

FURTHER TEXTUAL PROBLEMS IN LATIN POETRY

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I. Notes On The Eclogues Of Calpurnius Siculus

I, 42-45:

*aurea secura cum pace renascitur aetas
et redit ad terras tandem squalore situque
alma Themis posito iuvenemque beata sequuntur
saecula, maternis causam qui vicit Iulus.*

45

line 45 *iulus*: *in ulnis* v.l. (cf. Keene *ad loc.*)

These lines describe peace and the return of the Golden Age. In line 45 Calpurnius mentions Iulus¹, the son of Ascanius, whom the *gens Julia* regarded as their ancestor. I would like to suggest that Octavian is referred to in lines 44-45. Octavian is said to be young (*iuvenemque*)² and to have won his case³ due to Iulus⁴. The poet is referring to the fact that Octavian was descended from Caesar, through his mother's family.

I, 46-51:-

*dum populos deus ipse reget, dabit impia victas
post tergum Bellona manus spoliataque telis
in sua vesanos torquebit viscera morsus
et, modo quae toto civilia distulit orbe,*

1. Cf. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *Iulus* (1). It should be noted that *Iulis* is a poetic plural. Octavian is said to "have won his case due to Iulus of his mother's line" (*maternis ... Iulis*).

2. The term *iuvenis* was used to describe people between twenty and forty years of age. Cf. Lewis And Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *iuvenis* II. Octavian was younger than forty when he was given the title Augustus in 27 B.C.

3. For the phrase *causam qui vicit* cf. Ovid, *Her.* 16,76 *causam suam vincere*.

4. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15,447 where Octavian is described as *de sanguine natus Iuli*.

secum bella geret: nullos iam Borna Philippos 50
deflebit, nullos ducet captiva triumphos.

In these lines it is stated that the civil wars will now end, since a god (*deus*, line 46), i.e. Octavian, will rule the world. At line 50 the battle of Philippi, which took place in 42 B.C., is mentioned. In this battle Octavian and Antony defeated Brutus and Cassius. Ovid refers to Philippi together with Octavian and Julius Caesar at *Met.* 15,824.

I,54-59:
Candida pax aderit; nec solum Candida vultu,
qualis saepe fuit quae libera Marte professo, 55
quae domito procul hoste tamen graseantibus armis
publica diffudit tacito discordia ferro:
omne procul vitium simulatae cedere pacis
iussit et insanos dementia contudit enses.

In line 56 Galpurnius mentions distant foes. Julius Caesar invaded Britain (55-54 B.C.) and "imposed tribute on the peoples of south-east Britain": cf. Nisbet-Hubbard, on Horace, *Odes* I,30. Moreover, it should be noted that Octavian had plans to conquer Britain in 34,27 and 26 B.C.: cf. Nisbet-Hubbard, *ibid.* Cf. also Virgil, *Ecl.* I,66: *toto divisos orbe Britannos*. There is therefore no reason why we should assume, following Duff⁵, that the poet must be referring here to the Eoman invasion of Britain in Claudian's reign. Julius Caesar brought back many captives from Britain to Rome. He could thus have claimed to have subdued the distant inhabitants of Britain, witness the fact that he imposed a tribute on them.

I, 82-88:
at quondam non tails erat, cum Caesare raptio
indixit miseris fatalia civibus arma.
scilicet ipse dens Romanae pondera molis
fortibus excipiet sic inconcussa lacertis, 85
ut neque translati sonitu fragor intonet orbis
nec prius ex meritis defunctos Roma penates
censeat, occasus nisi cum respexerit ortus.

In this passage the poet refers to the death of Julius Caesar. Scholars have been puzzled by the meaning of lines 87-88. I would like to suggest that we should translate as follows:

5. And Amat, *op. cit.*, page 9, note 15. Cf. also Keene, *op. cit.*, on lines 54-57.

"so that Rome would not consider a dead man (*defunctos*)⁶ deservedly a god (*penates*), unless it has first paid attention to the origin (*ortus*)⁷ of his death (*occasus*)⁸."

Julius Caesar was deified by Octavian⁹. Caesar had been assassinated in 44 B.C. Calpurnius means that the events surrounding Caesar's death were carefully considered before he was deified. In lines 84-86 the poet states that Octavian, who is also considered to be a god, will now take on the burden¹⁰ of the Roman State.

I, 92-94:

*carmina, quae nobis deus obtulit ipse canenda.
dicamus teretique sonum modulemur avena:
forsitan augustas feret haec Meliboeus ad aures.*

Ornytus refers to his songs (*carmina*) in these lines. I would like to suggest that we should print line 94 as follows:

forsitan Augustas feret haec Meliboeus ad aures

Ornytus hopes that his songs will reach the ears of Octavian¹¹.

We may therefore conclude that Calpurnius Siculus wrote *Eclogue* I in honour of Octavian, who obtained the honorary title Augustus in 27 B.C.

4, 92-101:

*C. ipse polos etiam qui temperat igne geluque,
Iuppiter ipse parens, cui tu iam proximus ipse,
Caesar, abes, posito paulisper fulmine saepe
Cresia rura petit viridique reclinis in antro
carmina Dictaeis audit Curetica silvis.*

95

A. adspicis, ut virides audito Caesare silvae

6. Note the employment of the poetic plural. Cf. my *Studies In The Text Of Propertius* (Athens 2002), page 142.

7. Cf. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *ortus* 2 ("origin").

8. Cf. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *occasus* 2,C.

9. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15,746 ff.

10. Ovid mentions the burden of the Roman State (*publica sarcina*) at *Pont.* I,2,99: cf. my "Notes On Ovid's *Epistulae Ex Ponto*" (*Veleia*, forthcoming). Cf. also Keene, *ad line* 84 and Amat, *Calpurnius Siculus, Bucoliques* (Paris, ed. Budé, 1991), page 102, note 23.

11. For the phrase *Augustas ... ad aures* cf. Ovid, *Pont.*, I,2,115: *vox, precor, Augustas pro me tua molliat aures.*

*conticeant? memini,quamvis urgente procella
 sic nemus immotis subito requiescere ramis,
 et dixi: "deus hinc, certe deus expulit euros."
 nec mora; Parrhasiae sonuerunt sibila cannae.* 100

line 101 *Parrhasiae* Heinsius: *Pharsaliae* AV *sonuerunt* AH:
soluerunt v.l.

In line 93 the poet compares Caesar (i.e. Octavian) with Jupiter. I would like to point out that *proximus*¹² means "most like". Octavian is said to be like Jupiter by Ovid at *Met.* 15,858 ff. In line 101 there is a reference to pipes. I would like to suggest that we should print line 101 as follows:

*nec mora; Pharsaliae*¹³ *soluerunt sibila cannae.*

Reeds are said to have banished (*soluerunt*) the hissing (*sibila*) of Pharsalia. The poet refers in line 98 ff. to metaphorical storms which were silenced at the command of Octavian (*audito Caesare*¹⁵). Pharsalia was a civil war. However, now Octavian has brought peace to the world. Ovid mentions Pharsalia and Philippi together with Octavian at *Met.* 15,823.

4,147-151:

*M. rustica credebam nemorales carmina vobis
 concessisse deos et obesis auribus apta;
 verum, quae paribus modo concinuistis avenis,
 tam liquidum, tam dulce cadunt, ut non ego malim,
 quod Paeligna solent examina lambere nectar.* 151

According to Duff¹⁶, there is an allusion in line 151 to Ovid, who was born at Sulmo in the district of the Peligni¹⁷. I would like to suggest, however, that Calpurnius is referring to the fact that the Peligni¹⁸ drank wine in order to ward off the cold. Meliboeus states that he would not

12. Cf. my *New Chapters In Hellenistic Poetry* (Athens 1996), page 38.

13. For the scansion Phārsāliāe cf. Forcellini-Perin (*Onomasticon*, s.v.) and Amat (page 111, note 91).

14. Gf. Lewie and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* s.v. *procella* II,A: ... "*procellae civiles*, civil commotions, Nep. Att. 10,6."

15. Ovid addresses Octavian as *Caesar* at *Tristia* I,1,30.

16. Cf. *Minor Latin Poets*, ed. Loeb, 1968 reprint, page 257.

17. This hypothesis "peut surprendre", as Amat (page 113, note 107) politely notes.

18. Cf. Horace, *Odes* 3,19,5 ff. *China cadum ... Paelignis ... frigoribus*.

prefer to sip (*lambere*) the wine (*nectar*)¹⁹ which the Pelignian crowds (*Paeligna ... examina*)²⁰ drink.

4,157-159:

*at tu, si qua tamen non aspernanda putabis,
fer, Meliboe, deo mea carmina: nam tibi fas est
sacra Palatini penetralia visere Phoebi.*

The poet refers here to the emperor, who is called a god, and to Apollo. Duff pointed out that there was a famous library of Apollo on the Palatine. It should be added that there was a statue of Octavian²¹ in the guise of Apollo in this library.

7,4-6:

*C. o piger, o duro non mollior axe, Lycota,
qui veteres fagos nova quam spectacula mavis
cernere, quae patula iuvenis deus edit harena.* 5

In these lines Corydon mentions the spectacles²³ which were exhibited in the arena. Octavian is called a youthful god (*iuvenis deus*) in line 6. Suetonius pointed out that Octavian gave magnificent public shows, including the combat of gladiators: cf. *Augustus* XLIII.

Conclusion. In his Loeb edition of Calpurnius Siculus, Duff stated (cf. page 210) that it is generally agreed that "Calpurnius Siculus belongs to the Neronian age": (cf. Keene *ad* 1,84). He adds that the reference to a comet at I.77-83, to the wooden amphitheatre (7.23-24) and to the "young prince of promise" can be "identified with no one so aptly as with Nero at the outset of his reign." I have argued, however, that a philological analysis of the passages concerned shows that they most aptly refer to Octavian, who could still have been described as a young prince in 27 B.C., when he obtained the title Augustus cf. I. 94 *Augustas ... ad aures*. Moreover, the references to the battle of Philippi (cf. 1.50) and to the death and deification of Julius Caesar (cf. I. 82 ff.) suit Octavian "better than Nero.

19. For sweet wine cf. my *Studies In The Poetry Of Nicander* (Amsterdam 1987), page 83.

On nectar = "wine" cf. Lewis And Short, *op.cit.*, s.v. *nectar* II.

20. Cf. Lewis And Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *examen* I,B.

21. Cf. my *Studies in the Text Of Propertius*, page 70.

22. Cf. Lewis And Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *bibliotheca*.

23. For the spectacles of the Circus cf. Ovid, *Tristia* 2,281 ff. and *Habis* 36, 2005, page 212.

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II. Textual And Interpretative Problems In "Lactantius" *Phoenix*

Lines 15-18:

Non huc exsanguis Morbi, non aegra Senectus 16
Nec Mora crudelis nec Metus asper adest
Nec Scelus infandum nec opum uesana Cupido
Aut Ira aut ardens caedis amore Furor;

line 18 *aut metus O: aut Mars* edd. vet.: *aut Ira* Baehrens

These lines describe Elysium²⁴. I would like to suggest that the correct reading in line 18 has been preserved for us by the *vulgata*²⁵. The poet states that the god of war (*Mars*) does not visit Elysium.

Since the adjective *matus* is attested in Baehrens, *P.L.M.* III, page 246, line 20 (cf. *Thes. s.v. matus*, 491, 66 ff.); *vidit et erubuit, totaque mata fuit*, G. Giangrande suggests

aut matus aut ardens caedis amore Furor.

The scanning *mata*, in *P.L.M. loc. cit.*, is due to the arsis: cf. G. Giangrande's review of R.M. D'Angelo, *Carmen de Figuris*, in *Myrtia* 18, 2003, page 337 ff.

Lines 51-54:

Postquam Phoebus equos in aperta effudit Olympi
Atque Orbem totum protulit usque means,
Ilia ter alarum repetito uerbere plaudit
Igniferumque caput ter uenerata silet.

Scholars²⁶ have been puzzled by the meaning of lines 51-53. I would like to suggest that we should translate as follows:

"After Phoebus has driven his horses into the open and (*atque*)²⁷ revealed the whole territory (*orbem*)²⁸ of Olympus (*Olympi*)²⁹ travelling

24. For the fact that the phoenix lived in Elysium cf. Ovid, *Amores* 2,6, 49 ff. For Elysium cf. Flower Smith's note on Tibullus 1,3,57 ff.

25. For other cases where the correct reading has been preserved by an early edition cf. *Habis* 33, 2002, page 150. The correct text, evidently contained in manuscripts now lost, has more than once been preserved by the *vulgata*, in poems belonging to the *Anthologia Latina*: cf. G. Giangrande, *Veleia* 21, 2004, page 339.

26. Duff, in his Loeb edition, suggested that the words *orbem totum protulit* mean "revealed the whole wide world": cf. *Minor Latin Poets*, London 1968, reprint, page 655.

27. For *atque* "in the second place" cf. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. IV,G,9.

28. Cf. Lewis And Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *orbis* I: "Hence, a country, region, territory: *Eoo dives ab orbe redit*, the East, Ov. F. 3,466."

29. Cf. Lewis And Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Olympus* (1).

constantly (*usque means*), she (i.e. the phoenix) applauds with thrice repeated beat of her wings, and having venerated her fire-bearing leader three times is silent."

Lines 65-68:

*derigit in Syrian celeres longaeva volatus,
Phoenicen nomen cui dedit ipsa vetus,
securosque petit deserta per avia lucos,
hic ubi per saltus silva remota latet.*

line 66 *vetus* DE: *Venus* Heinsius, Heumann (cf. *P.L.* VII)

In this passage the poet describes the flight of the phoenix to Syria. It should be noted that the adjective *vetus*, in line 66, refers to the noun *nomen*. We should translate lines 65-66 as follows:

"Despite her age she directs her swift flight to Syria, to which she herself gave the ancient (*vetus*) name of 'Phoenice'".

Lines 85-90:

Non casiae mitis nec olentis uimen acanthi 85
Nec turis lacrimae guttaque pinguia abest.
His addit teneras nardi pubentis aristas
Et sociat myrrae uim, Panachaea, tuae.
Protinus instructo corpus mutabile nido
Vitalique toro membra uieta locat. 90

line 90 *quieta* CDE: *vieta* Heinsius

The poet describes how the phoenix makes a nest for itself. In line 90 the mss reading *quieta* makes perfect sense and need not be altered. The poet has employed adjectival *enallage*. Thus the phoenix is said to place its tranquil (*quieta*)³⁰ limbs on the life-giving couch³¹. The poet means that the phoenix was tranquil when she faced death.

Lines 95-100:

Interea Corpus genitali morte peremptum 95
Aestuat et flammam parturit ipse calor,
Aetherioque procul de lumine concipit ignem:

30. Cf. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *quietus* 2,b: "Of the mind, *calm, tranquil*."
For another example of adjectival *enallage* cf. my *Studies In The Text Of Propertius* (Athens 2002), page 164.

31. Cf. Gregorius Turonensis (*apud* Baehrens, page 250): *insedensque in medio eius*.

*Flagrat et ambustum soluitur in cineres.
Quos uelut in massam cineres umore coactos
Conflat; et effectum seminis instar habet.*

100

line 99 *umore* Ritschi: *in morte* D

The poet describes how the nest of the phoenix is set on fire. Scholars have been puzzled by the meaning of line 99. Textual alteration is, however, not necessary. We should translate as follows:

"These collected (*coactos*) ashes she welds (*conflat*) during her death (*in morte*)³² into a lump (*in massam*), possessing in the result what takes the place of a seed."

The poet means that the ashes which are left after the nest of the phoenix has been burnt are welded together into a ball.

Lines 107-108:

*ac velut agrestes, cum filo ad saxa tenentur,
mutari tineae papilione solent.*

pinnae AB, *tineae* Didacus

The poet compares the birth of the phoenix with that of a butterfly. The reading *pinnae* is sound. Didacus Covarruvius Bishop of Segovia, correctly understood, quoting Ovid, *Met.* 15,372-374, that the poet is talking about the "*vermes illi ex quibus serici papiliones nascuntur*" (cf. *P.L.* VII *ad loc.*). There is no need, however, to alter the mss reading *pinnae* into *tineae*: the "*vermes*" in question, on their way to metamorphosing into *papiliones*, develop wings (*pinnae*), and therefore *pinnae* is here an obvious case of *synecdoche*, denoting the winged "*vermes*". We should translate as follows:

"just as winged larvae (*pinnae*) in the country, when they are fastened near to rocks (*ad saxa*)³³ by threads (*filo*)³⁴, are accustomed to change into a butterfly."

The larvae of silkworms are bound by threads to the leaves of trees. The trees are imagined to be situated near to rocky³⁵ places in the countryside.

32. The reading is accepted in *P.L.* VII. Cf. Greg. Tur., *loc. cit.*: *concrematur ... resumpta vita ...* For the phrase *in morte*, cf. e.g. Virgil, *Aen.* 6,444 *in morte relinquunt*.

33. Cf. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *ad* I.5: "Nearness or proximity in gen. = *apud*, *near to*, *by*, *at*, *close by*."

34. Note the employment of the poetic singular: cf. my *Studies In The Text Of Propertius*, page 141.

35. Cf. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *saxum* (1): "... of the cave of Cacus." For a tree growing

Lines 117-120:

Ante tamen, proprio quicquid de corpore restat,

Ossaue uel cineres exuuiasque sua

Unguine balsameo myrraque et ture soluto

Condit et in formam conglobat ore pio.

120

The phoenix is said to create a ball out of its own remains. In line 119 the poet mentions frankincense. I would like to suggest that *soluto*³⁶ means "luxurious". The phoenix forms the remains of her body into a ball, which she preserves (*condit*)³⁷ with the aid of myrrh and luxurious³⁸ frankincense (*ture soluto*).

Lines 121-122:

Quam pedibus gestans contendit Solis ad urbem

Inque ara residens ponit in aede sacra.

line 121 *ortus* O: *urbem* ed. Gryphiandri 1618

The poet describes how the phoenix travels home to Heliopolis, where she buries her dead parent. It should be noted that textual alteration is not necessary in line 121. The words *solis ad ortus*³⁹ mean

"towards the time when the sun rises". We should translate as follows:

"Bearing this in her talons she sets oat (*contendit*)⁴⁰ towards sunrise (*soils ad ortus*), and perching on the altar sets it in the hallowed temple."

near to a cave cf. *G.I.F.* LI, 1999, page 99. Duff noted, in his Loeb edition (page 659) that "Thomasius thought *saxa* should be *taxa*, presumably in the sense of yew branches." Ovid (*loc. cit.*) states that the insects in question "tie leaves with white thread" (*canis frondes intexere filis*). There is, however, no need to alter the text of line 107: the ancients did believe that "silk ... grew on the leaves of trees" (Fairclough-Gould, Loeb edition of Virg. *Georg.* II, *ad* line 121: cf. Forbiger *ad Georg.* II, 121, "ex arborum foliis"), but the poet wants to stress that silk was "das Produkt eines wilden Seidenwurms" (RE, s.v. *Serica*, 1724), which insofar as "wild" lived not in cultivated fields, but in rocky places (cf. Lewis and Short, s.v. *saxum* III, 1). The insects feed on the leaves of trees, as is clear from Ovid (*loc. cit.*).

36. Cf. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *solutus* (12): "Effeminate, luxurious."

37. Cf. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *condo* II, B, 1: "To preserve, pickle."

38. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics* 1, 57: *India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei*. Virgil links effeminate Sabaeans with a luxury, i.e. incense. My solution is supported by the scholiast, who (cf. Baehrens' apparatus *ad loc.*) glosses *soluto* with *sabaeo*.

39. Cf. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *ad* I, B, 1: "In tine ... *ad vesperum*, toward evening."

40. Cf. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *contendo* B, 1.

It will be noted that the poet does not mention Heliopolis by name. Instead he adopts an allusive⁴¹ narrative technique: he does mention that the bird returns home in line 116.

Lines 125-126:

*principio color est qualis sub sidere caeli
mitia qu(a)e croceo punica grana legunt.*

line 126 *qu(a)e croceo* BE: *legunt* O, accepted by P.I. VII, *quem ... tegunt* Heinsius

The poet describes here the colour of the phoenix. Scholars have been puzzled by the meaning of these lines. By far the best discussion is in Duff, *ad loc.* Perfect sense can, however, be restored to this passage if we print lines 125-126 as follows:

*principio color est qualis sub sidere caeli
mitia quem croceo punica grana legunt.*

The colour of the phoenix is said to be like that which (*quem*) ripe (*mitia*)⁴² purple (*punica*) seeds (*grana*) assume (*legunt*)⁴³ under the yellow star of the sky (i.e. under the sun)⁴⁴.

The poet is referring to the purple-red seeds of the pomegranate⁴⁵. In other words, the phoenix is the same colour as the seeds of the pomegranate. The poet mentions the sun because pomegranates only grow in hot climates, where the heat of the sun is powerful. In BE the reading *qu(a)e*, i.e. *que*, is an obvious scribal error for *que=quem*. The reading *quem* was suggested by Heinsius. It should be noted that Heinsius used manuscripts in order to correct the text of Propertius: cf. my *Studies In The Text Of Propertius*, page 166.

41. Cf. *Mus. phil. Lond.*, X, 1996, page 51. The fact that the phoenix buried its parent at Heliopolis was well known: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15, 406. Heliopolis was the city of the Sun. Cf. line 41 where the phoenix is said to honour Apollo and to sing at dawn, *Phoebi nascentis ad ortus*.

42. Cf. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *mitis*, "mature", "ripe".

43. Cf. Thes. s.v. *lego* 1125,16 ff. ("translate"). This meaning of *legunt* was understood in P.L. VII, which prints *quern ooo legunt*.

44. Cf. Lewis and Short, *op. cit.*, s.v. *sidus* I: "... of the Sun: *calidi sideris aestu*, Tib. 2,1,47". For *croceo* cf. Virgil, *Georgics* I,447 *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile*.

45. For the seeds of the pomegranate cf. my *Studies In The Poetry Of Nicander* (Amsterdam 1987), page 104.

Lines 139-140:

aptata est toto capiti radiata corona

Phoebei referens verticis alta decus.

line 139 *noto* BD: *toto* Wernsdorf, *rutilo* Baehrens

The poet describes here the head of the phoenix. I would like to suggest that the correct reading in line 139 is *noto*. Note the employment of adjectival *enallage*⁴⁶. The epithet *noto* ("well known") refers to the fact that the phoenix was famous. The head of the bird was in any case famous: cf. Ach. Sat. III,25,2 ἡ κεφαλὴ κ.τ.λ. Cf. also *RE*, s.v. *Phoenix*, 414.

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46. For other examples of adjectival *enallage* cf. my note on line 90.