a attiré l'attention sur l'imitation que Dracontius, dans son épyllion *Hylas* (*Rom.* 2), fait de l'épithalame de Stace (*Silu.* 1, 2). Comme Stace dans les *Silves* (1, 2, 65 sq.), Dracontius imagine un dialogue entre Vénus et Cupidon (*Rom.* 2, 8 sq.). Le rapprochement le plus net parmi ceux que signale Z. Pavlovskis est celui de *Rom.* 2, 16–18: *... quo tela uocas aut quid petis uri, / quem diuum modo forte iubet hominumue calere? / exprime: flammetur* et de *Silu.* 1, 2, 66–67: *quemcumque hominum diuumque dedisti, / uritur*. Mais, quelques vers plus loin, c'est de la *Thébaïde* que Dracontius tire son inspiration: *Rom.* 2, 28–29: *nostros iam sentiet ignes / uirgo ferox sexu: fugiet uiresque fatetur* est à rapprocher de *Th.* 12, 529: *ipsae autem nondum trepidae sexumue fatentur*.

Dans son épithalame (*Rom.* 6), Dracontius combine aussi des emprunts à diverses œuvres de Stace<sup>36</sup>: pour décrire la façon dont Vénus conduit son attelage de colombes (*Rom.* 6, 77–78: *iuga pulchra uolucrum / uerbere purpureo Cypris iubet ire iugales*), il reprend des éléments de la description que fait Stace des Tritons tirant le char de Neptune (*Ach.* 1, 58: *triplici telo iubet ire iugales*); un peu plus loin (*Rom.* 6, 91), pour désigner les colombes, il utilise l'expression *Idaliae uolucres* que Stace emploie à diverses reprises (*Th.* 5, 63; 12, 16; *Ach.* 1, 372). La pièce de Dracontius renferme aussi des souvenirs de l'épithalame de Stace. Dans le portrait de Cupidon on retrouve la même formule *ignis / ore*, avec le même rejet de *ore* (*Rom.* 6, 57–58) que dans *Silu.* 1, 2, 61–62. Enfin Dracontius se souvient de *Silu.* 1, 2, 22–23: *Tu modo fronte rosas, uiolis modo lilia mixta / excipis* quand il écrit: *Rom.* 6, 7–8: *et uiolis ornate comas, dent alba coronas / lilia mixta rosis* en donnant seulement aux ornements de fleurs une disposition différente.<sup>37</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>33</sup> De même *Or.* 745–46: *"inanes / perdis"* ait *"lacrimas, genitor te expectat ad umbras"* associe *Th.* 2, 655: *"inanis / perdis"* ait *"lacrimas"* et *Th.* 3, 86: *expectatus ad umbras*.

<sup>34</sup> *L. D.* 1, 591: *flatibus alternis redeunt commercia uitae* est une combinaison de *Th.* 6, 873: *flatibus alternis* (début de vers) et de *Th.* 5, 668: *commercium uitae* (clausule); dans *Rom.* 8, 324: *Tydidis Sthenelusque fremunt Aiaxque secundus* on retrouve *Ach.* 1, 469: *Tydidis Sthenelusque* (début de vers) et *Ach.* 1, 501: *Aiaxque secundus* (clausule); *Or.* 240: *bellorum maculis rutilabat, sanguine pulcher* reprend *Ach.* 1, 853: *bellorum maculis* (début de vers) et *Th.* 7, 69: *sanguine pulcher* (clausule).

<sup>35</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>36</sup> Voir Z. Pavlovskis, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>37</sup> Pour d'autres réminiscences de l'épithalame de Stace chez Dracontius, voir Z. Pavlovskis, *op. cit.*, p. 175.



Pour finir nous citerons des passages où le poète donne lui-même des indices des emprunts qu'il fait à son modèle.

Au troisième chant du *De laudibus Dei*, le premier des héros dont Dracontius évoque le sacrifice dans la série des *exempla* tirés de l'histoire et de la légende (v. 251 sq.) est Ménécée, le fils de Créon, dont le dévouement est décrit dans la *Thébaïde* (10, 756 sq.). Le poète cite alors le nom de Stace (*L. D.* 3, 261–62: *Menoecia Creontis / Staius ostendit*) et, deux vers plus loin, (v. 264: *Thebanos proprio perfudit sanguine muros*), il s'inspire de *Th.* 10, 777: *sanguine tunc spargit turres et moenia lustrat* pour décrire dans des termes voisins de ceux de Stace le sacrifice du même héros. En outre, au v. 263 l'expression *pater orbatus*, qui désigne Créon, peut être une allusion à *Th.* 10, 708: *ne perge meos orbare penates*, comme l'a indiqué F. Vollmer.<sup>38</sup>

Dans un autre passage du même développement consacré aux sacrifices des héros antiques, le récit de la *deuotio* de Curtius (*L. D.* 3, 407 sq.) emprunte plus d'un élément à l'épisode d'Amphiaraos dans la *Thébaïde* (8, 1 sq.). L'indice de ses emprunts que nous fournit ici le poète est le nom même d'Amphiaraos qu'il nous livre à la fin de l'épisode (3. 417–18: *aut alium uatem casus renouasse sinistros, / Amphiaræ, tuos, quem perfida uendidit uxor*), en rapprochant ainsi le sort de Curtius se précipitant à cheval et tout armé dans le gouffre du Forum de celui du devin Amphiaraos englouti sous terre avec son char et ses chevaux. La clause *telluris hiatus* (v. 407) qui décrit le gouffre du Forum est empruntée à *Th.* 8, 19; aux vers suivants (v. 408–09) *demersus sponte per umbras / Curtius ingemuit* rappelle *Th.* 821–22: *cadens . . . / ingemuit*; au v. 410: *armato . . . funere manes* est pris à *Th.* 8, 3. Dracontius dépeint Curtius descendant dans les ténèbres du Tartare où il étonne le "peuple blême de l'Erèbe" (v. 414: *pallida gens Erebi*), de même que Stace évoque Amphiaraos parvenu au séjour des "ombres blêmes" (8, 1: *pallentibus . . . umbris*).

L'importance des souvenirs de Stace dans l'oeuvre de Dracontius justifie l'hommage que le poète carthaginois a rendu à l'auteur de la *Thébaïde* en citant son nom dans le *De laudibus Dei*. Les procédés mis en oeuvre par Dracontius dans le emploi des éléments pris à Stace sont très divers, nous l'avons vu, allant de l'emprunt de clauses qui peuvent être de simples réminiscences de lettré à des imitations très conscientes et avouées. Certaines oeuvres de Dracontius comme la *Medea* (*Rom.* 10) et l'*Orestis tragoedia* montrent que leur auteur partageait avec le poète de la *Thébaïde* le goût de l'horrible et du macabre, mais les nombreux *loci similes* qu'on relève dans les autres poèmes de Dracontius prouvent que ce dernier a été sensible à bien d'autres aspects du génie de son modèle.

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<sup>38</sup> M. G. H., A. A., XIV, p. 99.



## Platons Kuß und seine Folgen

WALTHER LUDWIG

“ . . . when instantly Phoebe grew more composed, after two or three sighs, and heart-fetched Oh's! and giving me a kiss that seemed to exhale her soul through her lips, she replaced the bed-cloaths over us.” John Cleland (1709–1789) läßt in seinen “Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure” (zuerst gedruckt London 1749) Fanny Hill diese Erinnerungen aussprechen.<sup>1</sup> Nur wenigen Lesern des populären Romans wird aufgefallen sein, daß die Vorstellung der Seele, die während eines Kusses durch die Lippen zum Partner überzugehen scheint, natürlich direkt oder indirekt auf ein berühmtes, bis ins 20. Jahrhundert Platon zugeschriebenes Epigramm zurückgeht, vielleicht direkt, da John Clelands Bildung durchaus ausreichte, um dieses Epigramm in seiner griechischen Originalform oder in einer seiner lateinischen Übersetzungen zu kennen (er hatte ab 1722 die humanistisch orientierte Westminster School in London besucht und schrieb 1755 das Drama “Titus Vespasian” über den römischen Kaiser), und sicher indirekt, da das Motiv längst in die neulateinische und nationalsprachliche Liebesdichtung eingegangen war. Grundsätzlich ist das Motiv dort auch den Literaturwissenschaftlern bekannt. Der Germanist H. Pyritz schrieb 1963 in seinem Buch über den deutschen Lyriker Paul Fleming (1609–1640): “. . . lange fortwirkend in Flemings Dichtung ist ein . . . Motiv, das . . . zum eisernen Bestand der neulateinischen Poesie und aller ihrer volkssprachlichen Ableger gehört: der Gedanke von Seelenraub und Seelentausch im Kuß.”<sup>2</sup> Jedoch ist Pyritz das Platon-Epigramm als Quelle unbekannt; er zitiert keine Belege für das Motiv vor dem Niederländer Joannes Secundus (1511–1536) und sieht anscheinend in ihm seinen Urheber.

Da die Literaturwissenschaftler der Gegenwart das Motiv, sofern sie es kennen, also zumindest nicht immer als antikes Motiv erkennen und da insgesamt unbekannt zu sein scheint, auf welchem Weg dieses Motiv in die

<sup>1</sup> S. John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, With an introduction for modern readers by P. Quennell (New York 1963), S. 16. Vgl. auch die für 1989 angekündigte Neuausgabe dieses “Klassikers der erotischen Weltliteratur” in deutscher Übersetzung durch P. Wagner im Artemis & Winkler-Verlag, Zürich und München.

<sup>2</sup> S. H. Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik, Zur Geschichte des Petrarkismus*, 2. Aufl. (Göttingen 1963), S. 53 und vgl. S. 33 ff. (1. Aufl. bereits 1936).

neuzeitliche europäische Liebeslyrik gekommen ist, dürfte es nicht unnützlich sein, das "Platonische" Epigramm als wichtigste Quelle zu erweisen und den Weg, den diese Vorstellung nahm, nachzuzeichnen. Darüber hinaus stellen sich die Fragen, wie die Vorstellung von der im Kuß zum Partner übergehenden Seele überhaupt aufkam, wie weit sie in der Antike verbreitet war und ob und in wie weit andere antike Zeugnisse für diese Vorstellung bei ihrer Aufnahme und Verwendung in der Moderne eine Rolle spielten.

Auszugehen ist von Homer. In der Ilias findet sich der früheste Beleg für die Vorstellung, daß die Seele (*ψυχή*) als etwas Hauchartiges im und mit dem letzten Atem den Menschen durch den Mund verläßt (9, 408 f.): *ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχή πάλιν ἔλθειν οὔτε λειστή/ οὔθ' ἔλετή, ἐπεὶ ἄρ κεν ἀμείψεται ἔρκος ὀδόντων*.<sup>3</sup> Zuletzt befindet sie sich auf den Lippen des Sterbenden. Die Vorstellung erhielt sich durch die ganze Antike. Beispiele dafür bieten unter anderem Herondas, *Mim.* 3, 3 f., *ἄχρις ἢ ψυχῆ/ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ χειλέων μῦνον ἢ κακῆ λειφθῆ* und Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 3 *praef.* 16, *quid est praecipuum? in primis labris animam habere. haec res efficit non iure Quiritium liberum, sed e iure naturae*.<sup>4</sup> Daraus ergab sich auch die griechische Sitte, daß Angehörige den letzten Hauch aus dem Mund des Sterbenden mit ihrem eigenen Mund aufzufangen suchten, vgl. Cicero, *In Verr.* 2, 5, 118, *matresque miserae pernoctabant ad ostium carceris ab extremo conspectu liberum exclusae; quae nihil aliud orabant nisi ut filiorum suorum postremum spiritum ore excipere liceret*.<sup>5</sup> Schon in der Ilias wurde die Vorstellung der durch den Mund entweichenden Seele jedoch nicht nur mit dem Tod verbunden, sondern auch für eine zeitweilige Ohnmacht benützt (22, 466–75): *τὴν δὲ (Andromache, als sie den toten Hektor sieht) κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβένην νύξ ἐκάλυψεν/ ἦριπε δ' ἔξοπίσω, ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκάπυσσε* (vom Scholiasten erklärt: *ὑπερβολικῶς ἐξέπνευσεν*) / . . . ἢ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔμπνευτο καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη / . . .<sup>6</sup>

Auf dem Hintergrund dieser Vorstellungen und Bräuche entstand in hellenistischer Zeit der wohl zunächst witzig gemeinte Gedanke, daß auch ein leidenschaftlicher Kuß die Seele gewissermaßen als Atemhauch aus dem Innern heraufholen und über die Lippen in den Partner hinüberführen kann, wodurch die Seelen der Liebenden sich vermischen und austauschen, ein Gedanke, der wohl von Anfang an als epigrammatische Pointe das Licht der Welt erblickte. Seine erste, wohl dem dritten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. E. Rohde, *Psyche, Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, (Freiburg/Leipzig 1894), S. 3, J. Böhme, *Die Seele und das Ich im homerischen Epos* (Leipzig 1929), W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977), S. 301 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. weitere Belege bei W. Headlam, *Herondas, The Mimes and Fragments*, ed. by A. D. Knox (Cambridge 1922), S. 119 f.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. auch Verg. *Aen.* 4, 684 und A. St. Pease (Cambridge, Mass. 1935), zur Stelle.

<sup>6</sup> S. H. Erbse, *Scholias Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, Bd. 5 (Berlin 1977), S. 350.

angehörnde Prägung ist nicht überliefert. Die ersten bekannten Belege stammen von Meleager (A. P. 5, 171 = Pl. 7, 15)<sup>7</sup>:

Τὸ σκύφος, ἀδὺ γέγηθε· λέγει δ', ὅτι τᾶς φιλέρωτος  
 Ζηνοφίλας ψαύει τοῦ λαλιοῦ στόματος,  
 ὄλβιον· εἴθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῖς νῦν χεῖλεσι χεῖλεα θεῖσα  
 ἀπνευστὶ ψυχὰν τὰν ἐν ἐμοὶ προπίοι.

und—gleichfalls vom Ende des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts—aus Bions *Epitaphios* auf Adonis (V. 46 ff.):

τοσσοῦτόν με φίλησον, ὅσον ζῶει τὸ φίλημα,  
 ἄχρῖς ἀπὸ ψυχᾶς ἐς ἐμὸν στόμα κεῖς ἐμὸν ἦπαρ  
 πνεῦμα τεὸν ρεύση . . .

Entsprechend sagt Propertius (El. 1, 13, 15 ff.):

Vidi ego te toto vinctum languescere collo  
 et flere iniectis, Galle, diu manibus,  
 et cupere optatis animam deponere labris,  
 et quae deinde meus celat, amice, pudor.

Petron ist das Motiv geläufig (*Sat.* 79, 8 . . . *haesimus calentes/ et transfudimus hinc et illinc labellis/ errantes animas*, 132, 1 *iam alligata mutuo ambitu corpora animarum quoque mixturam fecerant*), ebenso Claudian (*Fesc.* 4, 23 *et labris animum conciliantibus*, *Epith. Pall.* 132 *labra ligent animas*). Es drang auch in den griechischen Liebesroman ein (Xen. Eph. 1, 9; Achill. Tat. 2, 37) und wird in einem der Liebesbriefe des Aristainetos im fünften Jahrhundert folgendermaßen beschrieben und ausgedeutet (*Ep.* 2, 19): ἀλλήλων συναπέλαυον ἄμφω οὐ μόνον στέρνω στέρνον ἀρμόζοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλήμασιν ἐπισυνάπτοντες τὰς ψυχὰς· τοῦτο γὰρ φίλημα δύναται, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ βούλεται· σπεύδουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ διὰ τῶν στομάτων πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ περὶ τὰ χεῖλη συναντῶσιν, καὶ ἡ μῖξις αὕτη γλυκεῖα γίνεται τῶν ψυχῶν.

<sup>7</sup> Ein weiteres einschlägiges Epigramm stammt von Rufinus aus dem zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert (A. P. 5, 14 = Pl. 7, 144):

Εὐρώπης τὸ φίλημα, καὶ ἦν ἄχρι χεῖλεος ἔλθη,  
 ἡδὺ γε, κἂν ψαύση μούνον ἄκρου στόματος·  
 ψαύει δ' οὐκ ἄκροις τοῖς χεῖλεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐρίσσασα  
 τὸ στόμα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀνάγει.

W. Kroll, s. v. Kuß, *Paulys Realencyclopädie*, Suppl.-Bd. 5 (1931), Sp. 511 ff., hat die antiken Stellen zusammengestellt. Vorausgegangen waren die Kommentatoren des siebzehnten bis frühen neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, z. B. N. Heinsius, *Claudian Poemata* (Leiden 1650), S. 535, P. Burmannus Secundus, *Anthologia veterum Latinorum Epigrammatum et Poematum*, Bd. 1 (Amsterdam 1759), S. 653, J. F. Boissonade, *Aristaeneti Epistulae* (Paris 1822), S. 669, 719.

Eine leichte Abwandlung hatte das Motiv in dem Epigramm eines Unbekannten erfahren, das in der späthellenistischen Schrift Ἀριστίππος περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς Platon zugeschrieben wurde<sup>8</sup>:

Τὴν ψυχὴν Ἀγάθωνα φιλῶν ἐπὶ χεῖλεσιν ἔσχον·  
ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὡς διαβησομένη.

Hier läßt der Autor seiner ψυχὴ nicht freien Lauf, sondern hält die verwegene im letzten Augenblick scherzhaft zurück, um sie nicht zu verlieren—eine Pointe, die in der Überlieferung, die teilweise in V. 2 εἶχον bietet, nicht immer beachtet und bewahrt wurde.<sup>9</sup> Das Gedicht galt in der Antike und der Neuzeit bis ins zwanzigste Jahrhundert hinein als ein Werk Platons. Daß es nicht von dem Philosophen stammen kann, ist jetzt jedoch gesichert und anerkannt.<sup>10</sup> Die entscheidenden Argumente gegen die Echtheit sind der Umstand, daß eine erotische Epigrammatik in diesem Stil erst seit dem dritten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert gepflegt wurde, ferner daß der Tragödiendichter Agathon, auf den das Gedicht bezogen wurde, zwanzig Jahre älter als Platon war (und sonst der ältere Liebhaber Liebesgedichte auf den jüngeren Geliebten schrieb) und schließlich, daß die Quelle des Epigramms, die Platon in die verschiedensten Liebesaffären verwickeln will, nachweislich auch ein Epigramm des Asklepiades von Samos vom Beginn des dritten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts in veränderter Form Platon zuschrieb. Die verzweifelte Hypothese, Platon habe hier Sokrates sprechen lassen wollen und ihm dieses Epigramm in den Mund gelegt, ist kein Ausweg, und der Einwand, hier handele es sich gar nicht um einen Kuß, sondern um eine rein geistige Seelenfreundschaft, vollends lächerlich. Auch mit spezifisch platonischer Philosophie hat das Epigramm nichts zu tun. Wahrscheinlich hat der Verfasser der Schrift περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς hier einfach ein ihm bekanntes Epigramm, das den nicht seltenen Eigennamen Agathon enthielt, Platon untergeschoben um diesem eine Liebesaffäre mit dem Tragödiendichter anzudichten, den Platon in seinem *Symposion* über die Natur des Eros sprechen ließ und der dort von Sokrates mit den Worten ὦ φιλοῦμενε Ἀγάθων aneredet wird. Entstanden ist die Schrift περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς frühestens im zweiten, vermutlich erst nach der Sammlung des Meleager im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert.<sup>11</sup> Meleager hätte die von "Aristippos" gebotenen Liebesepigramme Platons gewiß in

<sup>8</sup> A. P. 5, 77, nicht Pl.; neueste Ausgabe bei D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981), S. 162 f.

<sup>9</sup> Hierauf machte mit Recht R. Reitzenstein, "Platos Epigramme," *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse (1921), S. 53 ff., hier S. 58, aufmerksam.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. W. Ludwig, "Plato's Love Epigrams," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 4 (1963), S. 59 ff. und D. L. Page (wie Anm. 8), S. 125 ff. und 161 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Zur Datierung vgl. nach U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Antigonos von Karystos*, *Philologische Untersuchungen* 9 (Berlin 1886), S. 48 ff., und R. Reitzenstein (wie Anm. 9), S. 53, D. L. Page (wie Anm. 8), S. 127.

seine Anthologie aufgenommen, wenn er sie gekannt hätte. In der Sammlung vermeintlich Platonischer Epigramme, die Meleager für seine Anthologie benützte, standen diese Epigramme nicht. Sie wurden später in der Literatur zur Biographie der Philosophen tradiert. Diogenes Laertius entnahm sie wohl über eine Zwischenquelle der Schrift des "Aristippos."<sup>12</sup>

Erster Zeuge für das "Platonische" Epigramm auf Agathon (und damit für die Wirkung der Sammlung des "Aristippos") ist Gellius, der *veteres scriptores* kennt, die behaupteten, Platon habe den Zweizeiler als junger Mann verfaßt, als er sich selbst auch mit dem Dichten von Tragödien beschäftigte. Ein junger Freund des Gellius hat den Zweizeiler "frei und freimütig" in 17 iambischen Dimetern ins Lateinische übertragen, die für die spätere Dichtung äußerst folgenreich werden sollten (N. A. 19, 11)<sup>13</sup>:

Dum semihulco savio meum puellum savior dulcemque florem spiritus duco ex aperto tramite, 5 †anima aegra et saucia† cucurrit ad labeas mihi, rictumque in oris pervium et labra pueri mollia, rimata itineri transitus,	10 ut transiliret, nititur. tum si morae quid plusculae fuisset in coetu osculi, Amoris igni percita transisset et me linqueret, 15 et mira prorsum res foret, ut fierem ad me mortuus, ad puerum ut intus viverem.
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Aus Gellius gelangten der "Platonische" Zweizeiler und die lateinische Nachdichtung in die Saturnalien des Macrobius (*Sat.* 2, 2, 15 ff.).

Für die humanistische Dichtung der Renaissance ist nun von großer Bedeutung, daß Antonio Beccadelli genannt Panormita (1394–1471) um 1425 in einem Brief, den er an Poggio schreibt, um die Obszönitäten seines *Hermaphroditus* zu verteidigen, unter anderem Platon anführt, der, obwohl er *philosophorum princeps* gewesen sei, doch auch freche und charmante Liebesgedichte verfaßt habe, und als Beleg dafür die lateinische Übersetzung des Agathon-Epigramms aus Gellius zitiert.<sup>14</sup> Panormita hat das Gedicht in seinen eigenen Gedichten nicht verwertet, aber sein Zitat zeugt dafür, daß er es schätzte und andere Humanisten darauf aufmerksam machte. Die Verbindung des Gedichts mit dem Namen des großen Platon konnte der späteren Verwertung des Motivs der Seelenwanderung im Kuß, das hier den Humanisten zuerst in expliziter Darstellung begegnete, nur förderlich sein.

<sup>12</sup> Aus dem Werk des Diogenes Laertius gelangten sie in die *Anthologia Palatina*.

<sup>13</sup> Der Text wird nach der Ausgabe von C. Hosius (Leipzig 1903), Nachdruck (Stuttgart 1959), gegeben. In der Renaissance wurde nach der handschriftlichen Überlieferung in V. 1 *semihulco suavio*, in V. 2 *suavior*, in dem metrisch nicht korrekten V. 5 meist derselbe Wortlaut, in V. 6 teilweise *currit*, in V. 16 *ad me essem* oder *fierem* gelesen; in V. 17 fügte J. J. Scaliger *ui* ein. Diese Textform ist für die Nachahmungen zu berücksichtigen. W. W. Ehlers (mündlich) vermutet in V. 5 den Ausfall von *excita* nach *anima*.

<sup>14</sup> S. F. C. Forberg, *Antonii Panormitae Hermaphroditus* (Koburg 1824), S. 7 f., und vgl. dazu W. Ludwig, *Litterae Neolatinae*, Schriften zur neulateinischen Literatur, Humanistische Bibliothek I 35 (München 1989), S. 168 ff.

Produktiv verwertet hat Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503), ein Freund Panormitas, das Motiv bereits in seinem ersten von Panormita angeregten und 1449/51 entstandenen Gedichtbuch *Pruritus sive de lascivia* und zwar in dem *Hymnus ad Noctem*, dessen fünfte Strophe so lautet<sup>15</sup>:

dum micant linguis animaeque florem  
ore deducunt querulo parique  
concidunt motu, resoluta postquam  
grata libido est.

Die Ausdrucksweise in den beiden ersten Zeilen geht deutlich auf das von Gellius überlieferte Gedicht zurück (vgl. dort V. 3–7). Pontano hat das Motiv später in seinem 1485/93 entstandenen Gedicht *Ad Alfonso ducem Calabriae*, das er seiner Sammlung *Hendecasyllabi* einreichte (1, 16), erneut und zwar noch extensiver aufgegriffen (V. 1 ff. und 23 ff.)<sup>16</sup>:

Carae mollia Drusulae labella  
cum, dux magne, tuis premis labellis,  
uno cum geminas in ore linguas  
includis simul et simul recludis  
5 educisque animae beatus auram,  
quam flat Drusula pectore ex anhelo . . .  
ignorasque tuone Drusulaene  
tuus pectore spiritus pererret,  
25 tuo an spiritus illius recurset  
uterque an simul erret hic et illic . . .

Der Übergang der *anima* bzw. des *spiritus* in den Körper des anderen geschieht hier jeweils unmittelbar vor bzw. im Zusammenhang mit dem Liebeshöhepunkt.

Von Pontano wie in anderen Gedichten<sup>17</sup> sicherlich angeregt, verband Michele Marullo (1453–1500) in einem spätestens 1489 entstandenen Epigramm *Ad Neaeram* das Motiv des "Platonischen" Epigramms mit dem Motiv, daß der Liebhaber die ihm entflozene Seele suchen läßt<sup>18</sup>:

Suaviolum invitae rapio dum, casta Neaera,  
imprudens vestris liqui animam in labiis.  
Exanimusque diu, cum nec per se ipsa rediret

<sup>15</sup> S. B. Soldati, *Ioannis Ioviani Pontani carmina* (Florenz 1902), Bd. 2, S. 65 f. Der *Hymnus ad Noctem* wurde aus der Sammlung *Pruritus* (zu ihrer Rekonstruktion s. W. Ludwig, wie Anm. 14, S. 172 ff.) 1457 in den *Liber Parthenopaeus* übernommen und ab 1505 als *Am.* 1, 7 gedruckt; zu seiner Interpretation vgl. W. Ludwig, "Humanistische Gedichte als Schullektüre," *Der Altsprachliche Unterricht* 29, 1 (1986), S. 53 ff., hier S. 69 ff., jetzt in: *Litterae Neolatinae* (wie Anm. 14), S. 263 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Zur Interpretation des ganzen Gedichts vgl. W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 184 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Zum Einfluß Pontanos auf die Dichtung Marullos vgl. W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 180 f.

<sup>18</sup> S. A. Perosa, *Michaelis Marulli Carmina* (Zürich 1951), *Ep.* 2, 4, 1 ff.



et mora letalis quantulumcumque foret,  
 misi cor quaesitum animam, sed cor quoque blandis  
 captum oculis, numquam deinde mihi rediit . . .

Das zusätzliche Motiv stammt aus dem bei Gellius, *N. A.* 19, 9, kurz vor dem "Platonischen" Epigramm überlieferten Epigramm des Q. (Lutatius) Catulus (*Aufugit mi animus; credo, ut solet, ad Theotimum! devenit. sic est: perfugium illud habet./ . . . / ibimus quaesitum . . .*). Pontano hatte es bereits in einem der Gedichte seines 1457 entstandenen *Liber Parthenopaeus* verwendet und zwar in Verbindung mit dem catullischen Motiv der *mille basia*.<sup>19</sup> Weder Pontano noch Marullo wußten, daß es seinerseits auf ein Epigramm des Kallimachus zurückgeht (*A. P.* 12, 73 = Callim. *Ep.* 41 Pf.).

Es hat also den Anschein, daß die Verwendung des durch Gellius überlieferten "Platonischen" Epigramms in den lasziven, stark Catull verpflichteten erotischen Dichtungen Pontanos den Ausgangspunkt für die später häufige Verwendung des Motivs vom Seelentausch im Kuß darstellt. Sicher hatte Pontanos Verwendung des Motivs in zwei später berühmten Gedichten und seine große poetische Reputation im sechzehnten Jahrhundert eine erhebliche Wirkung auf die Folgezeit.<sup>20</sup> Ob er allerdings der erste war, der das "Platonische" Epigramm bei Gellius produktiv rezipierte, hängt von der leider bis jetzt unsicheren Datierung des rhythmischen (nicht in quantifizierender Metrik verfaßten) Gedichts *Lydia, bella puella, candida* ab,

<sup>19</sup> S. Pont., *Am.* 1, 14, und dazu W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 180 f. — A. Sainati, *La lirica latina del Rinascimento* (Pisa 1919), S. 88 f., schrieb zu Marullus *Ep.* 2, 4 "Platone, Catullo, il Petrarca hanno fornito ciascuno qualche cosa al Marullo per questa composizione delicata, ma alquanto artificiosa nel fondo." Mit "Platone" ist wohl das für echt platonisch gehaltene Agathon-Epigramm gemeint, wengleich die Vermittlung durch Gellius und seinen *amicus* unberücksichtigt bleibt; entgangen ist Sainati die zusätzliche Verwendung des von Q. Catulus gelieferten Motivs, die soeben nachgewiesen wurde, und damit der Kern der Erfindung des Epigramms, der eben in der Verbindung der beiden Motive besteht, die Marullo nach dem Vorgang von Pontano in zwei durch Gellius überlieferten Gedichten fand. D. Stone Jr., *Ronsard's sonnet cycles, A study in tone and vision* (New Haven/London 1966), S. 61 f., zitiert zustimmend die Aussage Sainatis ("revealing as well as exact") und erläutert "His spirit has fled his body to live within the lady—a basic Platonic idea." Hierbei hat es den Anschein, daß der Romanist, Sainati mißverstehend, als "Platonic idea" die Trennung der Seele vom Körper betrachtet, ohne speziell an das Agathon-Epigramm zu denken. Die Interpretation wird so immer weniger "exact."

<sup>20</sup> Pontanos *Hymnus ad Noctem* war nicht nur das Vorbild für den lateinischen Nacht-Hymnus des Camillus Capilupus (s. *Capiluporum Carmina* [Rom 1590], S. 253 f.) und den französischen von P. de Ronsard (s. P. de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'humanisme* [Paris 1921, Nachdruck 1966], S. 14), sondern hat auch die humanistischen Hymnen auf antike Gottheiten und Naturphänomene des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts allgemein angeregt. Zu der starken Nachwirkung des hendekasyllabischen Gedichts *Ad Alfonso ducem Calabriae* vgl. die Beobachtungen bei W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 188 ff. Zur allgemeinen Reputation Pontanos im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, der als einer der besten lateinischen Dichter galt, vgl. E. Percopo, *Vita di Giovanni Pontano* (Neapel 1938), S. 302 ff., I. Reineke, *Julius Caesar Scaligers Kritik der neulateinischen Dichter* (München 1988), S. 274 ff., und W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 187.

das erstmals in einem auf Grund der Schrift auf etwa 1450/60 datierten Manuskript mit der Subscriptio *per Galum poet* auftaucht und später unter dem Namen des antiken Dichters Cornelius Gallus tradiert wurde.<sup>21</sup> R. Sabbadini zählte das Gedicht zu den angeblich 1372 von Jacopo Allegretti (†1394) aus Forlì gefundenen oder gefälschten *Hendecasyllabi* des Cornelius Gallus,<sup>22</sup> F. Skutsch schrieb es einem homonymen Gallus,<sup>23</sup> L. Frati dem Urbinaten Angelo Gallo (†1459) zu,<sup>24</sup> während Sc. Mariotti, ohne die Frage zu entscheiden, die Zuschreibung an Allegretti wieder in Erwägung zog.<sup>25</sup> Mariotti hat jedoch mit Sicherheit nachweisen können, daß das in quantitatierenden Hendekasyllaben verfaßte Gedicht *O mei, procul ite nunc, amores*, das in einer Handschrift aus der zweiten Hälfte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts dem Gedicht auf *Lydia* folgt und dort gleichfalls Cornelius Gallus zugeschrieben wird, nicht vor 1450 entstanden sein kann. In dem *Lydia*-Gedicht finden sich folgende Zeilen (V. 13 ff.):

Porrige labra, labra corallina,  
 da columbatim mitia basia.  
 Sugis amentis partem animi;  
 cor mihi penetrant haec tua basia.  
 Quid mihi sugis vivum sanguinem?

Diese Verse enthalten mit *da . . . basia* ein catullisches Motiv, das Panormita einmal und nach ihm Pontano oft aufgegriffen hat<sup>26</sup>; außerdem greifen sie deutlich das "Platonische" Epigramm bei Gellius auf, wie schon P. Burmannus Secundus im Kommentar zu seiner *Anthologia veterum Latinorum epigrammatum et poematum* von 1759 feststellte<sup>27</sup> (von diesem Epigramm sind vielleicht auch V. 22 *papillas, quae me sauciant* und am Ende V. 25 *sic me destituis iam semimortuum* beeinflußt, vgl. bei Gellius V. 5 und 16). Die Verse haben mit Pontano nicht nur die Verwendung von Catull und von Versen bei Gellius gemein (auch *columbatim* stammt aus Gellius; vgl. Cn. Matius: *columbatim* bzw. *columbulatim labra conserens labris*, zitiert *N. A.* 20, 9), sie weisen auch eine Reihe von Übereinstimmungen mit anderen Motiven und Ausdrücken bei Pontano auf, vgl. zu den taubenartigen Küssen auch Pontanos *Am.* 1, 14, 14 f. *in numerum et modum columbael coeli sydera vince basiando* und die Schilderung der Küsse, die eine (allegorische) *columba* und seine *puella*

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. H. Waltherr, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Mediae Aevi Posterioris Latinorum*, 2. Aufl. (Göttingen 1969), S. 536, Nr. 10534, und Sc. Mariotti, "Cornelii Galli Hendecasyllabi," in: *Tra Latino e Volgare per Carlo Dionisotti*, Bd. 2 (Padua 1974), S. 545 ff.

<sup>22</sup> S. R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* (Florenz 1914), S. 179, 225.

<sup>23</sup> S. F. Skutsch in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie*, Bd. 4, 1 (1900), Sp. 1349.

<sup>24</sup> S. L. Frati, *Giornale stor. di lett. ital.* 50 (1907), S. 88 ff.

<sup>25</sup> S. Anm. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 170, 181.

<sup>27</sup> S. P. Burmannus Secundus (wie Anm. 7).

austauschen (*Am.* 1, 5), ferner mit *porrige labra* auch *Am.* 1, 14, 11 *consere labra* und mit *sugis* *Am.* 1, 25, 17 *linguam querulo cum suxerit ore tremetem*. Die Nähe zum frühen Pontano, die sich in Hinsicht auf das ganze *Lydia*-Gedicht noch verdeutlichen ließe, macht es trotz der rhythmischen Form schwer, das Gedicht einem Autor des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts zuzuschreiben, der dann seinerseits Pontano vermutlich starke Anregungen gegeben hätte. Wahrscheinlicher wirkt, daß das Gedicht um die Mitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts entstanden ist und der Autor sich eine Reihe der neuen poetischen Entdeckungen des Panormita und Pontano zu eigen machte. Ein abschließendes Urteil ist jedoch erst nach einer umfassenden Untersuchung der poetischen und metrischen Gestaltung des Gedichts und einem Vergleich aller auffindbaren Parallelen möglich.

Unter dem Namen des Cornelius Gallus wirkte das 1515 zuerst gedruckte *Lydia*-Gedicht auch auf die Liebesdichtung des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Deutlich von ihm abhängig ist der Niederländer Joannes Secundus (1511–1536), der in seinem Elegienbuch *Iulia* in *El.* 5, 23 ff. schreibt<sup>28</sup>:

Labra columbatim committe corallina labris  
nec vacet officio linguave dense suo.  
Et mihi da centum, da mitia basia mille.

In der gleichen Elegie vereint er später Ausdrucksweisen aus Properz (*El.* 1, 13, 15 ff., oben zitiert), Pontano (*Hend.* 1, 16, oben zitiert) und dem *Lydia*-Gedicht (*El.* 5, 85 ff.):

Te iuuet in nostris positam languere lacertis,  
me iuuet in gremio, vita, cubare tuo  
et cum suaviolis animam deponere nostris  
eque tuis animam sugere suaviolis  
sive meam, lux, sive tuam, sed sit tua malim,  
ipse tuo ut spirem pectore tuque meo.

Joannes Secundus trug viel dazu bei, daß sich das Motiv des Seelentauschs im Kuß im sechzehnten Jahrhundert über Italien hinaus in den Ländern jenseits der Alpen verbreitete. Er verwendete es mehrfach mit verschiedenen Abwandlungen in seinem *Basia*-Zyklus (in *Bas.* 4, 5, 10 und 13) und gestaltete es ausführlich in dem deutlich von Pontanos *Hend.* 1, 16 beeinflussten *Basium* 5, wo das Motiv durch die Verbindung mit dem Gedanken an den Gegensatz von Hitze und Kühlung noch eine petrarkistische Pointe erhält (V. 7 ff.)<sup>29</sup>:

<sup>28</sup> S. Joannes Secundus, *Opera nunc primum in lucem edita* (Utrecht 1541, Nachdruck Nieuwkoop 1969), A v<sup>r</sup>. Das heute relativ unbekanntes *Lydia*-Gedicht wird noch in der Ausgabe der *Societas Bipontina*, betitelt *Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius cum Galli fragmentis* (Zweibrücken 1783), S. 340 f., abgedruckt, *quia a plerisque C. Gallo attribuitur*.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. die Interpretation des ganzen Gedichts bei W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 188 ff.

et linguam tremulam hinc et inde vibras  
 et linguam querulam hinc et inde sugis  
 aspirans animae suavis auram,  
 mollem, dulcisonam, humidam meaeque  
 altricem miserae, Neaera, vitae,  
 hauriens animam meam caducam,  
 flagrantem, nimio vapore coctam,  
 coctam pectoris impotentis aestu,  
 eludisque meas, Neaera, flammam  
 flabro pectoris haurientis aestum—  
 o iucunda mei caloris aura!—, . . .

Secundus fand in Janus Dousa dem Älteren (1545–1604) einen Gefolgsmann. In dessen 1576 veröffentlichten sechzehn *Carmina quaedam selectiora ex Saviourum libro*,<sup>30</sup> in denen er mehrfach die *Basia* des Secundus als Vorbild erwähnt, findet sich auch das Motiv des Seelenwechsels in neuen Ausführungen (vgl. c. 4, 9, 10 und 12), wobei die Ausdrücke *flore animae flagrantis afflans* (c. 4, 95), *partem a me animae fugientis aufers* (c. 9, 11 f.), *os divellere, sic ut evagandi fiat spiritus foras potestas* (c. 10, 19 f.) und *animae reddam te tibi flore meae! . . . / surpuerit tacito tramite basiolum* (c. 12, 15 ff.) auch an Gellius, Pontano und das *Lydia*-Gedicht erinnern. Dousa übersetzte außerdem die einschlägigen Epigramme des Meleager und Rufinus.<sup>31</sup>

Etwas später greift wieder ein Niederländer, Janus Lernutius, in seinen *Basia genio geniali Castae Veneris sacra* (1614)<sup>32</sup> das gleiche Motiv noch häufiger auf: vgl. B. 3, 21 *animam foras vocate, / animam meam intus aegram*, 4, 2 ff. *misi cor dominae . . . nunc animam mitto* (nach Mar. Ep. 2, 4), 6, 42 ff. *immittam exanimatam illius ori animam! . . . / miscebo binas iuncta per ora animas*, 8, 3 ff. *e medio, mihi crede, animam rapuere labella! . . . / quare animam, sodes, actutum redde . . .*, 12, 3 f. *isto cum ore tuo . . . possis! sistere iam labris profugientem animam*, 18, 7 ff., 19, 19 f. *geminæ modo basio ab uno / animae conflentur in unam* und 24, 15 ff. Lernutius hat außerdem in seinen *Basia Graecorum ex septimo libro 'Αρθολογίας versa Latine* (1614)<sup>33</sup> neue lateinische Übersetzungen der einschlägigen Epigramme des Meleager und Rufinus veröffentlicht und außerdem vor das Zitat der Umdichtung des "Platonischen" Epigramms durch

<sup>30</sup> S. Iani Duzae Nordovicis novorum Poematum secunda Lugdunensis editio (Leiden 1576), li ii<sup>v</sup> ff.

<sup>31</sup> S. oben mit Anm. 7 und J. Dousa (wie Anm. 30), X ii<sup>r</sup> (. . . *ebibat illa meae quod superest animae*) und X vi<sup>r</sup> (*Attigerit summo leviter te Europa labello, / sic etiam Europae suave suaviolum est. / At non mos illi hic, sed et os usque ipsaque transit! ossa, trahens usque ex unguiculis animam.*).

<sup>32</sup> S. Iani Lernutii Inūtia, Basia, Ocelli, et alia Poemata (Leiden 1614), S. 301 ff.

<sup>33</sup> S. J. Lernutius (wie Anm. 32), S. 330 (. . . *atque animam quanto est ebibat illa meam*) und S. 327 (*Suave est suaviolum dominae, summo tenus ore / iunxerit hoc quamvis leniter et leviter, / sed non sic solet illa, subit penetraque etiam ossa / atque animam ipsam imis eximit unguiculis.*)

den *Amicus Gellii* folgende eigene, die Lesart ἔρχομαι beachtende Übersetzung dieses Epigramms gesetzt<sup>34</sup>:

Attinui in labiis animam, oscula dans Agathon;  
venerat huc, tam iam progreditura foras.

Obgleich zur Zeit des Lemutius auch alle anderen antiken Stellen für dieses Motiv bekannt waren (die Briefe des Aristainetos waren z. B. zuerst 1566 im Druck erschienen), behielt die über Gellius führende "Platonische" Tradition das größte Ansehen.

In Frankreich knüpfte Joachim du Bellay (Bellaius, 1522–1560) in seinem *Basia Faustinae* betitelten Gedicht, das er 1558 in seinen *Amores* veröffentlichte,<sup>35</sup> an Gellius und an Pontanos Formung des Motivs in *Hend.* 1, 16 an. Jean Bonnefons (Bonefonius, 1554–1614) verwertete das Motiv mehrfach in seiner zuerst 1587 gedruckten Gedichtsammlung *Pancharis*.<sup>36</sup> Es erscheint wie bei Pontano und seinen Nachfolgern in lasziven erotischen Gedichten catullischen Stils, wobei die verschiedensten einschlägigen antiken Stellen Benützung fanden: c. 3, 10 *sed mi suge animam halitu suavi, / dum nil quicquam animae mihi supersit*, vgl. "Gallus," *Lydia*, 17; c. 7, 1 *Quo mi sic animus repente fugit*; c. 18, 1 ff. *Donec pressius incubo labellis / et diduco avidus tuae, puella, / flosculos animae suaveolentes*; c. 32, 4 *e labiis animam mi tua labra trahunt*; c. 33, 25 *postremo in nostris animam depone labellis*, vgl. Prop. 1, 13, 17; c. 35, 63 f. *stricto corpora colligata nexu / confundunt animas*, vgl. Petron. 132, 1; c. 35, 100 f. *et transfudimus ore semihulcol errantes animas et hinc et inde*, vgl. Petron. 79, 8 und Gellius, V. 1. Aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum bieten die lateinischen Dichtungen des Petrus Lotichius Secundus (*El.* 5, 10)<sup>37</sup> und des Paul Fleming (*Suavium* 8)<sup>38</sup> weitere Beispiele für die Verwendung des Motivs.

Schon im sechzehnten Jahrhundert drang es auch in nationalsprachliche Dichtungen ein. Im Französischen taucht es 1552 im ersten Buch der *Amours* des Pierre de Ronsard auf<sup>39</sup>: *Si je trespasse entre tes bras, Madame, / je suis content: aussi ne veux-je avoir / plus grand honneur au monde, que*

<sup>34</sup> S. I. Lemutius (wie Anm. 32), S. 334.

<sup>35</sup> S. E. Courbet, *Poésies françaises et latines du Joachim du Bellay* (Paris 1918), S. 497 f., und dazu die Interpretation des Gedichts bei W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 190 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Die Originalausgabe war mir nicht zugänglich. Die—35—Gedichte der *Pancharis* werden im folgenden zitiert nach der Ausgabe von R. Gherus (= J. Gruter), *Delitiae C. poetarum Gallorum huius superiorisque aevi illustrium* (Frankfurt am Main 1609), P. 1, S. 636 ff. In der Ausgabe *Io. Bonefonii Arverni Pancharis* (Helmstedt 1620), finden sich die Gedichte zum Teil in anderer Reihenfolge.

<sup>37</sup> S. P. Burmannus Secundus, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Solitariensis Poemata omnia*, T. 1 (Amsterdam 1754), S. 340 ff., mit Kommentar.

<sup>38</sup> S. J. M. Lapenberg, *Paul Flemings lateinische Gedichte* (Stuttgart 1863, Nachdruck Amsterdam 1965), S. 114 f., dazu W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 193.

<sup>39</sup> S. H. Vaganay, *Oeuvres complètes de Ronsard*, Texte de 1578 publié avec compléments . . . , avec une introduction par P. de Nolhac, T. 1 (Paris 1923), S. XL ff. und S. 95 (*Sonet* 79).

*me voir/ en te baisant, dans ton sein rendre l'ame.* Im zuerst 1560 erschienenen zweiten Buch beginnt ein *Chanson* mit den Versen<sup>40</sup>: *Hyer au soir que ie pris maugré toy/ un doux baiser, acoudé sur ta couchel sans y penser, ie laissai dans ta bouchel mon ame helas! qui s'enfuit de moy . . .* Zu diesem Gedicht schreibt der zeitgenössische Kommentator Remy Belleau<sup>41</sup>: *Il dit qu'en déroband un baiser de sa dame, il laissa son ame prisonniere entre ses levres: puis pour la retirer, il feist un messenger de son coeur, lequel trouva la demeure si gratieuse, qu'il ne feist conte de revenir au service de son maitre . . .* Er nennt diese Erfindung göttlich (*cette invention est divine*) und führt sie—mit Recht—auf das oben besprochene Epigramm des *gentil Marulle* zurück, dem Ronsard auch sonst oft gefolgt ist.<sup>42</sup>

Auf die weitere Verbreitung des Motivs im nationalsprachlichen Bereich kann hier nicht eingegangen werden.<sup>43</sup> Jedoch sei diese motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung, die mit einem Zitat aus einem englischen Roman begann, mit einem Beleg aus der englischen Lyrik geschlossen. Robert Herricks Gedicht *To Anthea* in seinem 1648 veröffentlichten Gedichtbuch *Hesperides* lautet so<sup>44</sup>:

Come Anthea, know thou this,  
Love at no time idle is:  
Let's be doing, though we play  
But at push-pin (half the day):  
5 Chains of sweet bents let us make,  
Captive one, or both, to take;  
In which bondage we will lie,  
Soules transfusing thus, and die.

Im letzten Vers ist nicht nur in verkürzter Form das Seelentausch-Motiv zu erkennen, es läßt sich auch eine bestimmte antike Quelle nachweisen, deren Benützung natürlich im Wissen um die allgemeine Übernahme des Motivs in die Dichtung der Renaissance erfolgt ist. Petron hat in seinen Prosatext folgendes Gedicht eingelegt, auf dessen direkte Benützung durch Bonnefons soeben hingewiesen wurde und das hier vollständig zitiert sei (*Sat.* 79, 8):

<sup>40</sup> S. M.—M. Fontaine—F. Lecercle, Remy Belleau, *Commentaire au second livre des Amours de Ronsard* (Genf 1986), mit Faksimile-Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1560, Bl. 84<sup>r</sup>, und für den leicht veränderten Text von 1578 H. Vaganay (wie Anm. 39), T. 2 (Paris 1923), S. 124 f. Ein weiterer Beleg für das Motiv dort auch S. 145 ff. in der *Elegie a Marie* (V. 84 ff.).

<sup>41</sup> S. M.—M. Fontaine—F. Lecercle (wie Anm. 40), Bl. 84<sup>v</sup>, und H. Vaganay (wie Anm. 40), S. 125.

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. oben mit Anm. 18 und 19. Zur Benützung der Gedichte Marullus durch Ronsard vgl. allgemein P. de Nolhac (wie Anm. 20), Index s.v., und A. Gendre, *Ronsard poète de la conquête amoureuse* (Neuchatel 1970), Index s. v.

<sup>43</sup> Zu dem Vorkommen des Motivs in den deutschen Gedichten von Paul Fleming s. oben Anm. 1 und W. Ludwig (wie Anm. 14), S. 193.

<sup>44</sup> S. L. C. Martin, *The Poems of Robert Herrick* (London/Oxford/New York/Toronto 1965), S. 235.

Qualis nox fuit illa, di deaque!  
 Quam mollis torus! haesimus calentes  
 et transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis  
 errantes animas. Valete, curae

5 mortales! ego sic perire coepi.

Herrick hat in seiner letzten Zeile gewiß die drei letzten Zeilen Petrons konzentriert und pointiert verwertet. Die drei wesentlichen Begriffe *transfudimus . . . animas* und *perire* sind erhalten (und das Verb *transfundere* kommt in diesem Zusammenhang antik nur bei Petron vor; Bonnefons hat den folgenden Todesgedanken nicht mitübernommen).<sup>45</sup> Während im übrigen die Bedeutung des Hauch- und Atemartigen, die in *anima* wie in ψυχή steckt, dem geschilderten Vorgang in den antiken Sprachen noch einen realen und konkreten Bezug beläßt, ist dieser beim englischen Begriff *soul* (wie dem deutschen *Seele*) weggefallen, wodurch das Bild an Abstraktheit und scheinbar tieferer Spiritualität gewinnt, wozu auch beiträgt, daß Herrick die durch den Ausdruck *hinc et hinc labellis errantes* bewirkte Anschaulichkeit des Vorgangs aufgehoben hat. Herricks Anschluß an Petron in V. 8 legt es nahe, daß bereits V. 5–7 in einer gewissen Beziehung zu Petrons V. 2 stehen. Der *mollis torus* ist durch die *sweet bents* ersetzt, *haesimus* zu dem gleichfalls topischen Bild der *bondage* gesteigert.

Das in der Renaissance durch die Autorität Platons geförderte und in der Mitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts produktiv rezipierte Motiv des Seelenwechsels bzw. -tauschs im Kuß war so vom fünfzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhundert ein beliebtes Mittel um die Leidenschaftlichkeit zweier Liebender auszudrücken. Der Übergang der Seele in den Körper des anderen konnte sowohl für den Gedanken des Sterbens des Individuums in der Liebe als auch für den der völligen Vereinigung verwendet werden. Den Gelehrten des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts war die antike Herkunft des Motivs noch bewußt. Bei Lesern mit geringerer humanistischer Bildung geriet sie allmählich in Vergessenheit.

### Universität Hamburg

<sup>45</sup> Diese Vorlage Herricks wurde bisher anscheinend nicht bemerkt. L. C. Martin, *The poetical works of Robert Herrick* (Oxford 1956), zitiert in seinem grundlegenden und auch antike Quellen berücksichtigenden Kommentar auf S. 549 zu diesem Gedicht nur zu V. 2 *Ov. Am. 1, 9, 46 Qui nolet fieri desidiosus, amet*. Bei G. W. Scott, *Robert Herrick 1591–1674* (London 1974), befindet sich unter den aufgewiesenen antiken Quellen der Dichtung Herricks nie Petron.





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