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MINOR LATIN POETS

II

MINOR LATIN POETS

IN TWO VOLUMES

II

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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PREFACE TO NEW EDITION

The original edition of *Minor Latin Poets* (1934: revised edition 1935) was, for a series based on the principle of uniformity, disproportionately large; and it has now become necessary to divide the work into two volumes to conform with the size and price of other volumes in the Loeb Classical Library.

The material embraced in these two volumes provides some of the most difficult problems in editing Latin texts, and it is evident that for their solution much still remains to be done. Against the day when a definitive revision of the Loeb *Minor Latin Poets* becomes a feasible proposition I have noted at the appropriate places details of relevant work produced in recent years.

March 1982

G.P.G.

FLORUS

INTRODUCTION

TO FLORUS

THERE is considerable plausibility in the arguments which have been advanced in favour of regarding three apparently different Flori, namely the historian, the rhetor and the poet as one and the same person. The acceptance of these arguments commits us to taking the correct name to have been P. Annius Florus, as the rhetor was called, and to explaining as confusions the "Julius Florus" or "Annaeus Florus" found in the MSS. of the historian.^a We no longer possess the rhetor's dialogue discussing the problem whether Virgil was more an orator than a poet (*Vergilius orator an poeta*), but from a Brussels manuscript containing an introduction to the lost theme important facts about the author's life are recoverable.^b He was born in Africa about 74 A.D. While at Rome in his younger days under Domitian he entered for the Capitoline competition in poetry, but owing to jealousy was denied the wreath of victory. This injustice so rankled in his heart that he left Rome for distant wanderings which ended with his settlement at Tarraco in Spain. One day in Trajan's

^a One MS. has "L. Annei Flori."

^b F. Ritschl, *Rhein. Mus.* I. 302; O. Jahn, *Flori epitome*, Leipzig, 1852, p. xli; edn. by K. Halm, Leipzig, 1854, p. 106; edn. by O. Rossbach, Leipzig, 1896, p. 183. See J. Wight Duff, *A Lit. Hist. of Rome in Silver Age*, p. 644.

reign a friend twitted him with his long absence from the capital, telling him that his poems had won appreciation there. By Hadrian's time he was once more in Rome, enjoying the Emperor's regard in virtue of his literary abilities and possibly because of some common links with Spain also. The intimacy was so close that it emboldened Florus to address Hadrian in a few extant trochaic lines of persiflage upon his craze for travel—*Ego nolo Caesar esse*—to which we have the imperial repartee *Ego nolo Florus esse*.^a Happily there is more poetry in his hexameters upon spring-roses and in some at least of his trochaic tetrameters. This is the quality which has lent support to the conjecture hazarded by certain scholars, that Florus was the author of one of the most romantic poems in Latin, the *Pervigilium Veneris*. Certainly that poem would have been signally appropriate during the principate of Hadrian, who resuscitated the cult of Venus on a scale of great magnificence.^b We cannot, however, be sure that the *Pervigilium Veneris* belongs to the second century: and a rival hypothesis claims it for the fourth century, laying stress upon its resemblance to the manner of Tiberianus.^c

In the codex Salmasianus of the Latin *Anthologia* (Parisinus, 10318) twenty-six trochaic tetrameters appear under the superscription *Flori de qualitate vitae*. The codex Thuaneus (Parisinus 8071) has, instead of *Flori*, *Floridi*, a corruption due to a mistake in the succeeding word. Five hexameters in the codex Salmasianus also bear the heading *Flori*.

^a Spartianus, *Hadrian*, xvi.

^b See Introduction, p. 344, to Loeb edition of Catullus, Tibullus and *Pervigilium Veneris*.

^c See Introduction to Tiberianus, *infra*, p. 555.

TEXTS OF FLORUS' VERSE

- P. Burman. *Anthol. Lat. Lib. II. No. 97; III. Nos. 288-291.* Amsterdam, 1759.

[Burman ascribes 97, *Ego nolo . . .*, to "Julius Florus"; 288, *O quales . . .*, 289, *Aut hoc risit . . .*, and 290, *Hortus erat . . .*, to an unknown author; and 291, *Venerunt aliquando rosae . . .*, to "Florus." Baehrens and Buecheler follow these ascriptions.]

- J. C. Wernsdorf. *Poetae Latini Minores*, III. pp. 483-488. Altenburg, 1782.
 L. Mueller. *Rutilius Namatianus*, etc., p. 26 *sqq.* Leipzig, 1870.
 E. Baehrens. *Poet. Lat. Min.*, IV. pp. 279, 346 *sqq.* Leipzig, 1882.
 F. Buecheler and A. Riese. *Anthologia Latina*, I. i. pp. 119-121, and pp. 200-202. Leipzig, 1894.

RELEVANT WORKS

- O. Mueller. *De P. Annio Poeta et de Pervig. Ven.* diss. Berlin, 1855.
 F. Eyssenhardt. *Hadrian und Florus*. Berlin, 1882.
 G. Costa. *Floro e Adriano*, *Bollettino di filol.* 13 (1907), p. 252.

FLORUS

I

Ego nolo Caesar esse,
ambulare per Britannos

Scythicas pati pruinas.

II-IX. DE QUALITATE VITAE

II

Bacche, vitium repertor, plenus adsis vitibus,
effluas dulcem liquorem, comparandum nectari,
conditumque fac vetustum, ne malignis venulis
asperum ducat saporem, versus usum in alterum.

III

Mulier intra pectus omnis celat virus pestilens;
dulce de labris loquuntur, corde vivunt noxio.

II. DE QUALITATE VITAE *codd.*: VITIUM *L. Mueller.*

II. ¹ vitium *codd.*: vini tu *L. Mueller.*

^a The numbering I-XIII follows *L. Mueller's* edition: No. XIV is taken from *Baehrens*.

^b The Latin is given by *Spartianus*, *Hadrian* xvi: also *Hadrian's* retort (see p. 444). As the latter is in four lines, it may be assumed that *Florus'* third line is lost.

FLORUS

I^a

I've no mind to be a Caesar,
Strolling round among the Britons,

Victim of the Scythian hoar-frosts.^b

II-IX. THE QUALITY OF LIFE^c

II

Bacchus, of the vine revealer, let thy fullness aid
the vine:

Send the dulcet juice aflowing which no nectar can
outshine.

Grant it ever-mellowing storage lest in veins inimical
It produce a smack of roughness turned to vinegar
withal.

III

Every woman in her bosom hides a poisonous pesti-
lence:

Though the lips speak ne'er so sweetly, yet the heart
contrives offence.

^c The MS. heading for the 26 verses in II-IX is so inappropriate that *Lucian Mueller* by emending *vitae* into *vitium* suggested that it meant "On the Nature of Vines" and was applicable only to poem II.

MINOR LATIN POETS

IV

Sic Apollo, deinde Liber sic videtur ignifer :
ambo sunt flammis creati prosatique ex ignibus ;
ambo de donis calorem, vite et radio, conferunt ;
noctis hic rumpit tenebras, hic tenebras pectoris.

V

Quando ponebam novellas arbores mali et piri,
cortici summae notavi nomen ardoris mei.
nulla fit exinde finis vel quies cupidinis :
crescit arbor, gliscit ardor : animus implet litteras.

VI

Qui mali sunt non fuere matris ex alvo mali,
sed malos faciunt malorum falsa contubernia.

VII

Sperne mores transmarinos, mille habent officia.
cive Romano per orbem nemo vivit rectius :
quippe malim unum Catonem quam trecentos
Socratas.

V. ³ fit *codd.* : fit iam *L. Mueller* : facta *Baehrens*.

^a Cf. Juvenal II. 83, *nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, "no one became an absolute villain in a moment," and St. Paul's quotation from Menander, I. *Cor.* xv. 33 *φθειροσιν ἡθῆν χρῆσθ'* *δμιλῆαι κακάι*, "evil communications corrupt good manners."

FLORUS

IV

So Apollo and then Bacchus are fire-bringers, I
opine :
Both the gods are flame-created ; in their birth the
fires take part.
Both confer their heat for guerdon, by the sunbeam
or the vine ;
One dispels the long night's darkness, one the dark-
ness of the heart.

V

When my young pear-trees I planted, when I planted
apple-trees,
On the bark the name I gravéd of the sweetheart
who is mine.
Never henceforth will my passion find an end or find
its ease.
As the tree grows, so my zeal glows : love-dreams
through each letter shine.

VI

Rascals have not been so always—rascals from their
mother's womb ;
But false comradeship with rascals brings one to a
rascal's doom.^a

VII

Shun the morals brought across seas ; they've a
thousand trickeries.
None in all the world lives straighter than a citizen
of Rome.
Why, I prize one Cato more than fifteen score like
Socrates.

MINOR LATIN POETS

VIII

Tam malum est habere nummos, non habere quam
malum est;
tam malum est audere semper quam malum est
semper pudor;
tam malum est tacere multum quam malum est
multum loqui;
tam malum est foris amica quam malum est uxor
domi;
nemo non haec vera dicit, nemo non contra facit.

IX

Consules fiunt quotannis et novi proconsules;
solus aut rex aut poeta non quotannis nascitur.

X

DE ROSIS

Venerunt aliquando rosae. per veris amoeni
ingenium una dies ostendit spicula florum,
altera pyramidas nodo maiore tumentes,
tertia iam calathos, totum lux quarta peregit
floris opus. pereunt hodie nisi mane leguntur.

XI

DE ROSIS

A, quales ego mane rosas procedere vidi!
nascebantur adhuc neque erat par omnibus aetas.
prima papillatos ducebat tecta corymbos,
altera puniceos apices umbone levabat,
tertia iam totum calathi patefecerat orbem,

FLORUS

VIII

'Tis as bad possessing money as to live in penury;
Just as bad perpetual daring as perpetual modesty;
Just as bad is too much silence as too much loquacity;
Just as bad the girl you visit as the wife at home
can be.
None can say that this is falsehood: none but does
the contrary.

IX

Every year we get fresh consuls, every year pro-
consuls too:
Only patrons, only poets, are not born each year
anew.

X

ROSES IN SPRINGTIME

Roses are here at last: thanks to the mood
Of lovely Spring, one day shows barbs of bloom;
A second, pyramids more largely swoln;
A third reveals the cup: four days fulfil
Their task of flowering. This day seals their doom
Unless the morning brings a gatherer.

XI

ROSES

What roses have I seen come with the morn!
Scarce born they were, yet not alike in age:
One showed the breast-like buds that hid the flower,
One shot its purple crest from swelling heart,
A third had opened full its rounded cup,

MINOR LATIN POETS

quarta simul nituit nudati germine floris.
 dum levat una caput dumque explicat nodum,
 sic, dum virgineus pudor exsinuatur amictu,
 ne pereant lege mane rosas : cito virgo senescit.

XII

DE ROSA

Aut hoc risit Amor aut hoc de pectine traxit
 purpureis Aurora comis aut sentibus haesit
 Cypris et hic spinis insedit sanguis acutis.

XIII

DE ROSIS

Hortus erat Veneris, roseis circumdatus herbis,
 gratus ager dominae, quem qui vidisset amaret.
 dum puer hic passim properat decerpere flores
 et velare comas, spina libavit acuta
 marmoreos digitos : mox ut dolor attigit artus
 sanguineamque manum, tinxit sua lumina gutta.
 pervenit ad matrem frendens defertque querellas :
 " unde rosae, mater, coeperunt esse nocentes ?
 unde tui flores pugnare latentibus armis ?
 bella gerunt mecum. floris color et cruor unum
 est ! "

5

10

FLORUS

A fourth was bright with well-grown naked bloom,
 One rears its head, while one untwines its coil :
 So, while their maiden virtue's chastely garbed,
 At dawn pull roses fresh : maids soon grow old.

XII

THE ROSE

The rose was Cupid's smile, or from her comb
 Dawn drew it forth—Dawn of the lustrous hair,
 Or haply Venus was by briars caught
 And on the sharp thorns this her blood remained.

XIII

VENUS' ROSE-GARDEN

Venus a garden had, rose-bushes round—
 Its lady's darling plot ; once seen, beloved.
 Her boy, in random haste to cull the blooms
 And crown his tresses, pricked with pointed thorn
 His marble fingers. Soon, as pain stabbed limbs
 And blood-stained hand, the tear-drop bathed his
 eye.
 In rage he seeks his mother with his plaints :
 " Whence comes it, mother, that the roses hurt ?
 Whence fight thy flowers with hidden arms ? They
 war
 On me : the flower's hue is the same as blood ! "

MINOR LATIN POETS

XIV

DE MUSIS

Clio saecula retro memorat sermone soluto.
 Euterpae geminis loquitur cava tibia ventis.
 voce Thalia cluens soccis dea comica gaudet.
 Melpomene reboans tragicis fervescit iambis.
 aurea Terpsichorae totam lyra personat aethram. 5
 fila premens digitis Erato modulamina fingit.
 flectitur in faciles variosque Polymnia motus.
 Uranie numeris scrutatur sidera mundi.
 Calliope doctis dat laurea sarta poetis.

^a Ascribed to Florus, Baehrens, *P.L.M.* IV. p. 279. Cf. the verses which have come down under the name of Cato, *P.L.M.* III. p. 243: see *infra*, p. 634.

The Muses in Hesiod (*Theog.* 36-103, 915-918) are the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, born in Pieria. Sometimes represented as linked together in a dance, they formed an allegory of the connexion among the liberal arts. For

FLORUS

XIV

THE NINE MUSES ^a

Clio records past ages in her prose.
 Euterpe's hollow reed makes double sound.
 Voice-famed Thalia revelling loves the sock.
 Melpomene's notes in tragic iambs seethe.
 Terpsichore's golden lyre thrills all the sky.
 Strings touched by Erato sweet love-songs make.
 Polymnia's odes suit swift and varying moods.^b
 Urania scans the stars of heaven in verse.
 Calliope crowns epic bards with bays.

their functions and varying symbols in literature and art see "Musen" in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie* and "Musai" in P. W. Realencyclopädie. . .

^b *Motus* is here taken of the mind. But it is possible to take it of bodily movement ("P. sways her body in easy and in varied movements"); for a province assigned at a late period to Polymnia was that of pantomime: see p. 635, note b.

HADRIAN

INTRODUCTION

TO HADRIAN

P. AELIUS HADRIANUS, who was born in A.D. 76, reigned as Trajan's successor from 117 till his death in A.D. 138. His contradictory traits of character, summarised by Spartianus^a in his *Vita*, indicated a restlessness of temperament which was reflected in the physical restlessness of the perpetually travelling Emperor. He took genuine interest in army organisation, in agricultural prospects, in building schemes, and (as shown during his visit to Britain, where *Pons Aelii*^b commemorated his name) in the establishment of frontier-lines. Prose and verse attracted his dilettante tastes: in Latin he felt a preference for archaic writers—for Ennius rather than Virgil, for Cato rather than Cicero, and for Coelius Antipater rather than Sallust: towards Hellenic thought and literature he was so much drawn that his courtiers secretly nicknamed him "Graeculus." Inscriptions have preserved fragments of his military addresses, and at one time collections of his speeches were in existence. His autobiographic books, which whether from modesty or another motive he caused to be published under the names of his literary freedmen, became the direct or indirect^c source of much in

^a *Hadr.* xiv.

^b at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

^c J. Dürr, *Die Reisen d. Kaisers Hadrian*, 1881; and J. Flew, *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Gesch. d. Kaisers H.*, 890.

the life by Spartianus. A lost miscellany of his appeared under the forbidding title of *Catachannae*,^a and he dabbled in both Greek and Latin poetry: most things by starts and nothing long, he was an epitome of contemporary culture. Possessed of an excellent memory, readiness in speech, and considerable humour, he loved to engage in discussions with the professors of the day. Sometimes he deferred to them, sometimes browbeat them; yet though he was a tormenting catechiser, he conferred generous benefactions upon teachers. Moreover, he established a library at his spacious villa whose ruins still impress the tourist under the slopes of Tivoli: he had another library at Antium, and a third at his famous academy in Rome, the Athenaeum.

The mediocrity of most of the surviving verse ascribed to him reconciles us to the rejection of the uncertain pieces. When the poet Florus took the risk of chaffing his imperial majesty on his mania for travelling (*ego nolo Caesar esse*),^b he incurred nothing worse than the retort in the quatrain beginning *Ego nolo Florus esse*. Spartianus^c is our authority for the simple lines of death-bed farewell

^a Spartianus, *Hadrian* xvi, mentions this lost work as being in the manner of Antimachus, *Catac(h)annas* (in different MSS. *catacannos*, *catacrianos*, *catacaymos*), *libros obscurissimos Antimachum imitando scripsit*: perhaps Hadrian aped the learning of the Greek epic poet until he became obscure. *Catachanna*, in Fronto (ed. Naber, p. 35 and p. 155) was applied to a fruit-tree inoculated with alien buds (resembling the extraordinarily engrafted tree of Pliny *N.H.* XVII. 120) and to a style blended of elements from Cato and Seneca. Unger, *Jahrb. Phil.* 119 (1879), p. 493, connected it with *καταχώνη*, "derision", and it is therefore defined in *Thesaurus Ling. Lat.* III col. 586, as "res risu digna."

^b Spartianus, *Hadri.* xvi.

^c *Ibid.* xxv.

to his soul, where genuine feeling, echoed in tender diminutives, has bequeathed an immortal challenge to translators in many languages.^a The lines purporting to have been inscribed on the grave of the Emperor's favourite hunting-steed Borysthenes have been suspected. That an inscription was written is clear from Dio Cassius.^b It is true that he does not say whether it was in Latin or Greek; but, on the whole, it seems fair to accept the testimony of Pithoeus that he found the Latin lines in an ancient manuscript.

EDITIONS

- P. Burman. *Anthologia Veterum Lat. Epigram. et Poem.* Vol. I. Lib. II, Nos. 96, 98; Vol. II. Lib. IV, No. 399. Amsterdam, 1759-73.
- L. Mueller. In a section *De Poetis Saeculi Urbis Conditae X* which is appended to his edition of Namatianus. Leipzig, 1870. [L. Mueller accepts as genuine only "ego nolo Florus esse . . ." "animula vagula . . ." and the verse "lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras," ten lines in all.]
- E. Baehrens. *P.L.M.* Vol. IV. pp. 111 *sqq.* Leipzig, 1882. [Baehrens prints five poems ascribed to Hadrian, of which only that on Borysthenes has been included in the present edition.]
- F. Buecheler and A. Riese. *Anthologia Latina*, I. i. pp. 306-7, Leipzig, 1894. I. ii. p. 132, Leipzig, 1906. [The "Hadriatic" poems in the above

^a *Translations . . . of Dying Hadrian's Address to his Soul*, collected by D. Johnston, Bath, 1876.

^b *lxi.* 10.

INTRODUCTION TO HADRIAN

collection are identical with three in Baehrens: as their authenticity is questionable, they are not included in the present edition.]

RELEVANT WORKS

- F. Gregorovius. *Der Kaiser Hadrian*, ed. 2. Stuttgart, 1884 (Eng. tr., London, 1898).
- J. Dürr. *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*. Vienna, 1881.
- S. Dehner. *Hadriani Reliquiae*, particula I. Diss. Bonn, 1883. (For *adlocutiones* to the army.)
- J. Plew. *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian* (pp. 11-53 on the *Vita* by Spartianus). Strassburg, 1890.
- W. Weber. *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. K. Hadrian*. Leipzig, 1907.
- B. Henderson. *Life and Principate of Hadrian*. London, 1923 ("Literary Activities," pp. 240 *sqq.*).
- J. Wight Duff. *A Literary Hist. of Rome in the Silver Age*. London, 1927. (Sketch of Literature in the reign of Hadrian, pp. 628-649.)

HADRIAN

I

Ego nolo Florus esse,
ambulare per tabernas,
latitare per popinas,
culices pati rotundos.

II

Lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras.

III

Animula vagula blandula,
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca,
pallidula, rigida, nudula,
nec ut soles dabis iocos?

^a Spartianus, *Hadr.* xvi: see Florus' lines, p. 426.

HADRIAN

I

RETORT TO FLORUS ^a

I've no mind to be a Florus
Strolling round among the drink-shops,
Skulking round among the cook-shops.
Victim of fat-gorged mosquitoes.

II

ON A POET-FRIEND

Your lines were wanton but your heart was clean.^b

III

HADRIAN'S DYING FAREWELL TO HIS SOUL

Dear fleeting sweeting, little soul,
My body's comrade and its guest,
What region now must be thy goal,
Poor little wan, numb, naked soul,
Unable, as of old, to jest?

^b Apuleius, *Apolog.* xi, cites the Latin as from Hadrian's own pen to honour the tomb of his friend Voconius.

IV

Borysthenes Alanus,
 Caesareus veredus,
 per aequor et paludes
 et tumulos Etruscos
 volare qui solebat,
 Pannonicos nec ullus
 apros eum insequentem
 dente aper albicanti
 ausus fuit nocere :
 sparsit ab ore caudam
 vel extimam saliva,
 ut solet evenire.
 sed integer iuventa
 inviolatus artus
 die sua peremptus
 hic situs est in agro.

IV. ⁴ et ruscus *Masdeus* : et oeres *Baehrens*.
⁶⁻¹¹ Pannonicos in apros (nec ullus insequentem dente aper
 albicanti ausus fuit notare) sparsit ab ore caudam vel extimam
 salivam *Baehrens* : Pannonicos nec ullus † apros insequentem
cod. : apros eum insequentem *Scriverius*.
¹⁰⁻¹¹ caudam *cod.* : caudam *Casaubon*. extimam salivam
cod. : extima saliva *Scriverius*. *Hos versus transposuit Riese*.

IV

ON HIS FAVOURITE HUNTING-HORSE

Borysthenes the Alan ^a
 Was mighty Caesar's steed :
 O'er marshland and o'er level,
 O'er Tuscan hills, with speed
 He used to fly, and never
 Could any rushing boar
 Amid Pannonian boar-hunt
 Make bold his flank to gore ^b
 With sharp tusk whitely gleaming :
 The foam from off his lips,
 As oft may chance, would sprinkle
 His tail e'en to the tips.
 But he in youthful vigour,
 His limbs unsapped by toil,
 On his own day extinguished,
 Here lies beneath the soil.

^a Alanus, belonging to the Ἀλανοί, warlike Scythians on
 the Tanais and Palus Maeotis.

^b nocere governing the accusative is one of the suspicious
 points in these lines. *Baehrens* emends to *notare*.

NEMESIANUS

INTRODUCTION

TO NEMESIANUS

TOWARDS the end of the third century A.D., M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus wrote bucolic and didactic poetry. He has already been mentioned in the introductions to Calpurnius Siculus and Grattius. His four eclogues for long passed under Calpurnius' name, and of his hexameter poem on the chase 325 verses have survived. He belonged to Carthage, as his designation *Carthaginiensis* in MSS. implies; and, when he says of the Spanish people *gens ampla iacet trans ardua Calpes culmina* (*Cyn.* 251-252), his attitude is that of an African author. It is recorded^a that he won fame in poetic contests and in several kinds of literature. A love for the open air fitted him to attempt pastoral poetry, and it is in keeping with this that at the outset of his didactic poem he should echo the almost conventional renunciation of mythology to be found in Virgil, Martial and Juvenal, and should disdain it as something hackneyed, preferring to "roam the glades, the green tracts and open plains."^b But he contemplates a more epic task when, in addressing Numerianus and Carinus, the brother emperors who were the sons of Carus, he announces his intention^c to compose a narrative of their triumphant exploits. Of the two, Numerianus

^a Vopiscus, *Carus, Numerianus et Carinus*, xi.

^b *Cyn.* 48-49.

^c *Cyn.* 63-78.

was at least a good speaker and had himself entered the field of poetry. The *Cynegetica* may be assigned to the period which elapsed between the death of Carus in 283 A.D. and that of Numerianus in 284; and, if we decide that in *Cynegetica* 58-62 Nemesianus is referring to his eclogues as lighter performances than his ambitious literary voyage into didactic poetry, then we may date his pastorals as earlier.

The four pastoral poems, traditionally coupled with the seven by Calpurnius, are now by general consent separated from them. In the first, Tityrus declines on the ground of age Timetas' invitation to show his poetic skill, but instead prevails on him to repeat a song inscribed by Timetas on the bark of a tree. This takes the form of a eulogy on the dead Meliboeus, who is introduced as a sort of analogue to the Meliboeus honoured by Calpurnius as his patron. But the real cue is taken from the praises of Daphnis in Virgil's fifth eclogue. Nemesianus' second eclogue, in which two shepherd lads complain that their sweetheart Donace is shut up at home by her parents, has drawn elements from Calpurnius' second and third poems. Nemesianus' third eclogue introduces Pan surprised by three rustics, who, after trying his pipe in vain, are entertained by Pan's own minstrelsy in praise of Bacchus. This eclogue is modelled on Virgil's sixth, where Silenus, caught asleep, had to pay the forfeit of a song. In the last eclogue, attractive for its glimpses of country scenes, Lycidas and Mopsus deplore the pains of unreturned affection. This is the one pastoral in which Nemesianus employs the prettily recurrent burden or refrain of the Theocritean tradition which Virgil followed in his *Pharmaceutria*

or eighth eclogue. Here, then, the Virgilian influence acts directly on him; for the refrain is not one of Calpurnius' devices.

In the incomplete *Cynegetica* of 325 hexameters the first 102 lines are introductory: the remainder handles needful preliminaries to the chase rather than the chase itself—first hunting-dogs, their rearing, feeding, training, diseases and breeds; then horses, their qualities, breeds and maintenance; finally implements such as nets and snares. It will be noted that the order here is not the same as in Grattius.^a Though Grattius was more expert in hunting than the Carthaginian poet was, it may be felt to be an advantage for Nemesianus that he enters less into details, and, if not so concentrated on imparting instruction as Grattius was, for this very reason has more chance of giving pleasure to a reader.

The diction and the metre of Nemesianus benefit undoubtedly in standard from the conscious imitation of Virgil as a model. Among the more noticeable metrical points, some of them due to his late period, are the shortened -o in *devotiō* (*Cyn.* 83) and *exercetō* (*Cyn.* 187),^b the single occurrence of hiatus *catuli huc* (*Cyn.* 143) and the close of a hexameter in *fervida zonae* (*Cyn.* 147). Elision is not overdone: some 52 elisions (very many of them in -que or atque) occur in the 325 lines of the *Cynegetica*.^c

^a It has been pointed out in the Introduction to Grattius that according to some he did, according to others he did not, influence Nemesianus.

^b Cf. such shortenings in Nemesianus' eclogues as *expectō* (ii. 26), *coniungō* (iii. 14), *mulcendō* (i. 53), *laudandō* (ii. 80).

^c Keene counts 39 elisions in the four eclogues, i.e. in 319 lines. Elision is much less frequent in Calpurnius.

INTRODUCTION TO

There are in it a few rare words such as *inocciduus* (105) and *cibatus* (160); but in the main the diction is classical. And, in respect of both language and metre, broadly similar features characterise the pastoral and the didactic poetry of Nemesianus.

EDITIONS

ECLOGUES

For the chief editions and relative literature see the works given under Calpurnius Siculus, pp. 214-215.

- E. Baehrens' text: *P.L.M.* III. pp. 176-190.
H. Schenkl's text is given in Postgate's *Corp. Poet. Lat.*, 1905, II. pp. 565-568.

CYNEGETICA

For editions, which usually combine Nemesianus with Grattius, see the list given under Grattius, pp. 146-147.

- E. Baehrens' text: *P.L.M.* III. pp. 190-202.
J. P. Postgate's text is given in *Corp. Poet. Lat.*, II. 1905, pp. 569-571.
D. Martin. *Cynegetica of Nemesianus* (with comment.). Cornell Univ., U.S.A., 1917.

RELEVANT WORKS

- M. Fiegl. *Des Grattius Faliskus Cynegetica: seine Vorgänger u. seine Nachfolger*. [Holds that Nemesianus borrowed from Grattius: P. J. Enk in his ed. of Grattius and in *Mnemos.* 45 (1917)

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supports this: so does F. Muller in *Mnemos.* 46 (1918). G. Curcio in his ed. of Grattius opposes the view.]

- P. Monceaux. *Les Africains: Étude sur la littérature latine d'Afrique*. Paris, 1894.

SIGLA

For the *Eclogues* see the Sigla for Calpurnius Siculus, pp. 216-217.

For the *Cynegetica*:

- A = Parisinus 7561, saec. x.
[B = Parisinus 4839, saec. x.]

This codex, disfigured by many worthless readings, was collated by Baehrens out of respect for its age: it is ignored by Postgate in *C.P.L.* and its readings are not recorded in this edition.

- C (Baehrens) = σ (Postgate) Vindobonensis 3261, saec. xvi.

This codex contains Nemesianus after Ovid's *Halieutica* and before Grattius' *Cynegetica*. σ denotes that it was written by Sannazarius, as shown by H. Schenkl, *Supplementband der Jahrbücher für klass. Philol.* xxiv, 1898, pp. 387-480.

Bibliographical addendum (1982)

Nemesianus: *Oeuvres*, ed. P. Volpilhac (Budé series), Paris 1976.

NEMESIANI CARMINA

ECLOGAE I

TIMETAS : TITYRUS

- Tim.* Dum fiscella tibi fluviali, Tityre, iunco
textitur et raucis immunia rura cicadis,
incipi, si quod habes gracili sub harundine carmen
compositum. nam te calamos inflare labello 5
Pan docuit versuque bonus tibi favit Apollo.
incipi, dum salices haedi, dum gramina vaccae
detondent, viridique greges permittere campo
dum ros et primi suadet clementia solis.
- Tit.* hos annos canamque comam, vicine Timieta,
tu iuvenis carusque deis in carmina cogis? 10
diximus et calamis versus cantavimus olim,
dum secura hilares aetas ludebat amores.
nunc album caput et veneres tepuere sub annis,
iam mea ruricolae dependet fistula Fauno.
te nunc rura sonant; nuper nam carmine victor 15
risisti calamos et dissona flamina Mopsi

¹¹ et calamis versus V *nonnulli* : et calamis et versu NGA :
et calamis et versum aptavimus *Baehrens*.

^a The hybrid alternative title "Epiphonus" (*ἐπι* and
funus) refers to the obituary lament on Meliboeus.

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ECLOGUE I

TIMETAS : TITYRUS ^a

- Tim.* While, Tityrus, you are weaving a basket with
river rushes, and while the country-side is free
from the harsh-toned grasshoppers,^b strike up,
if you've got any song set to the slender
reed-pipe. Pan has taught your lips to blow
the reeds and a kind Apollo has given you the
grace of verse. Strike up, while the kids crop
the willows and the cows the grass, while the
dew and the mildness of the morning sun urge
you to let your flocks into the green meadow-
land.
- Tit.* Neighbour Timetas, do you constrain these years
of mine and hoary hair to sing, you a young
man beloved of the gods? Time was when I
found words; time was when I sang verses to
the reeds, so long as my care-free youth uttered
the merry lays of love. Now my head is white
and passion has cooled beneath the years.
Already hangs my pipe devoted to the country-
haunting Faunus. With your fame the country
now resounds. Victor in song of late, when I
was judge, you mocked the pipes of Mopsus
- ^b It is morning and the cicadas are not yet noisy.

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judice me. mecum senior Meliboeus utrumque
audierat laudesque tuas sublime ferebat;
quem nunc emeritae permensum tempora vitae
secreti pars orbis habet mundusque piorum. 20
quare age, si qua tibi Meliboei gratia vivit,
dicat honoratos praedulcis tibia manes.

Tim. et parere decet iussis et grata iubentur.
namque fuit dignus senior, quem carmine Phoebus, 24

Pan calamis, fidibus Linus aut Oeagrius Orpheus
concinerent totque acta viri laudesque sonarent.
sed quia tu nostrae laudem deposcis avenae,
accipe quae super haec cerasus, quam cernis
ad annem,

continet, inciso servans mea carmina libro.

Tit. dic age; sed nobis ne vento garrula pinus 30
obstrepit, has ulmos potius fagosque petamus.

Tim. hic cantare libet; virides nam subicit herbas
mollis ager lateque tacet nemus omne: quieti
adspice ut ecce procul decerpant gramina tauri.
omniparens aether et rerum causa, liquores, 35
corporis et genetrix tellus, vitalis et aer,
accipite hos cantus atque haec nostro Meliboeo
mittite, si sentire datur post fata quietis.
nam si sublimes animae caelestia templa
sidereasque colunt sedes mundoque fruuntur, 40
tu nostros adverte modos, quos ipse benigno

³⁷ hos cantus N: hos calamos V, *Baehrens.*

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and his discordant blasts. With me the aged
Meliboeus had heard you both, and he extolled
your merits on high. He has fulfilled the
span of life's campaign, and dwells now in a
part of that secluded sphere, the heaven of
the blest. Wherefore, come, if you have a
living gratitude to Meliboeus, let the dulcet
strains of your flute tell of his glorified spirit.

Tim. 'Tis right to obey your commands, and your
commands are pleasing. The old man de-
served that the poetry of Phoebus, the reeds
of Pan, and the lyre of Linus or of Orpheus,
son of Oeagrus, should join in his praises and
should extol all the glorious deeds of the hero.
But since you ask but the praise my pipe can
give, hear now what the cherry-tree you see
beside the river keeps upon this theme; it
preserves my lay in the carving on its bark.

Tit. Come, speak: but lest the pine, made garrul-
ous by the wind, trouble us with its noise,
let us seek rather these elms and beeches.

Tim. Here 'tis my pleasure to sing: for underneath
us the soft fields spread their carpeting of
green sward, and far and wide all the grove is
still. Look! see in the distance how the bulls
are quietly browsing in the grass.

Ether, parent of all; water, primal cause of
things; and earth, mother of body; and life-
giving air! accept ye these strains; waft these
words to our loved Meliboeus, if those at rest
are permitted to have feeling after death.
For if souls sublime dwell in the celestial
precincts and the starry abodes, if the heavens
are their lot, do thou, Meliboeus, give ear to

pectore fovisti, quos tu, Meliboee, probasti.
 longa tibi cunctisque diu spectata senectus
 felicesque anni nostrique novissimus aevi
 circulus innocuae clausurunt tempora vitae. 45
 nec minus hinc nobis gemitus lacrimaeque
 fuere

quam si florentes mors invida carperet annos ;
 nec tenuit tales communis causa querellas.
 "heu, Meliboee, iaces mortali frigore segnibus
 lege hominum, caelo dignus canente senecta 50
 concilioque deum. plenum tibi ponderis aequi
 pectus erat. tu ruricolam discernere lites
 adsueras, varias patiens mulcendo querellas.
 sub te iuris amor, sub te reverentia iusti
 floruit, ambiguos signavit terminus agros. 55
 blanda tibi vultu gravitas et mite serena
 fronte supercilium, sed pectus mitius ore.
 tu calamos aptare labris et iungere cera
 hortatus duras docuisti fallere curas ;
 nec segnem passus nobis marcere iuventam 60
 saepe dabas meritae non vilia praemia Musae.

⁴⁷ pelleret V : carperet NGA : velleret *Glaeser* : tolleret
Heinsius : perderet *Burman*.

⁴⁸ mortali NG : letali V, *Baehrens*.

⁵⁰ canente *codd.* : callente *Baehrens*.

⁵³ patiens *codd.* : pacans *Maehly, Baehrens, H. Schenkl,*
Giarratano : sapiens *Burman*.

⁵⁴ ruris N²GV : iuris N¹, *Martellius*. iusti V, N (*in mar-*
gine) : iuris G (*corr. ex ruris*), N (*corr. ex viris*).

my lays, which your own kind heart cherished
 and your judgement approved. An advanced
 old age, long esteemed by all, and happy years
 and the final cycle in our human span closed
 the period of your life which injured none.
 Neither did this make our tears and lamenta-
 tions less sore than if churlish death had
 plucked the years of your prime: nor did
 the common cause^a check dirges such as
 these: "Ah, Meliboeus, in that chill which
 awaits all men you lie strengthless, obeying
 the law of all flesh, worthy though you are of
 heaven in your hoary age and worthy of the
 council of the gods. Your heart was full of
 firmness fairly balanced. With patient ear
 and soothing word for diverse complaints, you
 were wont to judge the disputes of the peasants.
 Under your guidance flourished a love of law
 and a respect for justice; disputed land was
 marked with a boundary line. You had a
 courteous dignity in your countenance and
 kindly brow with an unruffled forehead; but
 still kindlier than your face was your heart.
 You urged me to adapt the reed-pipe to my
 lips and to fashion it with wax, and so taught
 me to beguile oppressive cares. You would
 not suffer my youth to languish in idleness;
 guerdons of no mean price you often gave to
 my Muse if she quitted herself well. Often

^a i.e. that all men are mortal: cf. *Hamlet* I. ii:

"Thou know'st 'tis common; all that lives must die,
 Passing through nature to eternity";

Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, vi:

"Loss is common to the race—
 And common is the commonplace."

saepe etiam senior, ne nos cantare pigeret,
laetus Phoebæ dixisti carmen avena.
felix o Meliboeæ, vale! tibi frondis odoræ
munera dat lauros carpens ruralis Apollo; 65
dant Fauni, quod quisque valet, de vite racemos,
de messi culmos omnique ex arbore fruges;
dat grandaeva Pales spumantia cymbia lacte,
mella ferunt Nymphae, pictas dat Flora coronas:
manibus hic supremus honos. dant carmina

Musæ, 70

carmina dant Musæ, nos et modulamur avena:
silvestris te nunc platanus, Meliboeæ, susurrat,
te pinus; reboat te quicquid carminis Echo
respondet silvæ; te nostra armenta loquuntur.
namque prius siccis phocæ pascentur in arvis 75
hirsutusque freto vivet leo, dulcia mella
sudabunt taxi, confusis legibus anni
messe[m] tristis hiemps, aestas tractabit olivam,
ante dabit flores autumnus, ver dabit uvas,
quam taceat, Meliboeæ, tuas mea fistula
laudes." 80

Tit. perge, puer, coeptumque tibi ne desere
carmen.

nam sic dulce sonas, ut te placatus Apollo
provehat et felix dominam perducatur in urbem.
iamque hic in silvis praesens tibi fama benignum
stravit iter, rumpens livoris nubila pennis. 85

⁶⁷ messi *Maehly*: messe NGA: campo V: messo *Burman*.

⁷³⁻⁷⁴ reboat . . . silvæ (*nom. plur.*) *Bachrens*.

⁷⁴ armenta *vodd.*: arbusta *Haupt, Bachrens*.

⁷⁶ hirsutusque V *nonnulli*: vestitusque NG V *plerique*: insuetusque *Heinsius*: villosusque *C. Schenkl*.

⁷⁸ tractabit GV: tractavit N: iactabit *Burman*: praestabit *Haupt, Bachrens*.

too, lest singing might irk us, you sang joyfully despite your years to a flute inspired by Phoebus. Farewell, blessed Meliboeus; Apollo of the country-side plucks the laurel and offers you gifts of fragrant foliage. The Fauns offer, each according to his power, grape-clusters from the vine, harvest-stalks from the field, and fruits from every tree. Time-honoured Pales offers bowls foaming with milk; the Nymphs bring honey; Flora offers chaplets of varied hue. Such is the last tribute to the departed. Songs the Muses offer: the Muses offer song: and we play your praises on the flute. Your name, Meliboeus, is in the whisper of the forest plane-tree and the pine: every tuneful answer that echo makes to the woodland resounds your name. 'Tis you our herds have upon their lips. For first will seals browse in the dry meadow, the shaggy lion live in the sea, and yew-trees drip sweet honey; first will the year confound its laws and winter's gloom control the harvest and summer the olive-crop; autumn will yield blossoms, spring will yield grapes, ere your praises, Meliboeus, are hushed upon my flute."

Tit. Forward, my boy, leave not off the music you have begun. Your melody is so sweet that a favourable Apollo bears you onward and is your auspicious guide into the queen of cities.^a For propitious fame has here in the woods made smooth a kindly path for you, her pinions piercing the clouds of malice.

^a *i.e.* the imperial capital, Rome: cf. II. 84.

MINOR LATIN POETS

sed iam sol demittit equos de culmine mundi,
flumineos suadens gregibus praebere liquores.

II

IDAS : ALCON

Formosam Donacen puer Idas et puer Alcon
ardebant rudibusque annis incensus uterque
in Donaces venerem furiosa mente ruebant.
hanc, cum vicini flores in vallibus horti
carperet et molli gremium compleret acantho, 5
invasere simul venerisque imbutus uterque
tum primum dulci carpebant gaudia furto.
hinc amor et pueris iam non puerilia vota :
quis anni ter quinque† hiemes et cura iuventae.
sed postquam Donacen duri clausere parentes, 10
quod non tam tenui filo de voce sonaret
sollicitumque foret pinguis sonus, improba cervix
suffususque rubor crebro venaeque tumentes,
tum vero ardentis flammati pectoris aestus 15
carminibus dulcique parant relevare querella ;
ambo aevo cantuque pares nec dispare forma,
ambo genas leves, intonsi crinibus ambo.
atque haec sub platano maestis solatia casus
alternant, Idas calamis et versibus Alcon.

⁴ callibus *G. Hermann.*

⁵ venerisque *H V nonnulli* : venerique *V nonnulli* : veneris
NG. imbutus *codd.* : immitis *ed. Ald.* 1534.

⁶ anni *codd.* : actae *Heinsius* : aevi *Hartel.* hiemes et cura
iuventae *codd. plerique* : hiemes et cruda iuventa *Haupt* :
et mens et cura iuventae *Summers* : increscit cura iuvenae
Baehrens : alii alia.

⁷ haec sub *Glaeser* : hic sub *NG* : hi sub *AH, Baehrens* :
sub hac *V* : hinc sub *H. Schenkl.*

NEMESIANUS

But now the sun is driving his steeds down
from the arch of heaven and prompting us to
give our flocks the river waters.

ECLOGUE II

IDAS : ALCON

Young Idas and young Alcon had a burning pas-
sion for the fair Donace; both, ablaze in their
inexperienced years, rushed with frenzied spirit into
their love for Donace. Her they assailed together,
when she was gathering flowers in the neighbouring
garden vales and filling her lap with soft acanthus.
Then first initiated, they both snatched the joys of
Venus by a sweet robbery. Hence came love,^a and
the boys felt longings beyond their boyish age.
Their years were only fifteen winters, yet they had
the pangs of early manhood. But after her stern
parents had imprisoned Donace, because her voice
had lost its fine music, and its thickened sound caused
anxious thought, because her neck grew coarse,
and spreading blushes came and went and her veins
showed larger,^b then truly the youths made ready
to relieve the burning heat of a love-enflamed heart
with the sweet plaint of their minstrelsy—both of
them equal in age and song, of well-matched come-
liness, both smooth in cheek, both of unshorn locks.
And beneath a plane-tree—Idas on the flute followed
by Alcon in his verse—they poured out this solace
for their sad plight.

^a *Cf. Grattius, Cyneget.* 283-284.

^b The reasons given are traditional signs of lost maidenhood.

MINOR LATIN POETS

I. " quae colitis silvas, Dryades, quaeque antra,
 Napaeae, 20
 et quae marmoreo pede, Naiades, uda secatis
 litora purpureosque alitis per gramina flores :
 dicite, quo Donacen prato, qua forte sub umbra
 inveniam, roseis stringentem lilia palmis ?
 nam mihi iam trini perierunt ordine soles, 25
 ex quo consueto Donacen exspecto sub antro.
 interea, tamquam nostri solamen amoris
 hoc foret aut nostros posset medicare furores,
 nulla meae trinis tetigerunt gramina vaccae
 luciferis, nullo libarunt amne liquores ; 30
 siccaque fetarum lambentes ubera matrum
 stant vituli et teneris mugitibus aera complent.
 ipse ego nec iunco molli nec vimine lento
 perfeci calathos cogendi lactis in usus. 34
 quid tibi, quae nosti, referam ? scis mille iuvencae
 esse mihi, nosti numquam mea mulctra vacare.
 ille ego sum, Donace, cui dulcia saepe dedisti
 oscula nec medios dubitasti rumpere cantus
 atque inter calamos errantia labra petisti.
 heu, heu ! nulla meae tangit te cura salutis ? 40
 pallidior buxo violaeque simillimus erro.
 omnes ecce cibos et nostri pocula Bacchi
 horreo nec placido memini concedere somno.
 te sine, vae misero, mihi lilia fusca videntur

³² aera NH. V *plerique* : ethera G : aethera *Ulitius*,
Baehrens.

⁴⁴ fusca NGA : nigra V, *Baehrens*.

^a Line 35 closely follows Calpurnius, *Ecl.* III. 65.

^b Lines 37-39 are copied from Calpurnius, *Ecl.* III. 55 *sqq.*

NEMESIANUS

Idas. " Ye Dryads who haunt the woodland, Napaean
 nymphs who haunt the caves, and Naiads
 whose marble-white feet cleave the watery
 strands, who nourish the gleaming flowers
 athwart the sward, say, in what meadow or
 haply 'neath what shade shall I find Donace
 pulling lilies with her rosy hands ? Three suc-
 ceeding days are now lost to me, while I have
 been awaiting Donace in the grotto that was
 our tryst. Meanwhile, as if this were con-
 solation for my love or could heal my passion,
 my cows for three morns have touched no
 grass, nor sipped the waters from any stream.
 Calves stand licking the dry udders of their
 new-delivered mothers and fill the air with
 their tender lowing. And for myself, neither
 of soft sedge nor of pliant osier have I made
 baskets for the purposes of curdling milk. Why
 should I relate to you what you know ? ^a You
 are aware I have a thousand heifers ; you
 know my milk-pails are never empty. I am
 he to whom, Donace, you gave many a tender
 kiss, whose strains half-sung you did not hesi-
 tate to interrupt by seeking my lips, as they
 strayed o'er the reed-pipe. ^b Alack, alack, are
 you touched by no thought for my health ?
 Paler than the box-tree and most like unto
 the (white) violet I stray. See, I shrink from
 all food and from the goblets of our loved
 Bacchus, nor do I mind me to yield myself
 to gentle sleep. Ah, without you, ^c to my
 unhappy sight lilies are grey and roses pale

^a Cf. 44-48 with the passage which it imitates, Calp. *Ecl.*
 III. 51-54.

pallentesque rosae nec dulce rubens hyacinthus, 45
 nullos nec myrtus nec laurus spirat odores.
 at si tu venias, et candida lilia fient
 purpureaeque rosae, et dulce rubens hyacinthus;
 tunc mihi cum myrto laurus spirabit odores.
 nam dum Pallas amat turgentibus unguine bacas, 50
 dum Bacchus vites, Deo sata, poma Priapus,
 pascua laeta Pales, Idas te diligit unam."

haec Idas calamis. tu, quae responderit Alcon
 versu, Phoebe, refer: sunt curae carmina Phoebos.
 A. "o montana Pales, o pastoralis Apollo, 55
 et nemorum Silvanus potens, et nostra Dione,
 quae iuga celsa tenes Erycis, cui cura iugales
 concubitus hominum totis conectere saeculis:
 quid merui? cur me Donace formosa reliquit?
 munera namque dedi, noster quae non dedit Idas,
 vocalem longos quae ducit aedona cantus; 61
 quae licet interdum, contexto vimine clausae
 cum parvae patuere fores, ceu libera ferri
 norit et agrestes inter volitare volucres,
 scit rursus remeare domum tectumque subire, 65
 viminis et caveam totis praeponere silvis.
 praeterea tenerum leporem geminasque palumbes
 nuper, quae potui, silvarum praemia misi.

⁴⁸ et dulce rubens V *nonnulli*: sed sine hiatu tunc dulce
 rubens V *alii*: dulce atque rubens *Baehrens*.

⁵⁰ unguine N¹GA: sanguine N²V.

⁵¹ vites V: uvae NG. Deo *Glaeser*: deus *codd.*

⁵⁴ curae *Haupt*: aurea *codd.*

⁶² clausae *Haupt*: clausa *codd.*: caveae *Maehly*.

⁶⁴ norit *Wernsdorf*: novit *codd.*

and the hyacinth has no sweet blush, nor do
 myrtle or laurel breathe any fragrance; but
 if you come, lilies will grow white once more,
 the roses be red, and the hyacinth regain its
 sweet blush; then for me will laurel with
 myrtle breathe fragrance forth. For while
 Pallas loves the olive-berries that swell with
 fatness, while Bacchus loves the vines, Deo ^a
 her crops, Priapus his fruits and Pales the
 joyous pastures, Idas loves you alone."

So Idas on the pipes. O Phoebus, recount what
 Alcon answered in verse. Over poetry Phoebus
 presides.

A. "O Pales, lady of the hills, Apollo of the pasture-
 land, Silvanus, lord of the groves, and my Dione ^b
 whose citadel is the lofty ridge of Eryx, whose
 province it is throughout the aeons to rivet
 the love-unions of mankind; what fate have I
 merited? Why has fair Donace deserted me?
 I gave her gifts, such as our friend Idas never
 gave—a tuneful nightingale that trills its songs
 hour after hour: and, although sometimes, when
 the little cage-doors—barred with woven osier—
 are opened, it can fly forth as if free and wing
 its way among the birds of the field, yet it
 knows how to return home again and enter its
 abode and prefer the cage of osier to all the
 woods that are. Besides, of late I sent her what
 spoils of the forest I could, a young hare and a

^a Deo is Δημή, Demeter, the corn-goddess.

^b Dione, strictly mother of Venus, is here identified with
 Venus, whose temple on Mount Eryx in N.W. Sicily gave her
 the epithet of "Erycina."

et post haec, Donace, nostros contemnis amores?
 forsitan indignum ducis, quod rusticus Alcon 70
 te peream, qui mane boves in pascua duco.
 di pecorum pavere greges, formosus Apollo,
 Pan doctus, Fauni vates et pulcher Adonis.
 quin etiam fontis speculo me mane notavi,
 nondum purpureos Phoebus cum tolleret ortus 75
 nec tremulum liquidis lumen splenderet in undis:
 quod vidi, nulla tegimur lanugine malas;
 pascimus et crinem; nostro formosior Ida
 dicor, et hoc ipsum mihi tu iurare solebas, 80
 purpureas laudando genas et lactea colla
 atque hilares oculos et formam puberis aevi.
 nec sumus indocti calamis: cantamus avena,
 qua divi cecinere prius, qua dulce locutus
 Tityrus e silvis dominam pervenit in urbem.
 nos quoque te propter, Donace, cantabimur 85
 urbi,
 si modo coniferas inter viburna cupressos
 atque inter pinus corylum frondescere fas est.”

sic pueri Donacen toto sub sole canebant,
 frigidus e silvis donec descendere suavit
 Hesperus et stabulis pastos inducere tauros. 90

⁸⁹ descendere N: discedere G: descendere *vel* discedere V:
 decedere *Baehrens*.

pair of wood-pigeons. And after this, Donace, do you despise my passion? Perhaps you think it shame that the clownish Alcon should pine with love for you, I who lead oxen to their morning pasturage. Gods have fed herds of cattle, beauteous Apollo, skilled Pan, prophetic Fauns, and fair Adonis. Nay, I have remarked myself in a fountain's mirror of a morning, before Phoebus raised aloft the splendour of his uprising, and when no quivering light shone in the clear waters. As far as I saw, no down covers my cheeks; I let my hair grow; men call me more handsome than our Idas, and this indeed you were wont to say to me on oath,^a while praising^b the radiance of my cheeks, the milky whiteness of my neck, the laughter in my eyes and the comeliness of my manhood. Nor am I without skill on the reed-pipe. I sing on a flute whereon gods have sung ere now, whereon Tityrus made sweet music and so advanced from the woodland to the imperial city.^c Me too on your account, Donace, the city will celebrate, if only the cypress with its cones be allowed to burst into leaf among the osiers or the hazel among the pines.”

So the boys sang of Donace throughout the day until chilly evening bade them come down from the woods and lead the full-fed bulls to their stalls.

^a Line 79 is repeated from Calp. III. 62.

^b With *laudandō* (80) cf. Nemes. *Ecl.* I. 53, *mulcendō*.

^c “Tityrus” means Virgil. Among frequent reminiscences of the *Eclogues* one is appropriately near; line 86 is based on *inter viburna cupressi* of Virg. *Ecl.* I. 25.

MINOR LATIN POETS

III

BACCHUS

Nyctilus atque Micon nec non et pulcher Amyntas
 torrentem patula vitabant ilice solem,
 cum Pan venatu fessus recubare sub ulmo
 coeperat et somno laxatus sumere vires;
 quem super ex tereti pendebat fistula ramo. 5
 hanc pueri, tamquam praedem pro carmine possent
 sumere fasque esset calamus tractare deorum,
 invadunt furto; sed nec resonare canorem
 fistula quem suerat nec vult contexere carmen,
 sed pro carminibus male dissona sibila reddit, 10
 cum Pan excussus sonitu stridentis avenae
 iamque videns "pueri, si carmina poscitis" inquit,
 "ipse canam: nulli fas est inflare cicutas,
 quas ego Maenaliis cera coniungo sub antris.
 iamque ortus, Lenaeae, tuos et semina vitis 15
 ordine detexam: debemus carmina Baccho."
 haec fatus coepit calamis sic montivagus Pan:
 "te cano, qui gravidis hederata fronte corymbis
 viteaserta plicas quique udo palmite tigres
 ducis odoratis perfusus colla capillis, 20
 vera Iovis proles; nam cum post sidera caeli
 sola Iovem Semele vidit Iovis ora professum,
 hunc pater omnipotens, venturi providus aevi,

⁴ laxatas G: lassatas N V plerique: lassatus V nonnulli:
 laxatus Hoewff.

⁶ praedem Titius: praedam codd.

¹¹ cum NG: tum V.

²¹ iam tunc codd.: nam tunc Burman: nam cum Baehrens.

^a Bacchus is the subject of Pan's song: some editors prefer
 "Pan" as the title.

NEMESIANUS

ECLOGUE III

BACCHUS ^a

Nyctilus and Mycon and likewise fair Amyntas
 were shunning the scorching heat of the sun beneath
 a spreading ilex, when Pan, fatigued in the chase,
 set himself to recline under an elm and gain strength
 by sleep's recreation. From a rounded bough above
 him hung his pipe. This the boys seized by stealth,
 as though they could take it to be a surety for a
 song, as though 'twere right to handle the reed-
 pipes of gods. But neither would the pipe sound
 its wonted music, nor would it weave its song, but
 instead of songs it rendered vilely discordant
 screeches, till Pan was awakened by the din of the
 strident pipe, and, now seeing them, said, "Boys,
 if songs ye call for, I myself will sing. No man
 may blow upon the hemlock stalks which I fashion
 with wax within Maenalian caves.^b And now, O
 God of the winepress, I will unfold in order due the
 story of thy birth and the seeds of the vine. Song
 is our debt to Bacchus."

With these words, Pan the mountain-ranger began
 thus upon the reeds: "Thee I sing, who plaitest
 vine-wreaths with berried clusters hanging heavy
 on thine ivy-circled brow, who leapest tigers with
 juice-soaked vine-branch, thy perfumed hair flowing
 o'er thy neck, true offspring of Jove. For when
 Semele alone, save the stars of heaven, saw Jove
 wearing Jove's own countenance, this child did the
 Almighty Father, careful for future ages, carry till

^b The Arcadian mountain-range of Maenalus was sacred to
 Pan.

pertulit et iusto produxit tempore partus.
 hunc Nymphae Faunisque senes Satyrique procaces, 25
 nosque etiam Nysae viridi nutrimus in antro.
 quin et Silenus parvum veteranus alumnus
 aut gremio fovet aut resupinis sustinet ulnis,
 evocat aut risum digito motuve quietem 30
 allicit aut tremulis quassat crepitacula palmis.
 cui deus arridens horrentes pectore setas
 vellicat aut digitis aures adstringit acutas
 applauditve manu mutilum caput aut breve mentum
 et simas tenero collidit pollice nares. 35
 interea pueri florescit pube iuventus
 flavaque maturo tumuerunt tempora cornu.
 tum primum laetas extendit pampinus uvas:
 mirantur Satyri frondes et poma Lyaei.
 tum deus 'o Satyri, maturos carpite fetus'
 dixit 'et ignotos primi calcate racemos.' 40
 vix haec ediderat, decerpunt vitibus uvas
 et portant calathis celerique elidere planta
 concava saxa super properant: vindemia fervet
 collibus in summis, crebro pede rumpitur uva 45
 nudaque purpureo sparguntur pectora musto.
 tum Satyri, lasciva cohors, sibi pocula quisque
 obvia corripunt: quae fors dedit, arripit usus.
 cantharon hic retinet, cornu bibit alter adunco,

²⁷ veteranus *O. Schubert*: veneratus *codd.*

²⁷ extendit *G*: ostendit *NVH.*

⁴⁰ primi *NG*: pueri *V*: proni *Baehrens.*

⁴⁵ rubraque *NG*: udraque *V nonnulli*: nudaque *V reliqui.*

⁴⁷ arripit *NG*: hoc capit *V*: occupat *Ulitius, Baehrens.*

^a The story of Semele's perishing amid the lightnings of Jupiter's tremendous epiphany and of the preservation of her child, Bacchus, in Jupiter's thigh till he reached the due hour of birth is alluded to in *Nemes. Cyneq.* 16 *sqq.*

its full time and bring forth at the due hour of birth.^a This child the Nymphs, the aged Fauns and wanton Satyrs, and I as well, did nurture in the green cave of Nysa.^b Nay, the veteran Silenus, too, fondles his little nursing in his bosom, or holds him in his cradling arms, or wakes a smile with his finger, or woos repose by rocking him, or shakes rattles in tremulous hands. Smiling on him, the god plucks out the hairs which bristle on his breast, or with the fingers pulls his peaked ears, or pats with the hand his crop-horned^c head or his short chin, and with tender thumb pinches his snub nose. Meanwhile the boy's youth blooms with the coming of manhood, and his yellow temples have swollen with full-grown horns. Then first the tendril outspreads the gladsome grapes. Satyrs are amazed at the leaves and fruitage of Lyaeus. Then said the god, 'Pluck the ripe produce, ye Satyrs, be first to tread the bunches whose full power ye know not.'

Scarce had he uttered these words, when they snatched the grapes from the vines, carried them in baskets and hastened to crush them on hollowed stones with nimble foot. On the hill-tops the vintage goes on apace, grapes are burst by frequent tread, and naked breasts are besprinkled with purple must. Then the wanton troop of Satyrs snatched the goblets, each that which comes his way. What chance offers, their need seizes. One keeps hold of a tankard; another drinks from a curved horn; one

^b Nysa, the fabled birthplace of Bacchus, was by some accounts placed in Arabia Felix, by others in India.

^c "crop-horned" (*cf.* "crop-eared") is meant to suggest the stumpy or cropped horns with which Silenus was represented. Wernsdorf, following Heinsius, took *mutilum* as "bald": *cf. turpe pecus mutilum, Ovid, A.A. III. 249.*

concavat ille manus palmasque in pocula vertit,
 pronus at ille lacu bibit et crepitantibus haurit 50
 musta labris; alius vocalia cymbala mergit
 atque alius latices pressis resupinus ab uvis
 excipit; at potus (saliens liquor ore resultat)
 evomit, inque umeros et pectora defluit umor. 55
 omnia ludus habet cantusque chorique licentes;
 et venerem iam vina movent: raptantur amantes
 concubitu Satyri fugientes iungere Nymphas
 iamiamque elapsos hic crine, hic veste retentat.
 tum primum roseo Silenus cymbia musto
 plena senex avide non aequis viribus hausit. 60
 ex illo venas inflatus nectare dulci
 hesternoque gravis semper ridetur Iaccho.
 quin etiam deus ille, deus Iove prosatus ipso,
 et plantis uvas premit et de vitibus hastas
 integit et lynxi praebet cratera bibenti." 65

haec Pan Maenalia pueros in valle docebat,
 sparsas donec oves campo conducere in unum
 nox iubet, uberibus suadens siccare fluorem
 lactis et in niveas adstrictum cogere glebas.

⁵² hunc versum post 53 collocant codices plerique.

⁵³ at potus *codd. plerique*: aes potum *Bachrens*: at potis *ed. Ald. 1534*. saliensque liquore *G, Bachrens*: rediens liquor *oro Maehly*.

⁵⁴ evomit *NGH*: spumeus *V*: ehibit *Bachrens*, qui hunc versum cum 52 coniungit.

⁵⁵ prosatus ipso *V multi*: natus ab ipso *V pauci, Bachrens*.

⁶⁵ integit *NG*: ingerit *V*.

hollows his hands and makes a cup of his palms;
 another, stooping forward, drinks of the wine-vat
 and with smacking lips drains the new wine; another
 dips therein his sonorous cymbals, and yet another,
 lying on his back, catches the juice from the squeezed
 grapes, but when drunk (as the welling liquid leaps
 back from his mouth) he vomits it out, and the
 liquor flows over shoulders and breasts. Every-
 where sport reigns, and song and wanton dances.
 And now love is stirred by the wine; amorous satyrs
 are seized with desire to unite in intercourse with
 the fleeing nymphs, whom, all but escaped, one
 captor holds back by the hair, another by the dress.
 Then first did old Silenus greedily quaff bowls full
 of rosy must, his strength not equal to the carousal.
 And ever since that time he rouses mirth, his veins
 swollen with the sweet nectar and himself heavy
 with yesterday's Iacchus.^a And indeed that god
 renowned, the god sprung from very Jove, presses
 the grape-clusters with his feet, enwreaths the spear-
 like thyrsi from the vine-wands, and proffers a mixing
 bowl to a lynx that drinks thereof."

So Pan taught the boys in the Maenalian vale,
 until night bade them drive together the sheep
 scattered o'er the plain, urging them to drain the
 udders of their milk-flow and curdle and thicken it
 into snow-white clots of cheese.

^a i.e. his debauch on the gifts of the Wine-god.

MINOR LATIN POETS

IV

LYCIDAS : MOPSUS

Populea Lycidas nec non et Mopsus in umbra,
 pastores, calamis ac versu doctus uterque
 nec triviale sonans, proprios cantabat amores.
 nam Mopso Meroe, Lycidae crinitus Iollas
 ignis erat; parilisque furor de dispare sexu 5
 cogebat trepidos totis discurrere silvis.
 hos puer ac Meroe multum lusere furentes,
 dum modo conductas vitant in vallibus ulmos,
 nunc fagos placitas fugiunt promissaque fallunt 10
 antra nec est animus solitos alludere fontes.
 cum tandem fessi, quos dirus adederat ignis,
 sic sua desertis nudarunt vulnera silvis
 inque vicem dulces cantu luxere querellas.

M. immitis Meroe rapidisque fugacior Euris,
 cur nostros calamos, cur pastoralia vitas 15
 carmina? quemve fugis? quae me tibi gloria
 victo?
 quid vultu mentem premis ac spem fronte
 serenas?
 tandem, dura, nega: possum non velle negantem.
 cantet, amat quod quisque: levant et carmina
 curas.

¹⁰ ad ludere *Maehly, Baehrens.*

¹¹ durus NGA: lusus vel luxus V: dirus *H. Schenkl*:
 torridus *Baehrens*. ederat NG V *plerique, Baehrens*: adederat
 V *nonnulli*.

¹³ dixere *vulgo*: duxere V *plerique*: luxere *Glaeser*:
 mulsere *Maehly*.

¹⁸ non *codd.*: iam *Baehrens*: nam *C. Schenkl*.

^a An alternative title is "Eros."

^b From *Virg. Aen. IV. 477, spem fronte serenat.*

NEMESIANUS

ECLOGUE IV

LYCIDAS : MOPSUS ^a

The shepherds, Lycidas and Mopsus too, both of them skilled on the reed-pipes and in verse, were singing each of his own love in the poplar shade, uttering no common strain. For Mopsus the flame was Meroe, for Lycidas 'twas Iollas of the flowing locks; and a like frenzy for a darling of different sex drove them wandering restlessly through all the groves. The youth and Meroe sorely mocked these shepherds in their desperate passion; now they would shun the valley-elms which had been made a trysting-place; anon they would avoid the beeches where they fixed to meet, fail to be at the promised cave, or have no mind to sport by the wonted springs; until at length in weariness, consumed by the dread fire of love, Mopsus and Lycidas thus laid bare their wounds to the solitary groves, and by turns wailed forth in song their sweet complaints.

M. Pitiless Meroe, more elusive than the rushing East wind, why do you avoid my pipes, why my shepherd songs? Or whom do you shun? What glory does my conquest bring to you? Why conceal your mind under your looks, why show fair hope on your brow? ^b At last, O heartless maid, refuse me; I may cease to want her who refuses me.

Let each sing of what he loves: song too relieves love's pangs.^c

^c The device of a refrain follows the examples in Theocritus, *Idyll. I. and II. and Virgil, Eclog. VIII.* It is effectively used in the trochaics of the *Pervigilium Veneris*: 'cras amet qui numquam amavit quicque amavit cras amet.'

- L.* respice me tandem, puer o crudelis Iolla. 20
 non hoc semper eris : perdunt et gramina flores,
 perdit spina rosas nec semper lilia cudent
 nec longum tenet uva comas nec populus umbras :
 donum forma breve est nec se quod commodet
 annis.
 cantet, amat quod quisque : levant et carmina
 curas. 25
- M.* cervam marem sequitur, taurum formosa iuvenca,
 et Venerem sensere lupae, sensere leaenae
 et genus aerium volucres et squamea turba
 et montes silvaeque, suos habet arbor amores :
 tu tamen una fugis, miserum tu prodis amantem.
 cantet, amat quod quisque : levant et carmina
 curas. 31
- L.* omnia tempus alit, tempus rapit : usus in arto est.
 ver erat, et vitulos vidi sub matribus istos,
 qui nunc pro nivea coiere in cornua vacca.
 et tibi iam tumidae nares et fortia colla, 35
 iam tibi bis denis numerantur messibus anni.
 cantet, amat quod quisque : levant et carmina
 curas.
- M.* huc, Meroe formosa, veni : vocat aestus in
 umbram.
 iam pecudes subiere nemus, iam nulla canoro
 gutture cantat avis, torto non squamea tractu 40
 signat humum serpens : solus cano. me sonat
 omnis
 silva, nec aestivis cantu concedo cicadis.

³⁰ prodis NG : perdis V.

- L.* Turn your gaze on me at last, Iollas, cruel boy.
 You will not be ever thus. Herbs lose their
 bloom, thorns lose their roses, nor are lilies
 always white; the vine keeps not its leaf for
 long nor the poplar its shady foliage. Beauty is
 a short-lived gift nor one that lends itself to age.
 Let each sing of what he loves: song too
 relieves love's pangs.
- M.* The doe follows the buck, the comely heifer the
 bull, wolves have felt the stirring of love, lionesses
 have felt it, and the tribes of the air, the birds,
 and the throng of scaled creatures, and moun-
 tains and woods—and trees have their own
 loves. You alone flee from love; you betray
 your hapless lover.
 Let each sing of what he loves: song too
 relieves love's pangs.
- L.* Time nurtures all things, time snatches them
 away; enjoyment lies within narrow bounds.
 'Twas spring, and I saw beneath their mothers
 yonder calves, which now have met in horned
 battle for the snow-white cow. For you, already
 your nostrils swell, already your neck grows
 strong, already you count your years by twenty
 harvests.
 Let each sing of what he loves: song too
 relieves love's pangs.
- M.* Come hither, fair Meroe; the heat calls us to
 the shade. Now the herds have found cover in
 the wood; now there is no bird that sings from
 tuneful throat; the scaly serpent marks not
 the ground with its sinuous trail. Alone I sing,
 all the wood resounds with my strain, nor do I
 yield in song to the summer cicadas.

MINOR LATIN POETS

cantet, amat quod quisque : levant et carmina curas.

- L. tu quoque, saeve puer, niveum ne perde colorem
sole sub hoc : solet hic lucentes urere malas. 45
hic age pampinea mecum requiesce sub umbra ;
hic tibi lene fluens fons murmurat, hic et ab ulmis
purpureae fetis dependent vitibus uvae.

cantet, amat quod quisque : levant et carmina curas.

- M. qui tulerit Meroes fastidia lenta superbae, 50
Sithonias feret ille nives Libyaeque calorem,
Nerinas potabit aquas taxique nocentis
non metuet sucos, Sardorum gramina vincet
et iuga Marmaricos coget sua ferre leones.

cantet, amat quod quisque : levant et carmina curas. 55

- L. quisquis amat pueros, ferro praecordia duret,
nil properet discatque diu patienter amare
prudentesque animos teneris non spernat in annis,
perferat et fastus. sic olim gaudia sumet,
si modo sollicitos aliquis deus audit amantes. 60

cantet, amat quod quisque : levant et carmina curas.

- M. quid prodest, quod me pagani mater Amyntae

⁴⁶ hic V *plerique*, Leo, *Giarratano* : hac G, *Baehrens*.

⁴⁷ virens NG, H. *Schenkl* : fluens V *plerique*.

^a *Sithonias* means "Thracian"; *Sardoa gramina*, bitter herbs from Sardinia; *Marmaricos*, belonging to the north of Africa between Egypt and the Syrtes.

NEMESIANUS

Let each sing of what he loves : song too
relieves love's pangs.

- L. You too, cruel youth, destroy not your snow-
white colour under this sun ; it is wont to scorch
fair cheeks. Come, rest here with me beneath
the shadow of the vine. Here you have the
murmur of a gently running spring, here too on
the supporting elms hang purple clusters from
the fruitful vines.

Let each sing of what he loves : song too
relieves love's pangs.

- M. The man who can endure proud Meroe's un-
responsive disdain will endure Sithonian snows
and Libyan heat, will drink sea-water, and be
unafraid of the hurtful yew-tree's sap ; he will
defy Sardinian herbs and will constrain Marmaric
lions to bear his yoke.^a

Let each sing of what he loves : song too
relieves love's pangs.

- L. Whoe'er loves boys, let him harden his heart
with steel. Let him be in no haste, but learn
for long to love with patience. Let him not
scorn prudence in tender years. Let him even
endure disdain. So one day he will find joy, if
so be that some god hearkens to troubled lovers.

Let each sing of what he loves : song too
relieves love's pangs.

- M. What boots it^b that the mother of Amyntas

^b Lines 62-72 draw upon the magical ideas in the *Pharmaceutriae* of Theocritus, *Idyll*. II, and its adaptation by Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII. 64-109. From Virgil come the odd numbers, fillets of wool, frankincense, burning of laurel, ashes thrown in a stream, the many-coloured threads, herbs of virtue, and charms to affect the moon or a snake or corn-crops.

MINOR LATIN POETS

ter vittis, ter fronde sacra, ter ture vapore,
 incendens vivo crepitantes sulphure lauros, 65
 lustravit cineresque aversa effudit in amnem, 64
 cum sic in Meroen totis miser ignibus urar?
 cantet, amat quod quisque: levant et carmina
 curas.

- L. haec eadem nobis quoque versicoloria fila
 et mille ignotas Mycale circumtulit herbas;
 cantavit, quo luna tumet, quo rumpitur anguis, 70
 quo currunt scopuli, migrant sata, vellitur arbos.
 plus tamen ecce meus, plus est formosus Iollas.
 cantet, amat quod quisque: levant et carmina
 curas.

CYNEGETICA

Venandi cano mille vias; hilaresque labores
 discursusque citos, securi proelia ruris,
 pandimus. Aoniam iam nunc mihi pectus ab oestro
 aestuat: ingentes Helicon iubet ire per agros,
 Castaliosque mihi nova pocula fontis alumno 5
 ingerit et late campos metatus apertos
 imponitque iugum vati retinetque corymbis
 implicitum ducitque per avia, qua sola numquam

⁶⁴ versus qui sunt in codicibus 64 et 65 transposuit Hauptius.

⁶⁸ quoque NGA: quae V.

CYN. ⁵ alumnum Ulitius, Baehrens.

^a The notion, imitating Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII. 82 (*fragiles incende bitumine lauros*), is that the laurels are kindled with divine fire, bitumen being reckoned a product of lightning.

NEMESIANUS

from our village purified me thrice with chaplets,
 thrice with sacred leaves, thrice with reeking
 incense, while she burnt crackling laurel^a with
 live sulphur, and, turning her face away, cast
 the ashes into the river? what boots it when
 my unhappy heart burns thus for Meroe in all
 the fires of love?

Let each sing of what he loves: song too
 relieves love's pangs.

- L. Round me also this self-same dame, Mycale,
 carried threads of varied colour and a thousand
 strange herbs. She uttered the spell which
 makes the moon grow large, the snake to burst,
 rocks to run, crops to change their field, and
 trees to be uprooted: yet more, lo! still more
 beautiful is my Iollas.^b

Let each sing of what he loves: song too
 relieves love's pangs.

THE CHASE

The thousand phases of the chase I sing; its merry
 tasks do we reveal, its quick dashes to and fro—the
 battles of the quiet country-side. Already my heart
 is tide-swept by the frenzy the Muses^c send: Helicon
 bids me fare through widespread lands, and the
 God of Castaly presses on me, his foster-child, fresh
 draughts from the fount of inspiration: and, after
 far roaming in the open plains, sets his yoke upon
 the bard, holding him entangled with ivy-cluster,
 and guides him o'er wilds remote, where never

^b i.e. despite all incantations, Iollas retains a beauty which
 exerts an irresistible power over Lycidas.

^c Aonia = Boeotia, associated with the Muses through
 Mount Helicon.

trita rotis. iuvat aurato procedere curru
 et parere deo: virides en ire per herbas 10
 imperat: intacto premimus vestigia musco;
 et, quamvis cursus ostendat tramite noto
 obvia Calliope faciles, insistere prato
 complacitum, rudibus qua luceat orbita sulcis.

nam quis non Nioben numeroso funere maestam 15
 iam cecinit? quis non Semelen ignemque iugalem
 letalemque simul novit de paelicis astu?
 quis magno recreata tacet cunabula Baccho,
 ut pater omnipotens maternos reddere menses 20
 dignatus iusti complerit tempora partus?
 sunt qui sacrilego rorantes sanguine thyrsos
 (nota nimis) dixisse velint, qui vincula Dirces
 Pisaei<que> tori legem Danaique cruentum
 imperium sponsasque truces sub foedere primo 25
 dulcia funereis mutant gaudia taedis.
 Bibliidos indictum nulli scelus; impia Myrrhae

¹³ facilest *Pithoeus, Baehrens.*

¹⁴ non placito *Baehrens*: complacito AC: complacitum H.
Schenkl.

²⁰ complerit *vulgo*: compellere AC.

²¹ sacrilegos orantes A: sacrilego rorantes C.

^a Lines 8-14: for this almost conventional claim to be original, cf. Lucret. I. 926, *avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante trita solo*; Virg. G. III. 291-293; Hor. Od. III. i. 2-4; Milton, P.L. I. 16.

^b Juno (here strikingly called *paelex*, "concubine") tempted Semele into the fatal request that Jupiter should appear to her in all his glory.

^c After Semele perished amidst the flames of her lover Jupiter's visitation, the god kept her unborn child, Bacchus, in his thigh until his birth was due: cf. Nem. Ecl. III. 21-24.

wheel marked ground.^a 'Tis joy to advance
 gilded car and obey the God: lo, 'tis his behest to
 fare across the green sward: we print our steps on
 virgin moss; and, though Calliope meet us pointing
 to easy runs along some well-known path, it is our
 dear resolve to set foot upon a mead where the track
 lies clear mid furrows hitherto untried.

For ere now who has not sung of Niobe saddened
 by death upon death of her children? Who does
 not know of Semele and of the fire that was at once
 bridal and doom for her—as the outcome of her
 rival's^b craft? Who fails to record the cradling
 renewed for mighty Bacchus—how the Almighty
 Sire deigned to restore his mother's months and
 fulfilled the time of regular pregnancy.^c Poets
 there are whose taste is to tell the hackneyed tales
 of Bacchic wands dripping with unholy blood,^d or
 Dirce's bonds,^e and the terms imposed for the wooing
 at Pisa,^f and Danaus' bloody behest, and the merci-
 less brides who, fresh from plighted troth, changed
 sweet joys to funeral torches.^g No poet fails to tell
 of Biblis' criminal passion; ^h we know of Myrrha's

^a i.e. of Pentheus, King of Thebes, torn to pieces by his mother and other Bacchanalian devotees.

^b Dirce was tied to a savage bull by Amphiion and Zethus out of revenge for her part in the maltreatment of their mother, Antiope: cf. *Aetna*, 577.

^c To escape prophesied death at the hands of a son-in-law, Oenomaus, King of Elis and Pisa, proclaimed that he would give his daughter, Hippodamia, in marriage only to the suitor who should win a chariot-race against his supernatural steeds.

^d The fifty Danaides, with the exception of Hypermestra, carried out the command of their father, Danaus, to kill their bridegrooms on their marriage-night.

^e i.e. for her brother Caunus.

conubia et saevo violatum crimine patrem
 novimus, utque Arabum fugiens cum carperet arva
 ivit in arboreas frondes animamque virentem. 30
 sunt qui squamosi referant fera sibila Cadmi
 stellatumque oculis custodem virginis Ius
 Herculeosque velint semper numerare labores
 miratumque rudes se tollere Terea pinnas
 post epulas, Philomela, tuas; sunt ardua mundi 35
 qui male temptantem curru Phaethonta loquantur
 exstinctasque canant emisso fulmine flammam
 fumantemque Padum, Cycnum plumamque senilem
 et flentes semper germani funere silvas.
 Tantalidum casus et sparsas sanguine mensas
 condentemque caput visis Titana Mycenis 40
 horrendasque vices generis dixere priores.
 Colchidos iratae sacris imbuta venenis
 munera non canimus pulchraeque incendia Glauces,
 non crinem Nisi, non saevae pocula Circes,

²⁷ foedo vel saevo *Ulitius*.

²⁸ quis quā osi A.

²⁹ fort. memorare *Postgate*.

³⁰ se tollere ad aera (sive aethera) *Baehrens*: s&toller&a&cerrea

A: sustollere *Burman*: rudi s. t. T. pinna *Heinsius*.

⁴³ incendia *Pithoeus*: ingentia AC.

^a Myrrha (or Zmyrna), daughter of King Cinyras, was metamorphosed into a fragrant tree.

^b Juno, jealous of Jupiter's love for Io, consigned her to the guardianship of Argus of the hundred eyes, afterwards transformed into a peacock.

^c Procne and Philomela punished Tereus for his unfaithfulness by serving to him as food Itys, his son by Procne. When Procne was changed into a swallow and Philomela into a nightingale, Tereus became a hoopoe to pursue them: cf. *Aetna*, 589.

^d The fiery ruin which overtook Phaethon in the Sun-God's chariot was lamented by Cycnus, who was changed into a

impious amour, of her father defiled with cruel crime, and how, traversing in her flight the fields of Araby, she passed into the greenwood life of the leafy trees.^a There are some who relate the fierce hissing of Cadmus turned to a scaly serpent, and Maiden Io's gaoler starred with eyes,^b or who are fain for ever to recount the labours of Hercules, or Tereus' wonderment that after your banquet, Philomela,^c he could raise wings as yet untried; there are others whose theme is Phaethon's ill-starred attempt upon the heights of the universe in the Sun's chariot, and whose song is of flames quenched in the thunderbolt launched forth, and of the river Padus reeking, of Cycnus and the plumage of his old age, of the (poplar-)trees for ever weeping by reason of a brother's death.^d Bards ere now have told of the misfortunes of the Tantalids, the blood-besprinkled tables, the Titan Sun hiding his face at the sight of Mycenae and the dread vicissitudes of a race.^e We do not sing of gifts imbued with the accursed poison of the angry Colchian dame^f and of the burning of fair Glauce; not of Nisus' lock; ^g not of cruel Circe's

swan, and by his sisters, the Heliades, who were changed into poplars.

^a Blood-guilt was transmitted through Pelops, son of Tantalus, and through his sons Atreus and Thyestes to Agamemnon and his son Orestes. Atreus, King of Mycenae, avenged himself for the seduction of his wife on his brother by slaying his two sons and setting their flesh before their father. From this "banquet of Thyestes" the Sun hid his face in horror: cf. *Aetna*, 20.

^f The sorceress Medea from Colchis, infuriated by Jason's desertion of her for Glauce, sent to her bridal gifts which consumed her with fire.

^g On the purple lock of Nisus, King of Megara, the safety of his kingdom depended. His betrayal by his daughter is told in *Ciris* (*Appendix Vergiliana*).

nec nocturna pie curantem busta sororem : 45
haec iam magnorum praecepit copia vatum,
omnis et antiqui vulgata est fabula saeculi.

nos saltus viridesque plagas camposque patentes
scrutamur totisque citi discurremus arvis 50
et varias cupimus facili cane sumere praedas;
nos timidos lepores, imbelles figere dammas
audacesque lupos, vulpem captare dolosam
gaudemus; nos flumineas errare per umbras
malumus et placidis ichneumona quaerere ripis 55
inter harundineas segetes faelemque minacem
arboris in trunco longis praefigere telis
implicitumque sinu spinosi corporis erem
ferre domum; talique placet dare lintea curae,
dum non magna ratis, vicinis sueta moveri 60
litoribus tutosque sinus percurrere remis,
nunc primum dat vela notis portusque fideles
linquit et Adriacas audet temptare procellas.

mox vestros meliore lyra memorare triumphos
accingar, divi fortissima pignora Cari, 65
atque canam nostrum geminis sub finibus orbis
litus et edomitas fraterno numine gentes,
quae Rhenum Tigrimque bibunt Ararisque remotum

⁵⁸ cursu (= *cursui*) *Baehrens*: curae AC: cymbae
Heinsius.

⁶⁵ gemini *Heinsius*.

^a Circe's potions and spells transformed men into beasts.
^b Antigone buried her brother Polynices in defiance of the
edict of Creon.

^c *eres* (= *ericus*, *ericinus* or *erinaceus*) corresponds to the
Greek *ἐρίνος*.

^d This passage dates the *Cynegetica*. For the Emperor
Carus and his sons, Carinus and Numerianus, see Gibbon,

cups;^a nor yet of the sister^b whose conscience con-
trived a (brother's) burial by night: in all this ere
now a band of mighty bards has forestalled us, and
all the fabling of an ancient age is commonplace.

We search the glades, the green tracts, the open
plains, swiftly coursing here and there o'er all the
fields, eager to catch varied quarries with docile
hound. We enjoy transfixing the nervous hare, the
unresisting doe, the daring wolf or capturing the
crafty fox; our heart's desire is to rove along the
river-side shades, hunting the ichneumon on the quiet
banks among the crops of bulrushes, with the long
weapon to pierce in front the threatening polecat on
a tree-trunk and bring home the hedgehog^c en-
twined in the convolution of its prickly body: for
such a task it is our resolve to set sail, while our
little barque, wont to coast by the neighbouring
shore and run across safe bays with the oar, now first
spreads its canvas to southern winds, and, leaving
the trusty havens, dares to try the Adriatic storms.

Hereafter I will gird myself with fitter lyre to
record your triumphs, you gallant sons of deified
Carus,^d and will sing of our sea-board beneath the
twin boundaries of our world,^e and of the subjugation,
by the brothers' divine power, of nations that
drink from Rhine or Tigris or from the distant
source of the Arar or look upon the wells of

Decline and Fall, ch. xii. They succeeded their father on his
death in A.D. 283. In 284 Carinus celebrated elaborate games
at Rome in the name of himself and Numerian; but the
brothers never saw each other after their father died. Nume-
rian's death in 284 during his return journey with his army from
Persia prevented him from enjoying the triumph decreed to
the young emperors at Rome.

^e *Fines* are the limits set by Ocean on East and West.

principium Nilique vident in origine fontem;
 nec taceam, primum quae nuper bella sub Arcto
 felici, Carine, manu confeceris, ipso 70
 paene prior genitore deo, utque intima frater
 Persidos et veteres Babylonos ceperit arces,
 ultus Romulei violata cacumina regni;
 imbellemque fugam referam clausasque pharetras
 Parthorum laxosque arcus et spicula nulla. 75

haec vobis nostrae libabunt carmina Musae,
 cum primum vultus sacros, bona numina terrae,
 contigerit vidisse mihi: iam gaudia vota
 temporis impatiens sensus spretoque morarum
 praesumit videorque mihi iam cernere fratrum 80
 augustos habitus, Romam clarumque senatum
 et fidos ad bella duces et milite multo
 agmina, quis fortes animat devotio mentes:
 aurea purpureo longe radiantia velo 85
 signa micant sinuatque truces levis aura dracones.

tu modo, quae saltus placidos silvasque pererras,
 Latonae, Phoebe, magnum decus, heia age suetos
 sume habitus arcumque manu pictamque pharetram
 suspende ex umeris; sint aurea tela, sagittae;
 candida puniceis aptentur crura cothurnis; 90

⁶⁸ vident *Johnson*: bibunt AC.

⁶⁹ primum AC: prima *Bachrens*.

^a The war maintained against the Sarmatians by Carus after Probus' death was left to Carinus to finish, when Carus had to face the Persian menace in the East. In his Gallic campaign also, Carinus showed some degree of soldierly ability.

^b Numerian is here flatteringly associated with the exploits of Carus, who after subduing Mesopotamia carried his vic-

the Nile at their birth; nor let me fail to tell what campaigns you first ended, Carinus, beneath the Northern Bear^a with victorious hand, well-nigh outstripping even your divine father, and how your brother^b seized on Persia's very heart and the time-honoured citadels of Babylon, in vengeance for outrages done to the high dignity of the realms of Romulus' race.^c I shall record also the Parthians' feeble flight, their unopened quivers, unbent bows and unavailing arrows.

Such strains shall my Muses consecrate to you both, as soon as it is my fortune to see your blest faces, kindly divinities of this earth. Already my feelings, intolerant of slow time and disdainful of delay, anticipate the joys of my aspiration, and I fancy I already discern the majestic mien of the brothers, and therewith Rome, the illustrious senate, the generals trusted for warfare, and the marching lines of many soldiers, their brave souls stirred with devotion. The golden standards gleam radiant afar with their purple drapery, and a light breeze waves the folds of the ferocious dragons.^d

Only do thou, Diana, Latona's great glory, who dost roam the peaceful glade and woodland, come quickly, assume thy wonted guise, bow in hand, and hang the coloured quiver from thy shoulder; golden be the weapons, thine arrows; and let thy gleaming feet be fitted with purple buskins; let thy cloak

torious arms to Ctesiphon. Numerian's subsequent retreat surprised the Persians.

^a The reference is to violations of the Eastern frontiers of the Empire. *Cacumina regni* is taken, with Wernsdorf, to mean *fastigium et maiestatem imperii Romani*.

^d They were military emblems from Trajan's time.

sit chlamys aurato multum subtegmine lusa
 corrugesque sinus gemmatis balteus artet
 nexibus; implicitos cohibe diademate crines.
 tecum Naiades faciles viridique iuenta
 pubentes Dryades Nymphaeque, unde amnibus umor,
 adsint, et docilis decantet Oreadas Echo. 96
 duc age, diva, tuum frondosa per avia vatem:
 te sequimur, tu pande domos et lustra ferarum.
 huc igitur mecum, quisquis percussus amore
 venandi damnas lites pavidosque tumultus 100
 civilesque fugis strepitus bellique fragores
 nec praedas avido sectaris gurgite ponti.
 principio tibi cura canum non segnibus ab anno
 incipiat primo, cum Ianus, temporis auctor,
 pandit inocciduum bis senis mensibus aevum. 105
 elige tunc cursu facilem facilemque recursu,
 seu Lacedaemonio natam seu rure Molosso,
 non humili de gente canem. sit cruribus altis,
 sit rigidis, multamque trahat sub pectore lato
 costarum sub fine decenter prona carinam, 110
 quae sensim rursus sicca se colligat alvo,
 renibus ampla satis validis diductaque coxas,
 cuique nimis molles fluitent in cursibus aures.
 huic parilem submitte marem, sic omnia magnum,
 dum superant vires, dum laeto flore iventas 115

⁹⁶ decantet Oreadas *vulgo*: dicant oreades A: decantet oreades C.

⁹⁸ domos C: dolos A.

⁹⁹ huc *Ulitius*: hinc AC.

¹⁰⁰ avidos AC: pavidos *vel* rabidos *Ulitius*: rabidos *Baehrens*: rapidos *Postgate*.

^a Lines 91-93 are discussed in a special excursus by Wernsdorf. With *lusa* cf. Virg. *G.* II. 464, *illusasque auro vestes*, "garments fancifully embroidered with gold."

be richly tricked with golden thread,^a and a belt
 with jewelled fastenings tighten the wrinkled tunic-
 folds: restrain thine entwined tresses with a band.
 In thy train let genial Naiads come and Dryads
 ripening in fresh youth and Nymphs who give the
 streams their water, and let the apt pupil Echo
 repeat the accents of thine Oreads.^b Goddess, arise,
 lead thy poet through the untrodden boscaige: thee
 we follow; do thou disclose the wild beasts' homes
 and lairs. Come hither then with me, whosoever,
 smitten with the love of the chase, dost condemn
 lawsuits and panic-stricken turmoil, or dost shun the
 din in cities and the clash of war, or pursuest no spoils
 on the greedy surge of the deep.

At the outset your diligent care of your dogs^c
 must start from the beginning of the year, when
 Janus, author of the march of time, opens for each
 twelve months the never-ceasing round. At that
 season you must choose a bitch obedient to speed
 forward, obedient to come to heel, native to either
 the Spartan or the Molossian^d country-side, and of
 good pedigree.^e She must stand high on straight
 legs; with a comely slope let her carry, under a
 broad breast, where the ribs end, a width of keel
 that gradually again contracts in a lean belly: she
 must be big enough with strong loins, spread at the
 hips, and with the silkiest of ears floating in air as
 she runs. Give her a male to match, everywhere
 similarly well-sized, while strength holds sway, while

^b *i.e.* the surroundings should reverberate to the voices of the attendant mountain-nymphs.

^c On dogs generally see note on Grattius, *Cyneg.* 151.

^d Cf. Grattius, *Cyneg.* 181, 197, 211-212.

^e On the mating of dogs cf. Grattius, *Cyneg.*, esp. 263-284.

corporis et venis primaevae sanguis abundat.
 namque graves morbi subeunt segnisque senectus,
 invalidamque dabunt non firmo robore prolem.
 sed diversa magis feturae convenit aetas :
 tu bis vicenis plenum iam mensibus acrem 120
 in venerem permitte marem ; sit femina, binos
 quae tulerit soles. haec optima cura iugandis.
 mox cum se bina formarit lampade Phoebe
 ex quo passa marem genitalia viscera turgent,
 fecundos aperit partus matura gravedo, 125
 continuo largaque vides strepere omnia prole.
 sed, quamvis avidus, primos contemnere partus
 malueris ; mox non omnes nutrire minores.
 nam tibi si placitum populosos pascere fetus,
 iam macie tenues sucique videbis inanes 130
 pugnantesque diu, quisnam prior ubera lambat,
 distrahere invalidam lassato viscere matrem.
 sin vero haec cura est, melior ne forte necetur
 abdaturve domo, catulosque probare voluntas,
 quis nondum gressus stabiles neque lumina passa 135
 luciferum videre iubar, quae prodidit usus
 percipe et intrepidus spectatis annue dictis.
 pondere nam catuli poteris perpendere vires
 corporibus<que> leves gravibus praenoscerere cursu.
 quin et flammato ducatur linea longe 140

¹²⁰ *hic in codicibus sequuntur 224-230, quos traiecit Hauptius, Schraderò viam praemonstrante.*

^a *Soles* stands here for *annos*, i.e. annual revolutions of the sun according to the ancient cosmology.

^b Wernsdorf, following Barth, explains *passa* as meaning *aperta* (from *pandere*, not from *pati*).

bodily youth is in its joyous flower and blood
 abounds in the veins of early life. For burden-
 some diseases creep on and sluggish age, and they
 will produce unhealthy offspring without steadfast
 strength. But for breeding a difference of age in
 the parents is more suitable: you should release
 the male, keen for mating, when he has already
 completed forty months: and let the female be
 two full years old.^a Such is the best arrangement
 in their coupling. Presently when Phoebe has
 completed the round of two full moons since the
 birth-giving womb fertilised by the male began to
 swell, the pregnancy in its due time reveals the
 fruitful offspring, and straightway you see all round
 an abundant noisy litter. Yet, however desirous of
 dogs, you must make up your mind to put no value
 on the first set born; and of the next set you must
 not rear all the young ones. For if you decide to
 feed a crowd of whelps, you will find them thin with
 leanness and beggared of strength, and, by their
 long tussle to be first to suck, harassing a mother
 weakened with teat outworn. But if this is your
 anxiety, to keep the better sort from being killed
 or thrown out of the house, if it is your intention to
 test the puppies before even their steps are steady
 or their eyes have felt^b and seen the light-bearing
 sunbeam, then grasp what experience has handed
 on, and assent fearlessly to well-tried words. You
 will be able to examine the strength of a puppy by
 its weight and by the heaviness of each body know
 in advance which will be light in running.^c Further-
 more, you should get a series of flames made in a

^c 138-139: the parallel in Grattius, *Cyn.* 298-299, is one of the points suggesting that Nemesianus had read Grattius.

circuitu signet<que> habilem vapor igneus orbem,
 impune ut medio possis consistere circo :
 huc omnes catuli, huc indiscreta feratur
 turba : dabit mater partus examen, honestos
 iudicio natos servans trepidoque periclo. 145
 nam postquam conclusa videt sua germina flammis,
 continuo saltu transcendens fervida zonae
 vincla, rapit rictu primum portatque cubili,
 mox alium, mox deinde alium. sic conscia mater
 segregat egregiam subolem virtutis amore. 150
 hos igitur genetrice simul iam vere sereno
 molli pasce sero (passim nam lactis abundans
 tempus adest, albent plenis et ovilia muletris),
 interdumque cibo cererem cum lacte ministra,
 fortibus ut succis teneras complere medullas
 possint et validas iam tunc promittere vires. 155
 sed postquam Phoebus candentem fervidus axem
 contigerit tardasque vias Cancrique morantis
 sidus init, tunc consuetam minuisse saginam
 profuerit tenuousque magis retinere cibatus. 160
 ne gravis articulos depravet pondere moles.
 nam tum membrorum nexus nodosque relaxant
 infirmosque pedes et crura natantia ponunt,
 tunc etiam niveis armantur dentibus ora.

¹⁴² ut *Johnson* : in AC.

¹⁴⁴ examen AC : examine *vulgo*.

¹⁴⁵ exitio *Scaliger*. trepidosque *Baehrens* : fort. trepidansque *Postgate*.

^a Cf. *Grattias, Cyn.* 307, *lacte novam pubem facillique tuebere maza*. For the use of the goddess' name by metonymy for bread cf. *Gratt. Cyn.* 398 : also *Aetna*, 10.

^b In the long days of midsummer the sun might be fancied to cross the sky more slowly. *Morantis* refers to the almost

wide circuit with the smoke of the fire to mark a convenient round space, so that you may stand unharmed in the middle of the circle : to this all the puppies, to this the whole crowd as yet unseparated must be brought : the mother will provide the test of her progeny, saving the valuable young ones by her selection and from their alarming peril. For when she sees her offspring shut in by flames, at once with a leap she clears the blazing boundaries of the fire-zone, snatches the first in her jaws and carries it to the kennel ; next another, next another in turn : so does the intelligent mother distinguish her nobler progeny by her love of merit. These then along with their mother, now that it is clear spring, you are to feed on soft whey (for everywhere the season that abounds in milk has come, and sheepfolds are white with brimming milk-pails) : at times, too, add to their food bread with milk,^a so that they may be able to fill their young marrows with powerful juices and even at that time give promise of vigorous strength.

But after the burning Sun-God has reached the glowing height of heaven, entering on his slow paths and on the sign of the lingering Crab,^b then it will be useful to lessen their regular fattening food and retain the more delicate nourishment,^c so that the weight of heavy bulk may not overstrain their limbs ; for that is when they have the connecting joints of the body slack, and plant on the ground unstable feet and swimming legs : then too their mouths are furnished with snowy teeth. But you should not

imperceptible lengthening and shortening of the days before and after the solstice.

^c i.e. the *molle serum* of l. 152.

sed neque conclusos teneas neque vincula collo 165
 impatiens circumdederis noceasque futuris
 cursibus imprudens. catulis nam saepe remotis
 aut vexare trabes, laceras aut mandere valvas
 mens erit, et teneros torquent conatibus artus 170
 obtunduntve novos arroso robore dentes
 aut teneros duris impingunt postibus ungues;
 mox cum iam validis insistere cruribus aetas
 passa, quater binos volvens ab origine menses,
 illaesis catulos spectaverit undique membris, 175
 tunc rursus miscere sero Cerealia dona
 conveniet fortemque dari de frugibus escam.
 libera tunc primum consuescant colla ligari
 concordēs et ferre gradus clausique teneri.
 iam cum bis denos Phoebe reparaverit ortus,
 incipe non longo catulos producere cursu, 180
 sed parvae vallis spatio septove novali.
 his leporem praemitte manu, non viribus aequis
 nec cursus virtute parem, sed tarda trahentem
 membra, queant iam nunc faciles ut sumere praedas.
 nec semel indulge catulis moderamina cursus, 185
 sed donec validos etiam praevertere suescant
 exerceto diu venandi munere, cogens
 discere et emeritae laudem virtutis amare.
 nec non consuetae norint hortamina vocis,
 seu cursus revocent, iubeant seu tendere cursus. 190
 quin etiam docti victam contingere praedam
 exanimare velint tantum, non carpere sumptam.
 sic tibi veloces catulos reparare memento

¹⁸⁶ mandere *Heinsius* : pandere AC.

¹⁸⁷ munera *Ulitius* : munere AC. sic interpunxit *Postgate*.

keep them shut up, nor impatiently put chains on
 their neck, and from want of foresight hurt their
 future running powers. For often young dogs,
 when kept separate, will take to worrying the
 timber-fittings, or to gnawing the doors till they are
 torn, and in the attempt they twist their tender
 limbs or blunt their young teeth by chewing at the
 wood or drive their tender nails into the tough door-
 posts. Later, when time, revolving eight months
 from their birth, now lets them stand on steady legs
 and sees the whelps everywhere with limbs un-
 harmed, then it will be suitable again to mix the
 gifts of Ceres with their whey and have them given
 strengthening food from the produce of the fields.
 Only then must they be trained to have their free
 necks in leash, to run in harmony or be kept on
 chain. When Phoebe has now renewed twenty
 monthly risings, start to bring out the young dogs
 on a course not over-long but within the space of
 a small valley or enclosed fallow. Out of your hand
 let slip for them a hare, not of equal strength nor
 their match in speed of running, but slow in moving
 its limbs, so that they may at once capture an easy
 prey. Not once only must you grant the whelps
 these limited runs, but until they are trained to out-
 strip strong hares, exercise them long in the task of
 the chase, forcing them to learn and love the praise
 due to deserving merit. Likewise they must recog-
 nise the urgent words of a well-known voice, whether
 calling them in or telling them to run full-speed.
 Besides, when they have been taught to seize the
 vanquished prey, they must be content to kill, not
 mangle, what they have caught. By such methods
 see that you recruit your swift dogs every season,

semper et in parvos iterum protendere curas.
 nam tristes morbi, scabies et sordida venis
 saepe venit multamque canes discrimine nullo
 dant stragem: tu sollicitos impende labores
 et sortire gregem suffecta prole quotannis.
 quin acidos Bacchi latices Tritonide oliva
 admiscere decet catulosque canesque maritas
 unguere profuerit tepidoque ostendere soli,
 auribus et tineas candenti pellere cultro.
 195
 est etiam canibus rabies, letale periculum.
 quod seu caelesti corrupto sidere manat,
 cum segnes radios tristi iaculatur ab aethra
 Phoebus et attonito pallens caput exserit orbe;
 seu magis, ignicomi candentia terga Leonis
 cum quatit, hoc canibus blandis inviscerat aestus,
 exhalat seu terra sinu, seu noxius aer
 causa mali, seu cum gelidus non sufficit umor
 torrida per venas concrescunt semina flammae:
 quicquid id est, imas agitat sub corde medullas
 inque feros rictus nigro spumante veneno
 prosillit, insanos cogens infigere morsus.
 200
 disce igitur potus medicos curamque salubrem.
 tunc virosa tibi sumes multumque domabis
 castorea, attritu silicis lentescere cogens;
 ex ebore huc trito pulvis sectove feratur,
 admiscensque diu facies concrescere utrumque:
 205
 mox lactis liquidus sensim superadde fluores,
 210
 215
 220

¹⁹⁹ olivo AC: oliva vulgo. Tritonide . . . Postgate qui cum
 Housmano olivo ut interpretamentum eiecit.

²⁰⁷ sed Baehrens: seu AC.

^a The reference is to the heat of the sun on entering the sign
 of Leo.

and again direct your anxious thoughts towards the
 young ones. For they have melancholy ailments,
 and the filthy mange often comes on their veins,
 and the dogs cause widespread mortality without
 distinction: you must yourself expend anxious
 efforts on them and every year fill up your pack by
 supplying progeny. Besides, the right thing is to
 blend tart draughts of wine with Minerva's olive-
 fruit, and it will do good to anoint the whelps and
 the mother dogs, expose them to the warm sun, and
 expel worms from their ears with the glittering
 knife.

Dogs also get rabies, a deadly peril. Whether it
 emanates from taint in a heavenly body when the
 Sun-God shoots but languid rays from a saddened
 sky, raising a pallid face in a world dismayed; or
 whether, rather, in striking the glowing back of the
 fire-tressed Lion,^a he drives deep into our friendly
 dogs his feverish heats, whether earth breathes forth
 contagion from its bosom, or harmful air is the cause
 of the evil, or whether, when cool water runs short,
 the torrid germs of fire grow strong throughout the
 veins—whatever it is, it stirs the inmost marrow
 beneath the heart, and with black venomous foam
 darts forth into ferocious snarls, compelling the dog
 to imprint its bites in madness. Learn, therefore,
 the curative potions and the treatment that brings
 health. In such cases you will take the fetid drug
 got from the beaver and work it well, forcing it to
 grow viscous with the friction of a flint: to this
 should be added powder from pounded or chopped
 ivory, and by a long process of blending you will get
 both to harden together: next put in gradually the
 liquid flow of milk besides, to enable you to pour

ut non cunctantes haustus infundere cornu
inserto possis Furiasque repellere tristes
atque iterum blandas canibus componere mentes.

sed non Spartanos tantum tantumve Molossos
pascendum catulos: divisa Britannia mittit 225
veloces nostrique orbis venatibus aptos.

nec tibi Pannonicae stirpis temnatur origo,
nec quorum proles de sanguine manat Hiberio.
quin etiam siccae Libyes in finibus acres
gignuntur catuli, quorum non spreveris usum. 230

quin et Tuscorum non est externa voluptas
saepe canum. sit forma illis licet obsita villo
dissimilesque habeant catulis velocibus artus,
haud tamen iniucunda dabunt tibi munera praedae, 235

namque et odorato noscunt vestigia prato
atque etiam leporum secreta cubilia monstrant.
horum animos moresque simul naresque sagaces
mox referam; nunc omnis adhuc narranda supellex
venandi cultusque mihi dicendus equorum.

cornipedes igitur lectos det Graecia nobis 240
Cappadocumque notas referat generosa propago
† armata et palmas superet grex omnis avorum.

²²⁴⁻²³⁰ post 122 in codicibus.

²³¹ extrema AC: externa Wight Duff.

²⁴² armata et palmas nuper grex AC: fortasse superet
Postgate: "locus veratissimus totius poematis" Wernsdorf,
qui proponit harmataque (= ἄρματα) et palmas numeret:
armenti et palmas numeret Gronov: Martius et palmas
superans Burman.

^a For British dogs see Grattius, 174 sqq. and note there:
divisa Britannia is an allusion to Virg. Ecl. I. 66, *penitus toto
divisos orbe Britannos.*

in through an inserted horn does which do not stick
in the throat, and so banish the melancholy Furies,
and settle the dogs' minds once more to friendliness.

But it is not only Spartan whelps or only Molos-
sian which you must rear: sundered Britain sends
us a swift sort, adapted to hunting-tasks in our
world.^a You should not disdain the pedigree of
the Pannonian breed, nor those whose progeny
springs from Spanish blood. Moreover, keen whelps
are produced within the confines of dry Libya, and
their service you must not despise. Besides, Tuscan
dogs often give a satisfaction not foreign to us.^b
Even allowing that their shape is covered with
shaggy hair and that they have limbs unlike quick-
footed whelps, still they will give you an agreeable
return in game; for they recognise the tracks on
the meadow, though full of scents, and actually
point to where a hare lies hid. Their mettle and
their habits as well, and their discerning sense of
smell I shall record presently;^c for the moment the
whole equipment of the chase^d has to be explained,
and I must deal with the attention due to horses.

So then let Greece send us choice horny-hoofed
coursers, and let a high-mettled breed recall the
traits of the Cappadocians, and let the whole stud
be soundly equipped and surpass the victorious
racing-palms of their ancestors. Theirs is surface

^b Burman gives the choice between *summa* and *minima* as
equivalents to *extrema*. *Non . . . externa* seems to fit better
the only Italian dogs in the passage.

^c This shows the incomplete state in which Nemesianus has
been transmitted; for these subjects are not treated in his
extant work.

^d The *supellex venandi* corresponds to Grattius' *arma*, i.e.
nets, traps, hunting-spears, caps and so forth.

illis ampla satis levi sunt aequora dorso
 immodicumque latus parvaeque ingentibus alvi, 245
 ardua frons auresque agiles capitisque decori
 altus honos oculique vago splendore micantes ;
 plurima se validos cervix resupinat in armos ;
 fumant umentes calida de nare vapores,
 nec pes officium standi tenet, ungula terram 250
 crebra ferit virtusque artus animosa fatigat.
 quin etiam gens ampla iacet trans ardua Calpes
 culmina, cornipedum late fecunda proborum.
 namque valent longos pratis intendere cursus,
 nec minor est illis Graio quam in corpore forma ;
 nec non terribiles spirabile flumen anheli 255
 provolvunt flatus et lumina vivida torquent
 hinnitusque cient tremuli frenisque repugnant,
 nec segnes mulcent aures, nec crure quiescunt.
 sit tibi praeterea sonipes, Maurusia tellus
 quem mittit (modo sit gentili sanguine firmus) 260
 quemque coloratus Mazax deserta per arva
 pavit et adsiduos docuit tolerare labores.
 nec pigeat, quod turpe caput, deformis et alvus
 est ollis quodque infrenes, quod liber uterque, 265
 quodque iubis pronos cervix deverberet armos.
 nam flecti facilis lascivaque colla secutus
 paret in obsequium lentae moderamine virgae :
 verbera sunt praecepta fugae, sunt verbera freni.

²⁴⁵ decori *Baehrens* : decoris A : capitiue decoro C.

^a One of the fabled Pillars of Hercules, in Hispania Baetica, now the Rock of Gibraltar. Nemesianus, writing from the standpoint of an African, thinks of all Spain (*gens ampla*) as beyond Calpe.

wide enough on their smooth back, an enormous
 extent of side, and neat belly for their huge size, a
 forehead uplifted, quick ears, high pride of comely
 head, and eyes sparkling with restless gleam ; an
 ample neck falls back on powerful shoulders ; moist
 breath steams from hot nostrils, and, while the foot
 does not maintain its duty to stand still, the hoof
 repeatedly strikes the earth and the horse's spirited
 mettle tires its limbs. Moreover, beyond the soaring
 peaks of Calpe ^a lies a vast country, productive far
 and wide of fine coursers. For they have the
 strength to make long runs across the prairies, ^b and
 their beauty is no less than that in a Grecian body ;
 panting they roll forth terrifying snorts, a flood of
 breath ; they shoot out spirited glances ; all a-quiver
 they raise whinnys and fight against the bridle,
 never giving their ears smooth rest nor their legs
 repose. Besides, you may select the courser sent
 by Mauretania (if he be a stout descendant of good
 stock), or the horse which the dusky Mazax tribes-
 man ^c has reared in desert fields and taught to under-
 go ceaseless toil. No need to repine at their ugly
 head and ill-shapen belly, or at their lack of bridles,
 or because both breeds have the temper of freedom,
 or because the neck lashes the sloping shoulders
 with its mane. For he is an easy horse to guide,
 and, following the turn of an unconfined neck, com-
 plies obediently under the control of a limber switch :
 its strokes are the orders for speed, its strokes are

^b The commendation of Spanish horses is supported by Martial I. xlix. 21-25 : cf. XIV. cxcix. But, according to Oppian, *Cyng.* I. 284-286, the Iberian horses, although fleet (*θοοί*), were found wanting in staying power (*δρόμον ἐν παύροισιν ἐλεγχόμενοι σταδίαισιν*).

^c Belonging to the Numidian tribe of Mazaces in Africa.

quin et promissi spatiosa per aequora campi
 cursibus acquirunt commoto sanguine vires 270
 paulatimque avidos comites post terga relinquunt.
 haud secus, effusis Nerei per caerula ventis,
 cum se Threicius Boreas superextulit antro
 stridentique sono vastas exterruit undas,
 omnia turbato cesserunt flamina ponto : 275
 ipse super fluctus spumanti murmure fervens
 conspicuum pelago caput eminet: omnis euntem
 Nereidum mirata suo stupet aequore turba.
 horum tarda venit longi fiducia cursus,
 his etiam emerito vigor est iuvenalis in aevo. 280
 nam quaecumque suis virtus bene floruit annis,
 non prius est animo quam corpore passa ruinam.
 pasce igitur sub vere novo farragine molli
 cornipedes venamque feri veteresque labores 285
 effluere adspecta nigri cum labe cruoris.
 mox laetae redeunt in pectora fortia vires
 et nitidos artus distento robore formant;
 mox sanguis venis melior calet, ire viarum
 longa volunt latumque fuga consumere campum.
 inde ubi pubentes calamos duraverit aestas 290
 lactentesque urens herbas siccaverit omnem
 messibus umorem culmisque aptarit aristas,
 hordea tum paleasque leves praebere memento :
 pulvere quin etiam puras secernere fruges

²⁸⁰ *permissi Heinsius.*
²⁷⁶ *pater fluctus (id est Neptunus) Bachrens : super fluctus*
 AC. *marmore Heinsius.*
²⁸² *passa vulgo : posse AC.*
²⁹² *culmisque armarit Burman : culmusque Bachrens, Post-*
gate : aptarit Wight Duff.

as bridles too. Nay, once launched across the
 spacious levels of the plain, with blood stirred, the
 steeds win fresh strength in the race, leaving by
 degrees their eager comrades behind. Even so,
 on the outburst of the winds across the blue waters
 of Nereus, when Thracian Boreas has uprisen o'er
 his cavern and with shrill howling dismayed the
 dreary waves, all the blasts on the troubled deep
 give way to him: himself^a aglow mid foaming
 din, above the billows he o'ertops them in mastery
 manifest upon the sea: the whole band of the
 Nereids is mazed in wonderment as he passes over
 their watery domain.

These horses are slow to attain confidence in
 prolonged running; also, theirs is youthful vigour
 even in age that has served its time. For no quality
 which has bloomed full at its due period suffers
 collapse in spirit ere physical powers fail. In the
 fresh spring-time, then, feed the coursers on soft
 mash, and, lancing a vein, watch old-standing ail-
 ments flow out with the ooze of the tainted blood.
 Soon strength returns joyously to their gallant
 hearts, moulding the sleek limbs with strength
 diffused: soon a better blood runs warm in their
 veins, and they wish for long stretches of road, and
 to make the broad plain vanish in their career.
 Next, when summer has hardened the ripening
 stalks and, scorching the juicy blades, has dried
 all the moisture for harvest and joined corn-ears
 to stems, then be sure to furnish barley and light
 chaff: moreover, there must be care to winnow
 the produce free from dust, and to run the hands

^a Boreas.

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cura sit atque toros manibus percurrere equorum, 295
 gaudeat ut plausu sonipes laetumque relaxet
 corpus et altores rapiat per viscera sucos.
 id curent famuli comitumque animosa iuventus.
 nec non et casses idem venatibus aptos
 atque plagas longoque meantia retia tractu 300
 addiscant raris semper contexere nodis
 et servare modum maculis linoque tenaci.
 linea quin etiam, magnos circumdare saltus
 quae possit volucresque metu concludere praedas,
 digerat innexas non una ex alite pinnas. 305
 namque ursos magnosque sues cervosque fugaces
 et vulpes acresque lupos ceu fulgura caeli
 terrificant linique vetant transcendere septum.
 has igitur vario semper fucare veneno
 curabis niveisque alios miscere colores 310
 alternosque metus subtegmine tendere longo.
 dat tibi pinnarum terrentia milia vultur,
 dat Libye, magnarum avium fecunda creatrix,
 dantque grues cynique senes et candidus anser,
 dant quae fluminibus crassisque paludibus errant
 pellitosque pedes stagnanti gurgite tingunt. 315
 hinc mage puniceas nativo munere sumes:
 namque illic sine fine greges florentibus alis
 invenies avium suavique rubescere luto
 et sparsos passim tergo vernare colores. 320
 his ita dispositis hiemis sub tempus aquosae
 incipe veloces catulos immittere pratis,
 incipe cornipedes latos agitare per agros.

^a Cf. Grattius, *Cynegeticon*, 75-88 (the "formido").

^b e.g. the ostrich.

^c i.e. aquatic fowl.

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over the horses' muscles, so that the courser may enjoy being patted and relax his body in pleasure and quickly pass the nourishing juices throughout his frame. This must be the task of the servants and brave young attendants.

Besides they too must learn always to weave with knots far enough apart the hollow nets fit for the chase, and the toils set on tracks, and the nets which run in a long stretch; they must learn to preserve the right size for the openings between the knots and for the binding cord. Moreover, the line which can enclose great glades and by reason of terror shut in winged game as prey must carry here and there, entwined on it, feathers of different birds.^a For the colours, like lightning-flashes, frighten bears, big boars, timid stags, foxes and fierce wolves, and bar them from surmounting the boundary of the cord. These then you will always be careful to diversify with various hues, mixing other colours with the whites, and thus stretching all along the line one terror after another. In feathers you draw a thousand means of fright from the vulture, from Africa, fertile mother of great-sized birds,^b from cranes and aged swans and the white goose, from fowl that haunt rivers and thick marshes and dip webbed feet in standing pools. Of these^c you will rather take birds with red plumage by nature's gift; for among the former you will find endless flocks of birds with bright-hued wings, their colours reddening with pleasant orange tint and gleaming everywhere in flecks upon the back. With such arrangements made towards the season of rainy winter, begin to send your swift dogs across the meadows; begin to urge your horses over the broad

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venemur dum mane novum, dum mollia prata
nocturnis calcata feris vestigia servant.

325

TWO FRAGMENTS ON BIRD-CATCHING ASCRIBED TO NEMESIANUS

INTRODUCTION

Gybertus Longolius (de Longueil, 1507–1543), in a *Dialogus de avibus* printed at Cologne in 1544, is the authority for ascribing the two following fragments to Nemesianus. He records that they were surreptitiously copied by a young friend of his, Hieronymus Boragineus of Lübeck, from a poem *De Aucupio* by Nemesianus "in bibliotheca porcorum (*sic*) Salvatoris Bononiensis." This account is not

VERSUS DE AUCUPIO

I

... et tetracem, Romae quem nunc vocitare taracem
coeperunt. avium est multo stultissima; namque
cum pedicas necti sibi contemplerit adstans,
immemor ipse sui tamen in dispendia currit.
tu vero adductos laquei cum senseris orbes
appropera et praedam pennis crepitantibus aufer.
nam celer oppressi fallacia vincula colli
excudit et rauca subsannat voce magistri

5

^a a black grouse. The bird is identified with the *urogallus* by Longolius. Pliny's form is *tetrax*.

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fields. Let us go hunting while the morning is young, while the soft meads retain the tracks imprinted by the wild beasts of the night.

free from suspicion, any more than certain points in the Latinity and prosody of the lines. *Contemplerit* in l. 3 may be an archaistic return to the active form of the verb as used in early Latin; but the metrical quantity of *notae* which Longolius read in l. 13 and of *gulae* in the last line of all is unclassical, and the frequent elision of a long vowel (ll. 5, 6, 14 and 27) is noticeable. Teuffel considers the lines a late production, though they are usually printed along with the *Cynegetica*.

E. Baehrens' text, *P.L.M.* III. pp. 203–204.
J. P. Postgate's text, *C.P.L.* II. p. 572.

FRAGMENTS ON BIRD-CATCHING

I

... and the *tetrax*,^a which they have now begun to call *tarax* at Rome. It is far the silliest of birds; for although it has perched and has watched the snare laid for it, yet reckless of self it darts upon its own hurt. You, however, on finding the circles of the noose drawn tight, must hasten up and carry off your prey with its whirring wings. For it is quick to shake off the treacherous bonds of the neck when caught, deriding^b with hoarse cry the hunter's

^b *Subsannare*, a late Latin verb, used by Tertullian, and in the Vulgate.

consilium et laeta fruitur iam pace solutus.
 hic prope † Peltinum <ad> radices Apennini
 nidificat, patulis qua se sol obicit agris,
 persimilis cineri collum, maculosaque terga
 inficiunt pullae cacabantis imagine guttae.
 Tarpeiae est custos arcis non corpore maior
 nec qui te volucres docuit, Palamede, figuras.
 saepe ego nutantem sub iniquo pondere vidi
 mazonomi puerum, portat cum prandia, circo
 quae consul praetorve novus construxit ovanti.

II

cum nemus omne suo viridi spoliatur honore,
 fultus equi niveis silvas pete protinus altas
 exuviis: praeda est facilis et amoena scolopax.
 corpore non Paphiis avibus maiore videbis.
 illa sub aggeribus primis, qua proluit umor,
 pascitur, exiguos sectans obsonia vermes.
 at non illa oculis, quibus est obtusior, etsi
 sint inimum grandes, sed acutis naribus instat:
 impresso in terram rostri mucrone sequaces
 vermiculos trahit et vili dat praemia gulae.

¹⁰ Pelt(u)inum *Buecheler*: Pentinum *Longolius*: Pontinum *Ulitius*. in radicibus *Burman*: et radices *Haupt*: ad radices *Bachrens*.

¹² dorsum *Longolius*: collum *Gesner*.

¹³ notae *Longolius*: guttae *Ulitius*.

¹⁷ mazonomi *Gesner*: mazonoim *Longolius*. circo *Burman*: cirro *Longolius*.

²¹ facilis praeda est et amoena *Riese*.

²² atque gulae d. pr. vili *Wernsdorf*.

^a The geese of the Capitol saved it from surprise by the Gauls, in 390 B.C., Livy, V. xlvii.

design and now in freedom delighting in the joy of peace. Near Peltinum by the foot of the Apennine range it builds its nest where the sun presents himself to the outspread lands: at the neck it is very like ashes in colour, and its spotted back is marked with dark flecks in the fashion of a partridge. The guardian of the Tarpeian citadel^a is no larger in size, nor the bird that taught you, Palamedes, wing-like letters.^b Often have I seen a slave swaying beneath the unfair weight of a huge dish of such dainties,^c as he carries the collation which a consul or a new praetor has furnished for the circus at a fête.

II

When the woodland everywhere is despoiled of its green honours, make straight for the deep forest, mounted on the snow-white housing of your steed. The snipe is an easy and an agreeable prey. You will find it no larger in body than Venus' doves. It feeds close to the edge of embankments, by the wash of the water, hunting tiny worms, its favourite fare. But its pursuit thereof is rather with keen-scented nose than with the eyes, in which its sense is rather dull, too big for the body though they be. With the point of the beak driven into the ground it drags out the little worms which needs must follow, therewith rewarding an appetite cheap to satisfy.^d

^b Palamedes was said to have invented some of the Greek letters (Γ, Θ, Ζ, Φ, Χ) by observing the flight of cranes: cf. Martial, IX. xiii. 7, XIII. lxxv.; Ausonius, *Idyll*. xii. (*Technopaegnion de literis monosyllabis*) 25; Pliny *N.H.* VII. 192.

^c For the *mazonomus* (μαζονόμος) see Hor. *Sat.* II. viii. 86.

^d For the unclassical lengthening of *gūla*, Wernsdorf cites as a parallel from Nemesianus' fellow-African Luxorius, *quid festinus abis gula impellente, sacerdos?*

REPOSIANUS
AND SOME CONTEMPORARIES

INTRODUCTION

TO REPOSIANUS, MODESTINUS, "CUPIDO AMANS" AND PENTADIUS

THE codex Salmasianus^a—a title which records the previous ownership of Claude de Saumaise—is the chief authority for the surviving poems by three authors of the third century here selected from it—Reposianus, Modestinus and Pentadius, with the additional piece *Cupido Amans* by an unknown hand. The codex represents, though imperfectly, the extensive and varied *Anthologia Latina* compiled from poets of different periods, originally in twenty-four books, at Carthage in the time of the Vandal kings about A.D. 532. Owing to the disappearance of the first eleven quaternions, half-a-dozen books at the beginning are lost except in so far as the missing contents are represented by codex Leid. Voss. Q. 86 ["V"], by codex Paris. 8071 (or Thuaneus, "T"), both of the ninth century, and by other MSS.^b The 182 hexameters by Reposianus on the *liaison* between Mars and Venus depend solely on the codex Salmasianus; for Modestinus we have the additional authority of T; and for Pentadius we have V as well as S and T.

Reposianus' theme is the discovery of the intrigue

^a It is also the manuscript for Florus' poems, see p. 424.

^b See Baehrens' prolegomena *P.L.M.* IV. pp. 3-54; Buecheler and Riese, *Anth. Lat.* I. i. praefatio, pp. xii. sqq.

INTRODUCTION TO

between the Goddess of Love and the God of War by the injured husband, as first related in European literature by Homer, *Odyssey* VIII. 266-366. The Roman poet exhibits a turn for description, especially in depicting the flowery grove where the lovers meet; but there is in him a certain poverty of style—a certain want of variety in language, in thought and in structure. Manifestly he overdoes the use of *forte* (e.g. 68, 83, 87, 95, 114, 121, 126, 156, 166). The archaism *mage* of line 9 is an artificiality which he shares with Nemesianus (*Cyneg.* 317), with Sulpicius Lupercus Servasius and other late poets. The most noticeable metrical points are his use of *tu* (93) as a monosyllable and *gratiosa* (126) as a trisyllable. A few turns of phrase suggest the Lucretian picture of Mars in Venus' lap (Lucret. I. 31-40); but Reposianus shows signs of independence in treating his sensuous theme. Thus, he alters the scene of the amour from the traditional house of the Fire-God, Vulcan, to a forest, which gives the cue for his introduction of some beauties in external nature (33-50). Further, the chains fastened upon the offending lovers are not, according to earlier forms of the fable, prepared as a trap in anticipation of their continued guilt, but fashioned at Vulcan's forge after Phoebus has informed him of Venus' infidelity.

The three longer pieces by Pentadius, *On Fortune*, *On the Coming of Spring* and *On Narcissus*, have "echoic" lines: the rest are short epigrams. Among these the quatrain *On Woman's Love*, beginning *Crede ratem ventis*, may be a tetrastichon combining a pair of independent elegiac distichs. It has been ascribed to a variety of authors besides Pen-

REPOSIANUS

tadius—to Marcus Cicero, to his brother, to Petronius, to Ausonius, and to Porphyrius, the panegyrist of Constantine. The epigram has been claimed for Quintus Cicero^a as a vigorous expression of a thought which might have been in his mind after his divorce (*Ad Att.* XIV. 13. 3). But it cannot be argued that either the situation or the reflection was by any means peculiar to him.

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 F. Buecheler and A. Riese. *Anth. Lat. I. i. Nos. 234-5, 265-8.*

^a Jas. Stinchcomb, "The Literary Interests of a Roman Magnate," *Class. Weekly*, Oct. 3, 1932.

INTRODUCTION TO REPOSIANUS

SIGLA

S = codex Salmasianus sive Parisinus 10318: saec.
vii.

T = codex Thuaneus sive Parisinus 8071: saec. ix.
exeunte.

V = codex Vossianus L.Q. 86: medio saec. ix.

Bibliographical addendum (1982)

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REPOSIANUS

DE CONCUBITU MARTIS ET VENERIS

DISCITE securos non umquam credere amores.
ipsa Venus, cui flamma potens, cui militat ardor,
quae tuto posset custode Cupidine amare,
quae docet et fraudes et amorum furta tuetur,
nec sibi securas valuit praebere latebras. 5
improbe dure puer, crudelis crimine matris,
pompam ducis, Amor, nullo satiata triumpho!
quid conversa Iovis laetaris fulmina semper?
ut mage flammantes possis laudare sagittas,
iunge, puer, teretes Veneris Martisque catenas: 10
gestet amans Mavors titulos et vincula portet
captiveus, quem bella timent! utque ipse veharis,
iam roseis fera colla iugis submittit amator:
post vulnus, post bella potens Gradivus anhelat
in castris modo tiro tuis, semperque timendus 15
te timet et sequitur qua ducunt vincla marita.
ite, precor, Musae: dum Mars, dum blanda Cythere
imis ducta trahunt suspiria crebra medullis

^a *conversa*, either thrown back by the power of love or exchanged for the disguises which Jove used in his amours.

^b *mage*, an artificial archaism, as in Sulpicius Lupercus Servasius, II. (*De Cupiditate*) 16, and in the *Dicta Catonis*, Praef. II. 2, *Distich.* II. 6; IV. 42.

^c An ancient form of *Mars*: his surname *Gradivus* (14) marks him as god of the march (*gradus*).

^d *Cythere* (cf. 172), a late Latin collateral form of *Cytherea* (153), refers to the birth of Venus from the sea at the island

REPOSIANUS

THE INTRIGUE OF MARS WITH VENUS

LEARN ye the creed that amours are never free from care. Venus herself of the potent flame, Venus of the blazing campaign, who might indulge love with Cupid as her safe warden, instructress in deceits, protectress of the stealth of love, did not avail to furnish herself with a secure lurking-place. Harsh tyrant Boy, cruel in a mother's fault, O Love, you lead your victorious procession, never sated with any triumph! Why do you always rejoice that Jove's thunderbolts have been reversed? ^a That you may the better ^b praise your flaming arrows, draw tight, Boy, the well-woven chains of Venus and of Mars: let Mavors ^c in love wear the label of a slave, let him whom wars do dread be a prisoner bearing bonds! To let you ride triumphant, the lover yields his savage neck to a rosy yoke. After wounds dealt and battles fought, powerful Gradivus pants as a new-enlisted recruit in your camp; he that should ever be feared fears you, following where wedlock's bonds do lead. Pray, come, ye Muses: while Mars, while alluring Cythere ^d draw fast-following sighs from the depth

of Cythera. *Cypris* (35, 79, 141, 146) recalls her cult in Cyprus, and *Paphie*, Reposianus' favourite epithet for Venus (23, 50, 61, 64, 80, 105, 109, 136, 139, 178), alludes to her temple at Paphos in Cyprus. Reposianus shares the epithets *Cythere*, *Cypris* and *Paphie* with Ausonius (4th cent. A.D.), though *Paphie* is used by Martial.

dumque intermixti captatur spiritus oris,
 carmine doctiloquo Vulcani vincla parate, 20
 quae Martem nectant Veneris nec braccia laedant
 inter delicias roseo prope livida serito.

namque ferunt Paphien, Vulcani et Martis amorem,
 inter adulterium nec iusti iura mariti
 indice sub Phoebō captam gessisse catenas. 25
 illa manu duros nexus tulit, illa mariti
 ferrea vincla sui. quae vis fuit ista doloris?
 an fortem faciebat amor? quid, saeve, laboras?
 cur nodos Veneri Cyclopia flamma paravit?
 de roseis conecete manus, Vulcane, catenis! 30
 nec tu deinde liges, sed blandus vincla Cupido,
 ne palmas duro nodus cum vulnere laedat.

lucus erat Marti gratus, post vulnera Adonis
 pictus amore deae; si Phoebi lumina desint,
 tutus adulterio, dignus quem Cypris amaret, 35
 quem Byblos coleret, dignus quem Gratia servet.

²² divitias S: delicias *Burman.* prope S: modo *Baehrens.*

²⁶ manus S: manu *Schrader*: Venus *Baehrens.*

²³ comodus S: nodus cum *Baehrens, alii alia.*

³⁴ pictus S: dictus vel lectus vel dignus *Wernsdorf*: huius *Baehrens*: laetus *Riese (in not.).*

^a i.e. arms so delicate that rose-leaves might almost make them black and blue.

^b Addressed to Vulcan as the injured husband of Venus.

^c i.e. to fashion iron chains.

^d After the death of her beloved Adonis from a wound inflicted by a boar in the forest, Venus might be imagined to dislike all woods. The passage implies that she made an exception in the case of the grove where she met her lover Mars, and so it is "decorated," "lit up" by the beautiful presence of the enamoured goddess. *pictus* may be right, though *amore* is less directly instrumental than the concrete ablatives in *Lucr. V. 1395-1396, anni tempora pingebant viridantes floribus herbas*; *Sen. Med. 310, stellisque quibus pingitur*

of their being, and while they woo the breath of intermingled kisses, do ye with dulcet strain make ready Vulcan's bonds to twine round Mars and yet do no hurt to Venus' arms that mid their dalliance are half-discoloured with the pressure of even a garland of roses.^a

The tale is told that the Paphian goddess, darling of Vulcan and of Mars, amid her adulterous intercourse and rights usurped by one not her lawful husband, was 'neath the revealing Sun-god caught, and wore the chains. She bore on her hand the cruel coils, she bore the iron bonds of her own husband. What was that violence in your resentment?^b Did love make strength?^c Why toil, O ruthless one? Why did the flame of the Giants' forge prepare entanglements for Venus? Rather, Vulcan, make the linking for the hands from chains of roses! And then *you* must not tie the bonds, but coaxing Cupid must, lest the knotting hurt the palms and inflict harsh pain.

There was a grove dear to Mars, adorned^d by the goddess' love after Adonis' death-wound; if only sunlight were lacking, safe for unlawful passion, meet for the Cyprian's affection, meet for worship from Byblos,^e meet for the regard of one of the Graces.^f

aether; *Pentadius, De Adventu Veris, line 11, floribus innumeris pingit sola flatus Eoi*: cf. *Lucr. II. 374-5, concharum genus . . . videmus pingere telluris gremium.* The metaphorical use seems a not unnatural extension from the idea of *pingunt* in 38, or in *sic mea flaventem pingunt vineta Garumnam* (of vineyards throwing their green reflection on the yellow Garonne), *Auson. Mosella 160, or in quis te naturae pinxit color?* *ib. 110.*

^e This Phoenician coast-town was the chief seat of the worship of Adonis: cf. 66 and *Byblades, 90.*

^f Cf. line 51. The singular is used in *Ovid. Met. VI. 429.*

MINOR LATIN POETS

vilia non illo surgebant gramina luco :
 pingunt purpureos candentia lilia flores ;
 ornat terra nemus : nunc lotos mitis inumbrat,
 nunc laurus, nunc myrtus. habent sua munera
 rami ; 40
 namque hic per frondes redolentia mala relucent.
 hic rosa cum violis, hic omnis gratia odorum,
 hic inter violas coma mollis laeta hyacinthi :
 dignus amore locus, cui tot sint munera rerum.
 non tamen in lucis aurum, non purpura fulget : 45
 flos lectus, flos vincla tori, substramina flores ;
 deliciis Veneris dives Natura laborat.
 texerat hic liquidos fontes non vilis harundo,
 sed qua saeva puer componat tela Cupido.
 hunc solum Paphie puto lucum fecit amori : 50
 hic Martem expectare solet. quid Gratia cessat,
 quid Charites ? cur, saeve puer, non lilia nectis ?
 tu lectum consterne rosis, tu sarta parato
 et roseis crinem nodis subnecte decenter.
 haec modo purpureum decerpens pollice florem, 55
 cum delibato suspiria ducat odore.
 ast tibi blanda manus <flores> sub pectore condat !
 tunc ne purpurei laedat te spina roseti,
 destitictis teneras foliis constringe papillas !
 sic decet in Veneris luco gaudere puellas : 60
 ut tamen illaesos Paphiae servetis amores,

³⁹ locos vitis S : lotos mitis *Burman*.

⁴⁰ rami *Baehrens*, *Riese* : lauri *vulgo*.

⁴¹ lilia pendent S : mala relucent *Baehrens*.

⁵² licia *vulgo*.

⁵⁶ diligatum . . . odorem S : delibato eum . . . odorem
Baehrens : delibato . . . odore *Klappius*.

* There are no purple coverlets.

REPOSIANUS

No common herbage grew within that grove : white
 lilies set off its bright-hued flowers. The earth gives
 adornment to the woodland : now the mild lotus
 casts its shade, now the laurel, now the myrtle.
 The boughs have their own gifts ; for here mid
 leafage fragrant apples shine out. Here the rose is
 neighbour to violets, here is every charm of scent,
 here among the violets are the joyous bells of the
 delicate hyacinth. Meet for love is a place which
 hath such wealth of boons. Still, gold there is none
 in all the grove, no gleam of purple^a : flowers are
 the bed, flowers the frame of the couch, flowers
 the support beneath. Rich Nature toils for Venus'
 luxury. Here had no common reeds shaded the
 crystal wells, but such as those whence young Cupid
 fashions his cruel weapons. I trow our Lady of
 Paphos made this grove for naught but love. Here
 'tis her way to wait for Mars. Why be the Graces
 slow to come—the sisterhood of the Charites?^b
 Why, cruel Boy, do you not twine lilies? Nay, *you*
 must strew the couch with roses, *you* must make
 garlands ready and with rosy knots bind up Venus'
 hair in seemly wise.^c Even as her finger culls the
 bright-hued bloom, let her draw long sighs as she
 drinks in its fragrance. But for thyself let a caress-
 ing hand store the flowers beneath thy bosom!
 Then, lest a thorn of the bright-hued rose-bush
 hurt thee, strip off the leaves ere thou bind together
 the tender buds!^d Even thus 'tis seemly that
 maids rejoice within the grove of Venus : yet that
 ye may preserve amours uninjured for the Paphian,

^b The Greek *Xáριτες* corresponded to the Latin *Gratiae*.

^c Wernsdorf thinks *tu* is addressed to one of the Graces.

^d For *papillae* as rosebuds cf. *Pervig. Ven.* 14 and 21.

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vincula sic mixtis caute constringite ramis,
 ne diffusa ferat per frondes lumina Titan.
 his igitur lucis Paphie, dum proelia Mavors
 horrida, dum populos diro terrore fatigat, 65
 ludebat teneris Bybli permixta puellis.
 nunc varios cantu divom referebat amores
 inque modum vocis nunc motus forte decentes
 corpore laeta dabat, nunc miscens † denique plantas,
 nunc alterna movens suspenso pollice crura, 70
 molliter inflexo subnitens poplite sidit.
 saepe comam pulchro collectam flore ligabat
 ornans ambrosios divino pectine crines.
 dum ludos sic blanda Venus, dum gaudia miscet 74
 et dum flet, quod sera venit sibi grata voluptas, 76
 et dum suspenso solatia quaerit amori: 75
 ecce furens post bella deus, post proelia victor 77
 victus amore venit. cur gestas ferrea tela?
 ne metuat Cypris, comptum decet ire rosetis.
 a, quotiens Paphie vultum mentita furentis 80
 lumine converso serum incusavit amantem!
 verbera saepe dolens minitata est dulcia serto
 aut, ut forte magis succenso Marte placeret,
 amovit teneris suspendens oscula labris
 nec totum effundens medio blanditur amore. 85
 decidit aut posita est devictis lancea palmis
 et, dum forte cadit, myrto retinente pependit.
 ensem tolle, puer, galeam tu, Gratia, solve; 88

⁸² mentita S: minitata *Higtius*.

⁸⁴ atmovet S: admovit *vulgo*: amovit *Wakkerus*.

° An imitation of Virg. *Georg.* IV. 347.

REPOSIANUS

carefully knit together bonds of branches inter-
 twined to keep the Sun-god from shedding a flood
 of light through the foliage. In these woodlands,
 then, the Paphian used to sport amid a bevy of
 tender damsels from Byblos, while Mavors plied
 savage warfare, while he wearied the nations with
 dread alarm. Now she would rehearse in song the
 chequered amours of the gods^a and to the vocal
 measure now joyously, as it befell, made seemly
 movements with her body; now in turn plying
 intricate steps, now on light fantastic toe moving
 alternate feet, she sinks down resting upon grace-
 fully bended haunch. Oft she would bind her hair
 close-drawn with pretty blooms, ordering ambrosial
 tresses with comb divine.

While thus sweet Venus engages in various sports
 and joys, and turns to tears for that her darling
 pleasure cometh late, and seeks some solace for her
 love deferred, behold in frenzy after warfare comes
 the god, after his battles the vanquisher vanquished
 by love. Why dost thou wear weapons of steel?
 Lest Cypris feel alarm, 'tis seemly to come with
 roses garlanded. Ah, how often did the Paphian's
 look feign anger as her averted eye reproached her
 lover's tardiness! Oft, piqued, did she threaten
 sweet lashes from festoons of flowers, or, mayhap
 the more to please when Mars was afire with
 passion, withheld those kisses which she poised on
 tender lips, alluring in the midst of love by checking
 love's full flood.

Down fell his lance or with love-vanquished hands
 was laid aside, and, as it happened to fall, hung
 on a myrtle-bough which caught it. Take, Boy, his
 sword: let one of the Graces unlace his helmet: ye

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solvite, Bybliades, praeduri pectora Martis : 90
 haec laxet nodos, haec ferrea vincula temptet 89
 loricaeque moras, vos scuta et tela tenete. 91
 nunc violas tractare decet. laetare, Cupido,
 terribilem divum tuo solo numine victum :
 pro telis flores, pro scuto myrtea sarta,
 et rosa forte loco est gladii, quem iure tremescunt! 95
 iverat ad lectum Mavors et pondere duro
 floribus incumbens totum turbarat honorem.
 ibat pulchra Venus vix presso pollice cauta,
 florea ne teneras violarent spicula plantas,
 et nunc innectens, ne rumpant oscula, crinem, 100
 nunc vestes fluitare sinens, vix lassa retentat,
 cum nec tota latet nec totum nudat amorem.
 ille inter flores furtivo lumine tectus
 spectat hians Venerem totoque ardore tremescit.
 incubuit lectis Paphie. proh sancte Cupido, 105
 quam blandas voces, quae tunc ibi murmura fundunt!
 oscula permixtis quae tunc fixere labellis!
 quam bene consertis haeserunt artubus artus!
 stringebat Paphiae Mavors tunc pectore dextram
 et collo innexam ne laedant pondera laevam, 110
 lilia cum roseis supponit candida sertis.
 saepe levi cruris tactu commovit amantem
 in flammas, quas diva fovet. iam languida fessos
 forte quies Martis tandem compresserat artus ;
 non tamen omnis amor, non omnis pectore cessit 115
 flamma dei : trahit in medio suspiria somno

⁹⁵ iura S : iure *Riese* : bella *Baehrens*.

¹⁰¹ sinũ S : sinens *Oudendorp*. lassa S : lassa *Baehrens*.

¹⁰³ tectus S : tectam *Baehrens*.

¹⁰⁴ motoque *Baehrens*.

^a Cf. Lucret. I. 36, of Mars in Venus' lap, *pascit amore avidos inhians in te, dea, visus*.

REPOSIANUS

damsels of Byblos, unlace the breast of stalwart
 Mars—let one slacken the knots, one try the iron
 bands which guard his breastplate, you others keep
 the shield and weapons. 'Tis the fitting moment to
 handle violets. Rejoice, O Cupid, that the awe-
 inspiring god is conquered by your divinity alone:
 instead of weapons there be flowers, instead of shield
 the myrtle wreaths; the rose, it so befalls, takes the
 place of the sword at which men have cause to
 tremble!

Mavors had come to the couch and resting his hard
 weight upon the flowers disordered all their graceful-
 ness. Fair Venus came scarce leaving footprint in
 her caution lest the prickly flowers should mar her
 tender feet, and, now entwining her tresses lest kisses
 might ruffle them, now letting her robes flow loose,
 can scarce confine them in her languor: she is not
 wholly hid nor wholly bares her charms. He in his
 covering of flowers with stealthy eye gazes agape at
 Venus, quivering in the full flame of passion.^a The
 Paphian goddess sank upon the couch. Ah! Cupid
 the august, how coaxing the words, what the mur-
 murs they then did utter there! What kisses did
 they then imprint upon commingled lips! How well
 did limb clasp limb in close embrace! Then Mavors
 drew his right hand from the Paphian's breast and
 lest his weight should hurt the left arm twined around
 her neck, sets white lilies and rose-wreaths under-
 neath. Oft the leg's light touch stirred the lover
 into flames by the goddess fanned. At last, it
 befell, the languor of repose had mastered the
 weary limbs of Mars; yet did not all love's rapture,
 yet did not all the flame, quit the god's breast:
 amidst his slumber he heaves sighs and from the

et venerem totis pulmonibus ardor anhelat.
 ipsa Venus tunc tunc calidis succensa venenis
 uritur ardescens, nec somnia parva quiescit.
 o species quam blanda! o quam bene presserat artus 120
 nudos forte sopor! niveis suffulta lacertis
 colla nitent: pectus gemino quasi sidere fulget.
 non omnis resupina iacet, sed corpore flexo
 molliter et laterum qua se confinia iungunt.
 Martem respiciens deponit lumina somno, 125
 sed gratiosa, decens. pro lucis forte Cupido
 Martis tela gerit; quae postquam singula <lustrat>,
 loriam clipeum gladium galeaeque minacis
 cristas, flore ligat; tunc hastae pondera temptat
 miraturque suis tantum licuisse sagittis. 130
 iam medium Phoebus radiis possederat orbem,
 iam tumidis calidus spatiis libraverat horas:
 flammantes retinebat equos. proh conscia facti
 invida lux! Veneris qui nunc produntur amores
 lumine, Phoebe, tuo! stant capti iudice tanto 135
 Mars Amor et Paphie, ramisque inserta tremescunt
 lumina, nec crimen possunt te teste negare.
 viderat effusis Gradivum Phoebus habenis
 in gremio Paphiae spirantem incendia amoris.
 o rerum male tuta fides! o gaudia et ipsis 140
 vix secunda deis! quis non, cum Cypris amaret,

¹²⁰ sic Baehrens: o quam blanda quies S, Riese.

¹²² turget S: fulget Baehrens.

¹²⁴ quo . . . iungant Baehrens.

¹²⁷ regens S: gerit Riese. tela; rigens Baehrens. lustrat
 Burman, Baehrens; om. S: vidit vulgo: sumpsit Riese.

¹³² sic Burman: iam mediis Maehly: dimidiis Riese.
 calidum spatium . . . horis Baehrens, Riese.

¹³⁶ ramis cum Baehrens.

^a The manuscript reading *quam blanda quies* seems an overbold contradiction of the preceding line.

depths of his lungs hot passion still pants love.
 Venus herself then, even then, enkindled with
 glowing poison, is afire and burns: she wins no
 restful dreams. How winning the sight!^a How
 fit the slumber that has overcome the naked limbs!
 A fair neck rests on snowy arms: the breast seems
 lit up by a pair of stars. Not wholly on her back
 is she reclined, but with a gentle bend of the body
 where side meets side. Looking at Mars, she drops
 her eyes in sleep, charming as ever, comely.^b In
 front of the grove meanwhile Cupid is handling
 Mars' weapons: and after scanning them one by one,
 breastplate, shield, sword, plumes of the threatening
 helmet, he binds them each with flowers; then tests
 the spear's weight, marvelling that his own arrows
 have been allowed such power.

Already had Phoebus taken possession of the mid-
 world with his rays, already in the heat of his proud
 course had he balanced the hours of day and was
 restraining his flaming steeds. Ah! envious day-
 light privy to the deed! What love-intrigues of
 Venus are now betrayed, O Phoebus, by thy sun-
 shine! With a judge so mighty there stand as
 prisoners Mars and Love and Paphos' queen; shed
 through the branches, sunbeams quiver; they cannot
 disown their guilt confronted by thy testimony.
 From his chariot in full career Phoebus had espied
 Gradivus breathing love's fires in the Paphian god-
 dess' lap. O ill-placed confidence! O joys even
 for the very gods scarce free from care! Who but
 would hope, when Cypris was in love, that loving

^b Baehrens marks a lacuna here because of the abrupt transition.

praeside sub tanto tutum speraret amare?
 criminis exemplum si iam de numine habemus,
 quid speret mortal' amor? quae vota ferenda?
 quod numen poscat, quo sit securus, adulter? 145
 Cypris amat, nec tuta tamen! compressit habenas
 Phoebus et ad lucos tantummodo lumina vertit
 et sic pauca refert: "nunc spargis tela, Cupido;
 nunc nunc, diva Venus, nati devicta sagittis
 das mihi solamen; sub te securus amavi: 150
 fabula, non crimen, nostri dicentur amores."
 haec ait et dictis Vulcanum instigat amaris:
 "dic ubi sit Cytherea decens, secure marite!
 te exspectat lacrimans, tibi castum servat amorem?
 vel si forte tuae Veneris fera crimina nescis, 155
 quaere simul Martem, cui tu modo tela parasti."
 dixit et infuso radiabat lumine lucum
 inque fidem sceleris totos demiserat ignes.
 haeserat Ignipotens stupefactus crimine tanto.
 iam quasi torpescens (vix sufficit ira dolori) 160
 ore fremit maestoque modo gemit ultima pulsans
 ilia et indignans suspiria pressa fatigat.
 antra furens Aetnaea petit. vix iusserat, omnes
 incubuere manus, multum dolor addidit arti.
 quam cito cuncta gerunt ars numen flamma maritus 165
 ira dolor! nam vix causam tunc forte iubendo

¹⁴² amorem *vulgo*.

¹⁴⁸ sparge tela S: spargis *Riese*: sparge o *Baehrens*.

¹⁵⁰ da S: das *Oudendorp*. securus S: si *lusus Baehrens*.

^a Apollo mischievously argues that Venus' example has shown him that conscience need not trouble a lover: so his own amours will be handed down as entertaining stories, not moral offences.

should be safe 'neath overseer so mighty? If now
 we take our pattern of wrongdoing from deity, what
 may a mortal's love expect? What prayers must be
 offered? What deity should a paramour entreat for
 an easy mind? Cypris is in love, yet not in safety.
 Phoebus held tight his reins and towards the grove
 turned but his eyes, uttering these brief words:
 "Now dost thou shower thy darts, O Cupid; now,
 now, divine Venus, quite vanquished by thy son's
 arrows, thou givest me solace; 'neath thy power I
 have learned to love care-free. My amours will be
 recounted for a fable, not a crime."^a

So speaking he stirs up Vulcan with bitter words:
 "Say, heedless husband, where is the comely Lady
 of Cythera! Does she await thee in tears, preserving
 her chaste love for thee? Or, if mayhap thou
 knowest not the wild offences of thy Venus, search
 at the same time for Mars, whom of late thou didst
 provide with weapons." As he spoke, he lit up the
 grove with a flood of light, sending straightway his
 full fires down in proof of guilt. The Lord of Fire
 was at a loss, stunned by so great a crime: now half-
 benumbed (anger scarce meets his pain) he growls
 aloud, and groaning in melancholy wise convulses
 his sides to their very depth and wrathfully heaves
 sigh on sigh unceasing.^b In his frenzy he makes for
 the cavern-forge of Aetna. Scarce were his orders
 given, when all hands fell to work—much did resent-
 ment add to skill. How quickly is all accomplished
 by skill, deity, flame, husband, anger, pain! Scarce
 in the moment of his ordering had he explained the

^b Cf. phrases like *Virg. Aen. IX. 415, longis singultibus ilia pulsat*; *VIII. 94, noctemque diemque fatigant*; *Sil. Ital. XII. 496, curasque ita corde fatigat*.

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dixerat, et vindex coniunx iam vincla ferebat.
 pervenit ad lucos, non ipsi visus Amori,
 non Chariti: totas arti mandaverat iras.
 vincula tunc manibus suspenso molliter ictu 170
 illigat et teneris conectit brachia palmis.
 excutitur somno Mavors et pulchra Cythere.
 posset Gradivus validos dirumpere nexus,
 sed retinebat amor, Veneris ne brachia laedat.
 tunc tu sub galea, tunc inter tela latebas, 175
 saeve Cupido, timens. stat Mavors lumine torvo
 atque indignatur, quod sit deprehensus adulter.
 at Paphie conversa dolet non crimina facti;
 sed quae sit vindicta sibi tum singula volvens
 cogitat et poenam sentit, si Phoebus amaret. 180
 iamque dolos properans decorabat cornua tauri,
 Passiphaeae crimen mixtique cupidinis iram.

MODESTINUS

FORTE iacebat Amor victus puer alite somno
 myrti inter frutices pallentis roris in herba.

¹⁷⁶ stans S: stat Burman: flat Baehrens.
¹⁸⁰ sancit Baehrens. ¹⁸¹ reparans Baehrens.
¹⁸² Passifæ S.

* i.e. for the full satisfaction of his anger he depended on the skill at the forge with which the avenging chains were made.

^b Reposianus departs from the traditional story according to which the lovers were entrapped in a snare previously contrived by the Fire-god: see *Odyss.* viii. 276 sqq.; *Ovid. Met.* IV. 176 sqq.; *Ars. Am.* II. 577 sqq.; *Stattius, Silv.* I. ii. 59-60. He also substitutes a grove for the Fire-god's house as the scene of the amour.

MODESTINUS

reason before the avenging husband was already bringing the chains. He reaches the grove, unseen by Love himself, unseen by any Grace: to his art he had entrusted all his rage.^a Then with light soft touch he bound the chains upon the sleepers' hands, linking their arms with gentle movement.^b Mars shakes himself free of sleep: so too the fair Cytherean. Gradivus well might burst asunder the strong bonds, but love restrained him lest he hurt Venus' arms. Then did *you* lurk hidden 'neath Mars' helmet, then did *you* lurk among his weapons, cruel Cupid, in cowardice. Mavors stands sullen of look, chafing because he is an adulterer caught. But the Paphian feels no grief that her guilty deed has turned awry: instead, she thinks of what revenge is hers, revolving point by point, and feels it were fit penalty if Phoebus fell in love: and now, hastening forward her guile, she set to ornament the horns of the bull which would mean Pasiphaë's guilt and the wrath involved in blended lust.^c

MODESTINUS

CUPID ASLEEP

YOUNG Love lay once with wingéd sleep o'ercome
 Mid myrtle shrubs where pale dew soaked the grass.

^a The fable ran that Venus took revenge on Phoebus through his offspring. Pasiphaë, daughter of the Sun-god, and wife of Minos, king of Crete, was the victim of Venus, who caused her to become enamoured of the bull: cf. *Virg. Aen.* VI. 25, *Pasiphaë mixtumque genus prolesque biformis* (in reference to the Minotaur).

Here, as occasionally elsewhere, *cupido* (= "desire") is masculine: there is no need to personify it as "Cupid," nor to adopt the suggestion in Burman of *mixtaeque libidinis*.

MINOR LATIN POETS

hunc procul emissae tenebrosa Ditis ab aula
 circueunt animae, saeva face quas cruciarat.
 "ecce meus venator!" ait "hunc" Phaedra
 "ligemus!" 5
 crudelis "crinem" clamabat Scylla "metamus!"
 Colchis et orba Procne "numerosa caede necemus!"
 Didon et Canace "saevo gladio perimamus!"
 Myrrha "meis ramis," Euhadneque "igne crememus!"
 "hunc" Arethusa inquit Byblisque "in fonte
 necemus!" 10
 ast Amor evigilans dixit "mea pinna, volumus."

AUCTOR INCERTUS

CUPIDO AMANS

Quis me fervor agit? nova sunt suspiria menti.
 anne aliquis deus est nostro vehementior arcu?
 quem mihi germanum fato fraudante creavit
 diva parens? satis an mea spicula fusa per orbem
 vexavere polum laesusque in tempore mundus 5
 invenit poenam? sed si mea vulnera novi,

Cupido Amans: ^a fato S: furto *Wakkerus*: partu *Baehrens*.

^a The ten victims of unhappy love are represented as making allusions to their own misfortunes. Thus Phaedra seems to see a second Hippolytus, eager for the chase; Scylla remembers the lock she treacherously clipped from her father's head; Dido and Canace recall their death by a sword; Myrrha her transformation into a tree; Euhadne or Evadne her suicide on a blazing pyre; Byblis and Arethusa their metamorphosis into a fountain.

ANONYMOUS

Round him came ghosts, from Pluto's gloomy hall
 Set free, ghosts whom his cruel brand had scorched.^a
 "Look! 'tis my hunter!" Phaedra said: "bring
 bonds!"
 But ruthless Scylla cried "Let's shear his hair!"
 The Colchian dame^b and Procne sore-bereaved
 Said "We must make him die full many a death!"
 Dido and Canace urged death by steel:
 "Nay, by my branches!" Myrrha claimed. "Let's
 burn
 Him in the fire!" Euhadne thought his due.
 Byblis and Arethusa wished him drowned.
 But Love awoke and said "My wings, let's fly!"

ANONYMOUS

CUPID IN LOVE^c

WHAT is the glow of passion that impels me?
 Sighs be new for me to think of. Can it be that
 some god has mightier force than Cupid's bow? To
 whom by some trick of fate has my goddess mother
 given birth to be a brother for me? Have my
 darts, shot through the globe, harassed the heavens
 enough, and an injured world at the fit moment dis-
 covered a penalty? Nay, if I know wounds of my

^b Medea.

^c This poem by an unknown author was first printed by Burman, *Anth. Lat. I. Lib. I. No. 30* immediately before Modestinus' poem (. . . "ex Divionensi codice primi producitur et Salmasianis schedis"). It is here included as a companion picture to "Cupid Asleep." See Buecheler-Riese, *Anth. Lat. I. i. No. 240, p. 197*; Baehrens, *P.L.M. IV. pp. 345-346*.

MINOR LATIN POETS

hic meus est ignis : meus est, qui parcere nescit.
 in furias ignesque trahor ! licet orbe superno,
 Iuppiter, et salsis undis, Neptune, tegaris,
 abdita poenarum te cingant Tartara, Pluton,
 impositum rumpemus onus ! volitabo per axem
 mundigerum caelique plagas pontique procellas
 umbriferumque Chaos ; pateant adamantina regna,
 torva venenatis cedat Bellona flagellis !
 poenam mundus amet : stupeat vis maior ! anhelat
 in se saevus Amor fraudemque in vulnere quaerit !

PENTADIUS

I

DE FORTUNA

RES eadem adsidue momento volvitur uno
 atque redit dispar res eadem adsidue.
 vindice facta manu Progne pia dicta sorori,
 impia sed nato vindice facta manu.
 carmine visa suo Colchis fuit ulta maritum,
 sed scelerata fuit carmine visa suo.
 coniugis Eurydice precibus remeabat ad auras,
 rursus abit vitio coniugis Eurydice.

⁹ ex altis S : et salsis *Wakkerus* : exultes *Riese*.
¹⁰ poenarum *vulgo* : terrarum *Machly* : Taenarium *Baehrens*. te cingant *Oudendorp* : est ingum (*sic*) S.

¹⁵ vix S : vis *schedae* : mox *Baehrens* : stupeat, vincatur, anhelat *Riese*.

¹⁶ vulnera *Baehrens*.

PENTADIUS : ^{3, 4} functa *L. Mueller, Baehrens* : facta *codd.*

^{5, 6} visa *codd.* : fisa *Baehrens* : nisa *Riese*.

PENTADIUS

dealing, this is my own fire—that fire of mine which
 knows not how to spare. Into a frenzy of fires am I
 dragged ! Although thou, O Jupiter, be concealed
 in the sphere above, and thou, O Neptune, in the
 salt-sea waves, although the hidden Hell of punish-
 ment encircle thee, Pluto, we will burst the burden
 laid on us ! I will fly across the axis that supports the
 world, through the tracts of the sky and the tempests
 of ocean, and through shadowy Chaos : let adaman-
 tine realms ope wide, let the War-Goddess, sullen
 mid her envenomed whips, retreat ! Let the world
 love its punishment ! Let mightier force stand
 mazed !—So pants fell Cupid inly and, though him-
 self wounded,^a aims at guile.

PENTADIUS

I

ON CHANGING FORTUNE

THE same thing constantly rolls on with uniform
 movement, and unlike its old self returns the same
 thing constantly. By her avenging hand,^b legend
 says, Progne proved loyal to her sister but proved
 disloyal to her son by her avenging hand. Through
 her incantation the Colchian (*Medea*) was seen to
 have revenged herself on her husband, but she was
 seen to be guilt-stained through her incantation.
 Her consort's entreaties all but won Eurydice's return
 to upper air : again is Eurydice lost through the fault

^a Cupid forgets his own wound in his desire to do mischief.

^b Progne or Procne : cf. *Nemes. Cyneg.* 33. She avenged on
 her husband King Tereus his outrage on her sister Philomela by
 slaying Itys her own son by Tereus : cf. *Nem. Cyn.* 33-34.

sanguine poma rubent Thisbae nece tincta repente :
 candida quae fuerant, sanguine poma rubent. 10
 Daedalus arte sua fugit Minoia regna,
 amisit natum Daedalus arte sua.
 munere Palladio laeti qua nocte fuere,
 hac periire Phryges munere Palladio.
 nate quod alter ades caelo, sunt gaudia Ledaë ; 15
 sed maeret mater, nate quod alter abes.
 hostia et ipse fuit diri Busiridis hospes
 Busirisque aris hostia et ipse fuit.
 Theseus Hippolyto vitam per vota rogavit,
 optavit mortem Theseus Hippolyto. 20
 stipite fatifero iuste quae fratribus usa est,
 mater saeva fuit stipite fatifero.
 sola relicta toris flevisti in litore, Cnosis ;
 laetaris caelo sola relicta toris.
 aurea lana fuit, Phrixum quae per mare vexit ; 25
 Helle qua lapsa est, aurea lana fuit.

⁹ *tristi nece codd.* : *Thysbaeo tincta Heinsius* : *Thisbae nece L. Mueller*.

^{17, 18} *saepe codd.* : *et ipse Heinsius* : *sacra Baehrens*.

²³ *litore codd.* : *in litore vulgo* : *litora (coniungendum cum sola) Baehrens*.

^a Heinsius saw that the reference was to the trysting-place of Pyramus and Thisbe, and altered the *tristi* of the manuscripts. L. Mueller's *Thisbae* saves *nece*.

^b Castor and Pollux, Leda's twins, were granted an alternate immortality ; when changed into the constellation Gemini, one had to be above the horizon, the other below. This is the one instance among these Latin "echoic" verses in which the opening of a couplet is not exactly repeated at the close. Here there is the slight change of *ades* to *abes*.

^c The Egyptian king who sacrificed strangers was in turn immolated by Hercules.

of her consort. Red with blood is the fruit suddenly stained by Thisbe's death : ^a the fruit which once was white is red with blood. By his skill (in flying) Daedalus escaped from the realms of Crete : his son (Icarus) was lost to Daedalus by his skill. Minerva's gift ruined the Trojans on that same night in which they were gladdened by Minerva's gift (of the wooden horse). O son, because thou, the one twin, art present in the sky, Leda feels joy ; but her maternal heart is sore, O son, because thou, the other twin, art not present.^b A victim of dread Busiris^c was the stranger his very self, and Busiris at the altar his very self was a victim. For Hippolytus Theseus sought long life in his prayers ; yet 'Theseus' (final) prayer was death for Hippolytus.^d A fatal brand Althaea used justly for avenging her brothers, and a cruel mother she proved herself with that same fatal brand.^e Left alone on thy couch, O Cretan lady, thou didst weep upon the strand ; thou now rejoicest in the sky because thou wast left alone on thy couch.^f The Golden Fleece it was which bore Phrixus o'er the sea : that from which (his sister) Helle fell was the Golden Fleece.^g The Tantalid

^a *i.e.* after the false charge brought against Hippolytus by Phaedra.

^b Althaea avenged her brothers, whom her son Meleager had slain, by burning the brand on which his life depended (*impietate pia est*, Ovid, *Met.* VIII. 477) ; *cf.* Rutilius, II. 53.

^f Ariadne, deserted by Theseus, was consoled by Bacchus and eventually made a constellation.

^g Phrixus, in danger of death by sacrifice through the malignity of his stepmother Ino, escaped overseas with his sister Helle on the ram of the Golden Fleece provided by Zeus. Helle was drowned by falling from the ram into the strait which was called the Hellespont after her ; but her brother reached Colchis in safety.

Tantalus est numero natorum facta superba,
 natorum afflicta † Tantalus est numero.
 Pelias hasta fuit, vulnus grave quae dedit hosti;
 hoc quae sanavit, Pelias hasta fuit. 30
 per mare iacta ratis pleno subit ostia velo,
 in portu mersa est per mare iacta ratis.
 lux cito summa datur natusque exstinguitur infans
 atque animae eximiae lux cito summa datur. 35
 sunt mala laetitiae diversa lege creata,
 iuncta autem adsidue sunt mala laetitiae.

II

DE ADVENTU VERIS

Sentio, fugit hiemps; Zephyrisque animantibus orbem
 iam tepet Euris aquis: sentio, fugit hiemps.
 parturit omnis ager, persentit terra calores,
 germinibusque novis parturit omnis ager.
 laeta virecta tument, folio sese induit arbor: 5
 vallibus apricis laeta virecta tument.
 iam Philomela gemit modulis, Ityn impia mater
 oblatum mensis iam Philomela gemit.
 monte tumultus aquae properat per levia saxa,
 et late resonat monte tumultus aquae. 10
 floribus innumeris pingit sola flatus Eoi,

²⁷⁻²⁸ afflicta *codd.* (*contra metrum*): fortasse infelix *Wight Duff*. *Metri causa coniecit Oudendorp* T. e numero . . . afflicta est T. e numero.

³² versa *codd.*: mersa *Heinsius*.

³⁴ prima *codd.* (*corruptum*): primae *Oudendorp*: pretium *Heinsius*: fortasse eximiae *A. M. Duff*.

³⁶ e lege creandi *Baehrens*.

³⁶ autem *Riese*: etiam *Baehrens*.

(Niobe) grew proud over the number of her children: in the number of her children grief crushed the Tantalid. Achilles' spear^a it was which dealt the enemy a heavy blow: what also cured the wound was Achilles' spear. The sea-tost barque enters the river-mouth under full sail; but in harbour sinks the sea-tost barque. Soon is the final day assigned and the new-born child cut off: likewise to illustrious life soon is the final day assigned. Evils and joy are made on a different pattern: yet are they constantly linked—evils and joy.

II

ON THE ARRIVAL OF SPRING

Winter, I feel, has fled; and while Zephyrs quicken the world, Euris is already genial on the waters: winter, I feel, has fled. Every field is in travail: earth feels thrills of warmth throughout: with the new buds every field is in travail. Green copses swell joyously: the tree robes herself with leaves: in sunlit dales green copses swell joyously. Now doth Philomel lament in tuneful notes; now, for that Itys was served at the board,^b doth the impious mother Philomel lament. From the hill the tumultuous stream speeds among the smooth-worn stones: far and wide resounds from the hill the tumultuous stream. With flowers beyond all count the breath of the Orient wind decks the ground; and vales like

^a See note on *Laus Pisonis*, 177.

^b i.e. as food to Tereus. Philomela here takes the place of Procne: cf. *De Fortuna*, 3-4.

MINOR LATIN POETS

Tempeaque exhalant floribus innumeris.
 per cava saxa sonat pecudum mugitibus Echo,
 voxque repulsa iugis per cava saxa sonat.
 vitea musta tument vicinas iuncta per ulmos;
 fronde maritata vitea musta tument.
 nota tigilla linit iam garrula luce chelidon;
 dum recolit nidos, nota tigilla linit.
 sub platano viridi iucundat somnus in umbra,
 sartaque texuntur sub platano viridi.
 tunc quoque dulce mori, tunc fila recurrite fusis:
 inter et amplexus tunc quoque dulce mori.

15

20

III

NARCISSUS

Cui pater amnis erat, fontes puer ille colebat,
 laudabatque undas, cui pater amnis erat.
 se puer ipse videt, patrem dum quaerit in amne,
 perspicuoque lacu se puer ipse videt.
 quod Dryas igne calet, puer hunc irridet amorem;
 nec putat esse decus, quod Dryas igne calet.
 stat stupet haeret amat rogat innuit adspicit ardet
 blanditur queritur stat stupet haeret amat.
 quodque amat, ipse facit vultu prece lumine fletu;
 oscula dat fonti, quodque amat ipse facit.

5

10

¹⁴ visque T: usque V: bisque S: voxque corr. *Salmasius, Bachrens.*

¹⁵ iucunda codd.: iucundat *Meyer.*

^a *musta*, usually of new wine, here by metonymy means the clusters containing the promise of wine.

^b i.e. in the spring season restore the by-gone days of youth.

^c The River-god Cephissus was the father of Narcissus, who fell in love with his own reflection in water. The story is beautifully told by Ovid, *Met.* III. 346-510.

PENTADIUS

Tempe are fragrant with flowers beyond all count.
 Mid hollow rocks resounds Echo to the lowing herd;
 the note reverberated by the heights mid hollow
 rocks resounds. Wine-filled clusters^a swell, linked
 among their neighbour elms: mid married leafage
 wine-filled clusters swell. The familiar roof-timber
 already at daybreak is being smeared with mud by
 the twittering swallow; as she repairs her nest, she
 smears the familiar roof-timber. Under the green
 plane-tree sleep takes pleasure in the shade: and
 garlands are a-twining under the green plane-tree.
 Then too 'twere sweet to die: then run, ye threads
 of destiny, back on the spindles:^b amid embraces
 then too 'twere sweet to die.

III

NARCISSUS

The youth who had a river for sire^c was ever fond
 of fountains: the waters won praise from him who
 had a river for sire. The youth beholds himself as
 he seeks his sire in the river; in the translucent pool
 the youth beholds himself. When a Dryad is fired
 with passion, the youth flouts such love: he deems
 it ne'er an honour that a Dryad is fired with passion.
 He stands astonished; halts and falls in love, ques-
 tions, nods, gazes all aflame; now coaxing, now
 reproaching, he stands astonished; halts and falls
 in love. And what he loves, himself he makes^d in
 look, entreaty, eye and tears; prints kisses on the
 fountain, and what he loves, himself he makes.

^d i.e. he makes his own reflection, with which he is in love.

MINOR LATIN POETS

IV

NARCISSUS

Hic est ille, suis nimium qui credidit undis,
Narcissus vero dignus amore puer.
cernis ab irriguo repetentem gramine ripas,
ut per quas perit cernere possit aquas.

V

CHRYSOCOME

Chrysocome gladium fugiens stringente marito
textit adulterium iudice casta reo.

VI

DE FEMINA

Crede ratem ventis, animum ne crede puellis;
namque est feminea tutior unda fide.
femina nulla bona est, vel, si bona contigit una,
nescio quo fato est res mala facta bona.

IV. ¹ undis *codd.*: umbris *Baehrens.*

⁴ crescere *codd.*: cernere *Baehrens (in not.).*

^a The *Anthologia Latina* contains also two elegiac couplets on Narcissus (*Baehrens, P.L.M. IV. p. 305 and p. 340*); but their authorship is uncertain. The *Tumulus Hectoris* given to Pentadius in Cabaret-Dupaty's *Poetae Minores* is by *Baehrens* assigned to *Pompilianus (P.L.M. IV. p. 149)*, while the *Tumulus Acidis* is of uncertain authorship (*P.L.M. V. p. 404*).

PENTADIUS

IV

NARCISSUS ^a

This is he who trusted overmuch in the pools
which were his kin—the youth Narcissus, worthy
of no counterfeit love. You behold him making
again from the moist meadow for the river-banks in
hope of beholding the waters which wrought his
doom.^b

V

GOLDBLOCKS

Chrysocome escaping from the sword as her
husband drew it (to punish her) veiled her adultery
by being found innocent when the culprit acted as
judge.^c

VI

ON WOMAN'S LOVE ^d

Trust to the winds thy barque, but to a girl
Never thy heart's affections; for the swirl
Of ocean wave is less to be eschewed
Than woman's faith. No woman can be good,
Or if a good one comes, then freakish fate
Good out of ill has managed to create.

^b *crescere* would imply his perennial growth as a flower after metamorphosis.

^c Convinced of her infidelity, her husband had been within an ace of killing her; but in court the judge pronounced her not guilty—he had been her partner in the offence!

^d Various ascribed to the *Ciceros*, to *Ausonius* and other poets besides *Pentadius*. See Introduction.

TIBERIANUS

INTRODUCTION TO TIBERIANUS

From Jerome's Chronicle (ad ann. 2352) we learn that Tiberianus, "vir disertus," was a governor in Gaul as "praefectus praetorio" in A.D. 335. Possibly he is the same as the Tiberianus whom we find holding official positions in Africa and Spain slightly earlier in the fourth century. His poetry is represented by a few surviving poems and quotations. The feeling for the beauty of nature pervading the twenty trochaic tetrameters^a in his *Annis ibat* gives some countenance to Baehrens' suggestion that he composed the metrically similar *Pervigilium Veneris*;^b and the almost entire avoidance of quadrisyllabic endings in that poem bears, it has been argued, a resemblance to the manner of Tiberianus.^c His authorship of the twenty-eight hexameters on the pernicious influence of gold is attested by Servius' citation of its third line on *Aeneid* VI. 136. The twelve hendecasyllabics

^a Tiberianus apparently uses greater metrical licence than is found in the *Pervigilium Veneris*. He allows an anapaest in the fifth foot, if either Baehrens' *violarum sub spiritu* or Garrod's *violarum suspiritu* is accepted in line 7, and a spondee in the fifth foot, if the MS. readings are correct in lines 6 and 14.

^b See Introduction to Florus for the contention that the *Pervigilium* is much earlier: cf. also Introduction to the poem in Loeb ed. of Catullus, Tibullus and *Pervig. Ven.*

^c See Appendix to J. A. Fort's ed. of *Pervig. Ven.*, Oxford, 1922.

INTRODUCTION TO

on a bird may be somewhat less confidently ascribed to him. Based on different manuscript authority is the poem purporting to be translated from Greek into Latin "a quodam Tiberiano," and in its invocation of the Supreme Being blending Orphic, Pythagorean and Platonic elements. There are, besides, a few fragments referred explicitly to Tiberianus by Servius and Fulgentius.^a

EDITIONS

- M. Haupt. *Ovidii Halieutica*, etc. Leipzig, 1838.
[Haupt first printed poem No. iv "Omnipotens . . ."]^b
- E. Baehrens. *Unedirte lateinische Gedichte*, p. 27 sqq. Leipzig, 1877.
- *Poet. Lat. Minores*, III. pp. 263-269. Leipzig, 1881.
- F. Buecheler and A. Riese. *Anthologia Latina*, I. ii. Nos. 490, 719b, 809-810.

The text here given is in the main that of Baehrens, with the chief departures indicated.

SIGLUM for Poems I-III.

H = codex Harleianus 3685: saec. xv. (Containing also various medieval verses.)

^a These scraps are given by Baehrens, *P.L.M.* III. 269, and are included in this edition.

^b See also L. Quicherat, *Biblioth. de l'école des chartes*, IV. p. 267 sq.

TIBERIANUS

SIGLA for Poem IV.

- R = Reginensis 215: saec. ix. (Collated by Baehrens.)
- P = Parisinus 2772: saec. x-xi. (Collated by Quicherat and by Riese.)
- S = Parisinus 17160: saec. xii. (Collated by Baehrens.)
- V = Vindobonensis 143: saec. xiii. (Used by Haupt.)

Bibliographical addendum (1982)

A new edition and commentary on the *Pervigilium Veneris* is awaited from Alan Cameron, who has definitively established, at least to this writer's satisfaction, that the work is to be ascribed to Tiberianus.

TIBERIANUS

I

AMNIS ibat inter arva valle fusus frigida,
 luce ridens calculorum, flore pictus herbido.
 caeruleas superne laurus et virecta myrtea
 leniter motabat aura blandiente sibilo.
 subter autem molle gramen flore adulto creverat : 5
 et croco solum rubebat et lucebat liliis,
 et nemus fragrabat omne violarum <sub> spiritū.
 inter ista dona veris gemmeasque gratias
 omnium regina odorum vel colorum Lucifer
 auriflora praeminebat, flamma Diones, rosa. 10
 roscidum nemus rigebat inter uda gramina :
 fonte crebro murmurabant hinc et inde rivuli,
 antra muscus et virentes intus <hederae> vinxerant,
 qua fluenta labibunda guttis ibant lucidis.

⁶ tum croco *Baehrens* : et croco H.

⁷ violarum spiritu H (*contra metrum*) : sub addidit *Baehrens* : spiritu violarii *Fort*.

¹⁰ sic *Garrod* (*Oxford Book of Latin Verse*) : auro flore praeminebat forma dionis H : aureo flore eminebat cura *Cypridis Baehrens*.

¹³ hederae addidit *Maackail* : myrtus *Baehrens* : om. H.

¹⁴ qua *Ziehen* : quae H, *Baehrens*, qui hunc versum ante 13 transposuit. guttis ibant lucidis H : gurgite i. lucido *Fort*.

TIBERIANUS

I

Through the fields there went a river; down the
 airy glen it wound,
 Smiling mid its radiant pebbles, decked with flowery
 plants around.
 Dark-hued laurels waved above it close by myrtle
 greeneries,
 Gently swaying to the whispers and caresses of the
 breeze.
 Underneath grew velvet greensward with a wealth
 of bloom for dower,
 And the ground, a gleam with lilies, coloured 'neath
 the saffron-flower,
 While the grove was full of fragrance and of breath
 from violets.
 Mid such guerdons of the spring-time, mid its
 jewelled coronets,
 Shone the queen of all the perfumes, Star that love-
 liest colours shows,
 Golden flame of fair Dione, passing every flower—the
 rose.
 Dewsprent trees rose firmly upright with the lush
 grass at their feet :
 Here, as yonder, streamlets murmured tumbling from
 each well-spring fleet.
 Grottoes had an inner binding made of moss and
 ivy green,
 Where soft-flowing runlets glided with their drops of
 crystal sheen.

MINOR LATIN POETS

has per umbras omnis ales plus canora quam putes 15
 cantibus vernis strepebat et susurris dulcibus;
 hic loquentis murmur amnis concinebat frondibus,
 quis melos vocalis aurae musa Zephyri moverat.
 sic euntem per virecta pulchra odora et musica
 ales amnis aura lucus flos et umbra iuverat. 20

II

Aurum, quod nigri manes, quod turbida versant
 flumina, quod duris extorsit poena metallis!
 aurum, quo pretio reserantur limina Ditis,
 quo Stygii regina poli Proserpina gaudet!
 aurum, quod penetrat thalamos rumpitque pudorem, 5
 qua ductus saepe illecebra micat impius ensis!
 in gremium Danaes non auro fluxit adulter
 mentitus pretio faciem fulvoque veneno?
 non Polydorum hospes saevo necat incitus auro?
 altrix infelix, sub quo custode pericli 10
 commendas natum? cui regia pignora credis?
 fit tutor pueri, fit custos sanguinis aurum!
 immitis nidos coluber custodiet ante
 et catulos fetae poterunt servare leaenae.
 sic etiam ut Troiam popularet Dorica pubes, 15
 aurum causa fuit
 pretium dignissima merces:
 infami probro palmam convendit adulter.

^a Jupiter: cf. Sulpicius Lupercus Servasius, II. 7-8 (*De Cupiditate*).

^b Polydorus, son of Priam, was murdered by Polymnestor, King of Thrace, for the gold which Priam had sent with Polydorus: cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* III. 41-57, esp. *auri sacra fames*.

^c Paris gave his judgement in favour of Venus for the promise of Helen's love, and his award of the golden apple to her thus led to the Trojan war.

TIBERIANUS

Through those shades each bird, more tuneful than
 belief could entertain,
 Warbled loud her chant of spring-tide, warbled low
 her sweet refrain.
 Here the prattling river's murmur to the leaves made
 harmony,
 As the Zephyr's airy music stirred them into melody.
 To a wanderer through the coppice, fair and filled
 with song and scent,
 Bird and river, breeze and woodland, flower and shade
 brought ravishment.

II

O Gold, whirled onward by dark hell and muddy
 rivers, wrested by the convict from cruel mines:
 gold, the bribe unbarring Pluto's doors, and the
 delight of Proserpine, queen of the Stygian world!
 gold which invades the marriage-bower and shatters
 chastity, and at whose enticement the unholy sword
 often flashes from scabbard drawn! Was it not in
 golden stream that to Danaë's lap there came the
 adulterer^a who masked his appearance in his bribe
 of yellow poison? Was not barbarous gold the
 motive when Polydorus^b was slain by his host?
 Unhappy nurse, under what guardian against danger
 dost thou entrust a son? To whom dost thou com-
 mit children of royal line? Gold becomes protector
 of the boy, gold the guardian of the blood! Sooner
 will ruthless serpent guard nestlings, and lionesses
 be ready to save the whelps of a newly delivered
 dam. So too for Troy's destruction by the young
 manhood of Greece the reason lay in gold . . . a
 bribe the worthiest recompense. At the price of
 infamous scandal the paramour sold his award.^c

MINOR LATIN POETS

denique cernamus, quos aurum servit in usus.
 auro emitur facinus, pudor almus venditur auro,
 tum patria atque parens, leges pietasque fidesque: 20
 omne nefas auro tegitur, fas proditur auro.
 porro hoc Pactolus, porro fluat et niger Hermus?
 aurum, res gladii, furor amens, ardor avarus,
 te celent semper vada turbida, te luta nigra,
 te tellus mersum premat infera, te sibi nasci 25
 Tartareus cupiat Phlegethon Stygiaeque paludes!
 inter liventes pereat tibi fulvor harenas,
 nec post ad superos redeat faex aurea puros!

III

Ales, dum madida gravata nube
 udos tardius explicat volatus,
 decepta in medio repente nisu
 capta est pondere depremeute plumae:
 cassato solito vigore pennae, 5
 quae vitam dederant, dedere letum;
 sic, quis ardua nunc tenebat alis,
 isdem protinus incidit ruinae.
 quid sublimia circuisse prodest?
 qui celsi steterant, iacent sub imis! 10
 exemplum capiant, nimis petendo
 qui ventis tumidi volant secundis.

III. ¹ madida g. pennis H: madidis g. p. *Garrod*: madida g.
 nube *Baehrens*.

⁷ ac *Baehrens*.

⁹ sublima-circuisse H: sublima requisivisse *Baehrens*.

¹⁰ sub ictu *Baehrens*.

¹² vanis t. tonant H: ventis t. volant *Rohde*.

TIBERIANUS

Let us then see for what uses gold doth serve. It
 is the buying-price of crime, it is the sale-price of
 kind modesty, of fatherland and parent, of laws and
 piety and faith: all guilt is hidden by gold, by gold
 all righteousness betrayed. With it must Pactolus
 still flow on, and likewise the dark Hermus-stream?^a
 O gold, thou murderous thing, thou frenzied madness
 and passionate greed, let muddy shallows and a
 stream's dark silt conceal thee evermore; let earth
 below whelm and bury thee, let Tartarean Phlegethon
 and the Stygian pools covet thy birth for themselves!
 Perish thy yellow gleam among the sombre sands!
 Never hereafter let the golden dregs return to clean-
 handed men of the world above!

III

A bird with drenching rain o'erweighted,
 Hindered by wet, her flight abated,
 And sudden, mid her efforts foiled,
 Was caught as 'neath her load she toiled.
 When her old strength of wing grew nought,
 What once brought life now ruin brought:
 So pinions used for soaring high
 Straight dashed her on the ground to die.
 What boots it round the heavens to fly?
 Who stood exalted, lowest lie!
 Learn this, who aim beyond the scale
 And haughtily ride the favouring gale.

^a The golden sands of the Lydian river Hermus and its
 tributary, the Pactolus, were renowned in antiquity.

IV

Omnipotens, annosa poli quem suspicit aetas,
 quem sub millenis semper virtutibus unum
 nec numero quisquam poterit pensare nec aevo,
 nunc esto affatus, si quo te nomine dignum est,
 quo sacer ignoto gaudes, quom maxima tellus
 intremittit et sistunt rapidos vaga sidera cursus.
 tu solus, tu multus item, tu primus et idem
 postremus mediusque simul mundique superstes.
 nam sine fine tui labentia tempora finis.
 altus ab aeterno spectas fera turbine certo
 rerum fata rapi vitasque involvier aevo
 atque iterum reduces supera in convexa referri,
 scilicet ut mundo redeat quod partibus haustus
 perdidit refluxumque iterum per tempora fiat.
 tu (siquidem fas est in temet tendere sensum
 et speciem temptare sacram, qua sidera cingis
 immensus longamque simul complecteris aethram)
 fulmineis forsan rapida sub imagine membris
 flammifluum quoddam iubar es, quo cuncta coruscans
 ipse vides nostrumque premis solemque diemque.
 tu genus omne deum, tu rerum causa vigorque,
 tu natura omnis, deus innumerabilis unus,
 tu sexu plenus toto, tibi nascitur olim

⁸ mundique superstes RS: mundoque superstans
Baehrens.

¹⁰ altus et *Baehrens.* spectans *codd.*, *Baehrens*: spectas
Riese.

¹⁸ austrum R: abstrum P: abstui S: astra V: haustum
Quicherat: haustus *Baehrens.*

¹⁸ fulgentis . . . Phoebi *Baehrens.*

¹⁹ choruscas S: coruscant R: choruscas P, *Baehrens*:
 coruscans *Riese.*

²⁰ ipse vides *codd.*: ipseque das *Baehrens.*

IV

Almighty Being, to whom heaven's age, ancient
 of years, showeth reverence, whom for ever One
 amid a thousand attributes, no man shall e'er have
 power to appraise in number or in time, now be
 thou addressed if under any name it is fitting to
 address thee; yet even in name unknown thou
 hast thy hallowed joy, when mightiest earth shud-
 dereth and wandering constellations stay their
 rapid courses. Thou art alone, yet in thyself many,
 thou art first and likewise last, and midway in
 time withal, outliving the world. For without end
 for thyself, thou bringest the gliding seasons to an
 end. On high from everlasting thou beholdest the
 cruel destinies of the world awlirl in their pre-
 destined cycle, living souls in the coils of time, and
 again on their return restored to the vault above,^a
 doubtless so that there may come back to the world
 what it has lost, exhausted by births, and that this
 may again flow through the seasons of time. Thou (if
 indeed it is allowed towards thee to direct the senses
 and essay to grasp the hallowed beauty wherewith in
 thine immeasurable power thou dost invest the stars
 and dost embrace withal the far-stretched upper air)
 in some quick guise mayhap with lightning limbs art
 like a flame-flowing radiance wherewith thou dost
 cause to flash all the world beneath thine own eyes
 and speedest onward the sunlight of our day. Thou
 art the whole kindred of the gods, thou art the cause
 and energy of things, thou art all nature, one god
 beyond reckoning, thou art full of the whole of sex,
 for thee cometh to birth upon a day here a god, here

^a Cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 241, *supera ad convexa ferebat.*

MINOR LATIN POETS

hic deus hic mundus, domus haec hominumque
 deumque,
 lucens, augusto stellatus flore iuventae. 25
 quem (precor, adspires), qua sit ratione creatus,
 quo genitus factusve modo, da nosse volenti;
 da, Pater, augustas ut possim noscere causas,
 mundanas olim moles quo foedere rerum
 sustuleris animamque levi quo maximus olim 30
 texueris numero, quo congrege dissimilique,
 quidque id sit vegetum, quod per cita corpora vivit.

FRAGMENTA

1. *Servius ad Verg. Aen. VI. 532:*

Tiberianus etiam inducit epistolam vento
 allatam ab antipodibus, quae habet: "superi
 inferis salutem."

2. *Fulgentius, Mythologiarum I. 26:*

. . . unde Tiberianus: "Pegasus hinniens
 transvolat aethram."

3. *Fulgentius, Mythologiarum III. 7:*

nam et Tiberianus in Prometheo ait, deos
 singula sua homini tribuisse.

4. *Fulgentius, Vergiliana Continentia, p. 154:*

. . . memores Platonis sententiae, cuius here-
 ditatem Diogenes Cynicus invadens nihil ibi plus
 aurea lingua invenit, ut Tiberianus in libro de
 Socrate memorat.

²⁴ hic deus hic mundus *codd.*: hic cunctus m. *Bachrens.*
 domus hic *codd.*: d. haec *Riese*: d. una *Bachrens.*

TIBERIANUS

a world—this home of men and gods—lucent, starred
 with the majestic bloom of youth. Touching this
 world (vouchsafe thy favour, I pray), grant to a
 willing mind the knowledge of the principles on which
 it was created, the manner of its origin and making.
 Grant, O Sire, that I may have power to learn causes
 majestic, by what alliance of things^a thou didst of
 old upraise the world's masses of matter, and of what
 light texture, intimate yet dissimilar, thou didst of
 old in thy might weave the soul, and what that
 vigorous element is which in quick-moving bodies
 constitutes life.

FRAGMENTS

1. Tiberianus also introduces a letter brought by
 the wind from the antipodes, with the words "Those
 above greet those beneath."

2. Hence Tiberianus says: "Pegasus neighing
 flies across the upper air."

3. For Tiberianus too says in the Prometheus that
 the gods have assigned to a man his individual traits.

4. (We used "golden" of brilliant eloquence),
 recalling the utterance of Plato on whose inheritance
 Diogenes the Cynic encroached and found there
 nothing more than a golden tongue, as Tiberianus
 records in his book on Socrates.

^a Or "law of nature."

MINOR LATIN POETS

5. Fulgentius, *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*, p. 183:
sudum dicitur serenum. Tiberianus: "Aureos
subducit ignes sudus ora Lucifer."

[6. Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 96:

ostendit adeo perspicuam fuisse naturam
fluminis ut in eo apparerent imagines nemorum,
quas Troianae naves secabant. Tiberianus:

"natura sic est fluminis,
ut obvias imagines
receptet in lucem suam."]

6³ Tiberianus *Baehrens*: Terentianus *vulgo*.

TIBERIANUS

5. The word *sudum* means serene: e.g. Tiberianus:
"Lucifer, serene to look on, draws away his golden
fires."

[6. He shows that so transparent was the nature
of the river that in it appeared clear reflections of
the woods across which the Trojan vessels cut their
way, as Tiberianus says:

"Such is the nature of the stream
That images which meet it seem
Clear-mirrored in its own bright gleam."]^a

^a The ascription of this to Tiberianus depends on Baehrens' suggestion that Terentianus in Servius' text is a blunder for Tiberianus.

SULPICIUS LUPERCUS
SERVASIUS JUNIOR

INTRODUCTION

TO SERVASIUS

THE codex Leidensis Vossianus of Ausonius contains two poems ascribed to Sulpicius Lupercus Serbastus Junior. Schryver (Scriverius) altered "Serbastus" to "Sebastus," which Bachrens retains; Wernsdorf printed "Servastus," and Riese proposed "Servasius." From this schoolman author, whose very name is imperfectly known, there are thus preserved three Sapphic stanzas on the transitoriness of everything in nature and a longer elegiac complaint on the ruinous result which the prevalence of money-getting produces upon rhetorical studies. The archaisms *mage* and *fundier* (II. 16 and 18), artificially introduced into these laboured verses of the fourth century, contribute to the effect of unreality.

EDITIONS

- P. Burman. *Anthol. Lat. Lib. III. No. 97 (De Vetustate)*. Amsterdam, 1759.
J. C. Wernsdorf. *Poet. Lat. Min. III. p. 235 and p. 408*. Altenburg, 1782.
E. Bachrens. *Poet. Lat. Min. IV. Nos. 118-119 (pp. 107-109)*. Leipzig, 1882.
F. Buecheler and A. Riese. *Anthol. Latina I. ii. Nos. 648-649*. Leipzig, 1906.

(The main departures from Bachrens' text are indicated.)

INTRODUCTION TO SERVASIUS

SIGLUM

E (Baehrens' siglum) = codex nobilissimus Ausonii,
Leidensis Vossianus 111: saec. viii-ix.

(In West-Gothic writing it contains, after its text
of Ausonius, other poems including the two ascribed
to Sulpicius Lupercus "Serbastus.")

SULPICIUS LUPERCUS
SERVASIUS JUNIOR

I

DE VETUSTATE

OMNE quod Natura parens creavit,
quamlibet firmum videas, labascit :
tempore ac longo fragile et caducum
solvitur usu.

amnis insueta solet ire valle, 5
mutat et rectos via certa cursus,
rupta cum cedit male pertinaci
ripa fluento.

decidens scabrum cavat unda tofum, 10
ferreus vomis tenuatur agris,
splendet attrito digitos honorans
anulus auro.

II

DE CUPIDITATE

Heu misera in nimios hominum petulantia census !
caecus inutilium quo ruit ardor opum,
auri dira fames et non expleta libido
ferali pretio vendat ut omne nefas !

SULPICIUS LUPERCUS
SERVASIUS JUNIOR

I

THE WORK OF TIME

ALL that Nature ever bore,
Firm to look at, time makes hoar,
Frail and fleeting more and more,
Its strength in service losing.

Streams fresh valley-routes pursue,
Ancient courses change to new,
When their banks are broken through
By floods' persistent oozing.

Cascades make rough tufa yield ;
Ploughs wear thinner in the field ;
Rings that jewelled fingers wield
Show gold rubbed bright by using.

II

GREED

Alas for the wretched craving after excessive incomes ! What is the end on which the blind passion for useless wealth rushes, so that the cursed hunger for gold and greed unsatisfied may barter any enormity for a recompense fraught with destruction ?

sic latebras Eriphyla viri patefecit, ubi aurum 5
 accepit, turpis materiam sceleris;
 sic quondam Acrisiae in gremium per claustra puellae
 corruptore auro fluxit adulterium.
 o quam mendose votum insaturabile habendi
 imbuit infami pectora nostra malo! 10
 quamlibet immenso dives vigil incubet auro,
 aestuat augendae dira cupido rei.
 heu mala paupertas numquam locupletis avari!
 dum struere immodice quod tenet optat, eget.
 quis metus hic legum quaeve est reverentia veri, 15
 crescenti nummo si mage cura subest?
 cognatorum animas promptum est patrumque cruorem
 fundier: affectus vincit avara fames.
 divitis est, semper fragiles male quaerere gazas:
 nulla huic in lucro cura pudoris erit. 20
 istud templorum damno excidioque requirit;
 hoc caelo iubeas ut petat: inde petet.

 mirum ni pulchras artes Romana iuventus
 discat et egregio sudet in eloquio,
 ut post iurisonae famosa stipendia linguae
 barbaricae ingenii anteferantur opes. 25
 at qui sunt, quos propter honestum rumpere foedus
 audeat illicite pallida avaritia?

¹⁶ *crescenti nummo vulgo: crescentis nummi Baehrens.*

¹⁷ *fratrumque cod., Baehrens: patrumque vulgo.*

²¹ *exitioque vulgo.*

²⁵ *iurgisonae clamosa impendia Heinsius.*

²⁷ *atqui vulgo.*

^a Amphiaras, for whom it meant death to take part in the Theban War, was betrayed by his wife for a golden necklaze: cf. Hor. *Od.* III. xvi. 11-13; Statius, *Theb.* IV. 187-213.

Thus it was that Eriphyla betrayed her husband's ^a
 hiding-place when she received the gold that was
 the cause of her foul crime: thus it was that long
 ago through prison-bars there rained in corrupting
 gold an adulterous stream on the lap of Acrisius'
 daughter.^b How culpably the unquenchable longing
 for possession stains our hearts with scandalous
 wickedness! However boundless the gold o'er which
 Dives broods wakefully, within there seethes the
 accursed lust for adding to his wealth. Alas for the
 baleful poverty of the miser who is never rich! His
 desire for a limitless heap of what he holds makes
 him a beggar. What fear is here of laws, what
 respect for what is fair, if 'neath his growing bullion-
 heap there lurk still more the pains of greed? Taking
 the lives of kinsmen, shedding a father's blood comes
 readily to his mind: miserly hunger masters feeling.
 An evil quest after frail treasures is ever the rich
 man's way: in the matter of gain he will have no
 qualms of shame. Such gain it is he pursues, though
 it mean loss or destruction to temples:^c bid him
 seek this in heaven and from heaven he will fetch it.^d

It is not unlikely that the young men of Rome learn
 fine accomplishments and sweat at distinguished
 rhetoric only in order that, after the glorious cam-
 paigns ^e of an eloquent lawyer's tongue, they may
 prize barbaric wealth above talent. Yet who are
 those (glib pleaders) thanks to whom pale avarice
 ventures on the forbidden crime of breaking an
^b Danaë: cf. Hor. *Od.* III. xvi. 1-8; and Tiberianus' poem
 on gold, II. 7-8.

^c *i.e.* he sacrilegiously robs or fires them.

^d An echo of Juvenal III. 78, *in caelum iusseris, ibit.*

^e Heinsius' emendation (meaning literally "the bawling out-
 lay of a loud litigious tongue") gets rid of *ā* before *stipendia*.

MINOR LATIN POETS

Romani sermonis egent, ridendaque verba
 frangit ad horribicos turbida lingua sonos. 30
 sed tamen ex cultu appetitur spes grata nepotum?
 saltem istud nostri forsán honoris habent?
 ambusti torris species, exesaque saeclo
 amblant ut priscis corpora de tumulis! 35
 perplexi crines, frons improba, tempora pressa,
 exstantes malae deficiente gena,
 simataeque iacent pando sinuamine nares,
 territat os nudum caesaque labra tument.
 defossum in ventrem propulso pondere tergum
 frangitur et vacuo crure tument genua. 40
 decolor in malis species, hoc turpius illud,
 quod cutis obscure pallet in invidiam.

²⁹ *egens vulgo.*

³¹ *ultu cod. : vultu Scaliger : cultu Oudendorp.*

³⁴ *amblant ut Baehrens : abtantur cod. : abduuntur vulgo : aptantur Vinetus.*

³⁸ *caesaque cod. : scissaque vel fissaque Heinsius : crassaque Wernsdorf.*

⁴¹ *discolor cod. : corr. Heinsius. in manibus cod. : in malis Baehrens.*

SULPICIUS LUPERCUS SERVASIUS JUNIOR

honourable compact? They are beggared of Latin style, and their confused jargon minces ridiculous words to an accompaniment of shocking sounds. Yet does their dress prompt the younger generation to indulge pleasing hopes (of legacies)?^a Have they mayhap such a share at least of our Roman dignity? No, theirs is the appearance of a burnt-out fire-brand: they walk like skeletons gnawed by time from ancient graves! Their hair is tangled, forehead impudent, temples thin, jaws protruding while their cheeks are sunken, and their flattened nostrils rest on a tip-tilted curve: the toothless mouth is a terror and the chapped lips are swollen. Forced down by the impetus of weight, back sinks to belly; and the knees swell on a shrunken leg. Sallow is the look of their jaws, and it is an uglier feature that the skin wears a mysterious pallor suggestive of envy.

^a *i.e.* Can it be said for the misers that they dress well and in accordance with their wealth?

ICTA CATONIS

INTRODUCTION

TO DICTA CATONIS

IN the educational training of the Middle Ages, when Donatus supplied the rudiments, an early and safe reading-book was the compendium of practical ethics which passed under the name of "Cato." Here was a work with much of the unimpeachable but hackneyed morality of the copy-book headline, and a useful repertory of material for adorning the letters of a young student desirous of creating a good impression when he wrote home. It is significant that Chaucer accounts for the foolish marriage of the carpenter in the *Miller's Tale* by remarking that "he knew not Catoun, for his wit was rude." This *vade mecum* of proverbial wisdom has, however, bequeathed an extraordinary number of enigmas: its title and the meaning of the title, the date of different *strata* in our collections, the proportion borne by what we now possess to the larger *corpus* of *Dicta Catonis* once in existence, the relation of the single lines to the couplets, the disentanglement of pagan elements from Christian additions or alterations, and the textual criticism of what has been handed down to us, all constitute problems of considerable difficulty.

Inscriptional evidence proves that about the end of the second century A.D. some of the proverbs

INTRODUCTION TO

were well enough known to be quoted.^a It is likely that an unknown author gave to his collection of wise saws the title of *Cato*, as an echo of the moral instruction addressed generations earlier by Cato the Censor to his son. The name "Dionysius," sometimes added, rests upon a doubtful testimony by Scaliger to the effect that it existed in a manuscript belonging to Bosius. If "Dionysius" has to be considered at all, it may be explained, on Haupt's theory,^b as due to a contamination of Cato's name with that of Dionysius, whose *Periegesis*, translated by Priscian, might have immediately preceded Cato in Bosius' manuscript.

By the fourth century we have evidence that the *Disticha* enjoyed an extensive vogue, and the Irish monk Columbanus at the turn of the sixth century had access to a large body of moral verses whence to draw part of the collection of separate hexameters to which he added many lines from Christian sources. But wide use did not guarantee the preservation of the text. Some *disticha* became less popular for school-work than others; extracts, excisions and transpositions were made; and couplets were, by intention or chance, reduced to single lines (*monosticha*) amidst the confusion into which the collection had fallen by the eighth century. It is, then, not an unreasonable supposition that a re-editing of the Catonian *corpus* took place in the Carolingian era; and it is possible that the brief verses prefixed to Books II, III and IV of the *Disticha* date from that period. Our present collection opens with a

^a *Distich.* II. 3 is used in *C.I.L.* VI. 11252.

^b M. Haupt, *Opusc.* I. 376. Cf. Boas, *Phil. Woch.* 1930, 649 sqq.

Dicta Catonis

prose preface ostensibly directing its precepts to a son (*fili karissime*) in what we might call a Cato-like manner, and between this preface and the *Disticha* are 57 brief prose *sententiae*, some only two words long. About these opinion is sharply divided. It has been, on the one hand, argued that some of them may be the oldest part of the sayings, that some may even go back to Cato the Censor himself, and that some at least were expanded later into *disticha*; on the other hand, it has been argued that these *breves sententiae* may have constituted a summary introduction based, as excerpts, upon a once much fuller collection of verse sayings.^a

Despite the excisions and alterations to which Christian re-editing subjected the inferior ethics of the original collection, there have survived evident traces not merely of antiquity (e.g. in the prose sentences *foro par(c)e* or *ad praetorium stato*), but of pagan principles in the religious thought or the practical advice. Thus, in the *Disticha* the polytheistic *an di sint* of II. 2 must be the original text, and is combined with monotheism (*mitte arcana dei*) in one manuscript only: II. 12, on divination, and IV. 38, on sacrifice, may be called pre-Christian, while IV. 14, on cleansing by a victim's blood, may possibly be directed against the doctrine of the atonement. Occasionally the ring is that of worldly cunning, I. 26, or selfishness in I. 11 and in the second line of III. 12. A wife's tears, III. 20, or her complaints about her husband's favourite slave, I. 8, must not, readers are enjoined, be too

^a Skutsch, in *P.W. Realencycl.* V., on "Dicta Catonis," maintains the priority of the prose sentences in opposition to Bischoff.

INTRODUCTION TO

much regarded. But, taken all in all, it is a sound if homely morality that is preached—respect for the lessons of books and of life, diligence in work, loyalty to friends, avoidance of quarrels, bravery in misfortune, temperance in prosperity, and—as Stoicism had taught—consideration for slaves.

In the maxims can be discerned the human experience of many generations, some of it going back to Greek originals and some of it touched with a literary reminiscence of Horace or Ovid. On the whole, the language is simple and clear, as befits proverbial wisdom, so that an archaism like *mage* (*Praef.* II. 2; *Distich.* II. 6; IV. 42) or a compound like *officiperdi* (IV. 42) stands out as something unusual. The closing distich emphasises the brevity aimed at in the couplets. Yet the very condensation led to a monotony of clause-structure and of expression; and this monotony is not redeemed by any great metrical variety in the hexameters. The prevailing merit, however, remains of a neat intelligibility which suited both teacher and taught; and this ensured for the collection its long career as an educational manual. "Catho" was one of the books printed during the early years of Caxton's work at Westminster. The distichs were paraphrased by Caxton's contemporary, Benedict Burgh, who expanded each couplet into the Chaucerian seven-lined stanza or rhyme-royal. Both text and paraphrase are extant in many fifteenth-century MSS., e.g. the Harleian 4733, and the volume, handsomely illustrated with coloured miniatures, which is now Peniarth MS. 481 in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. The educational vogue of these *disticha moralia* is exemplified by their use

Dicta Catonis

during the eighteenth century in Scotland as an adjunct to Ruddiman's *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*: they were, for example, included among the *Prima Morum et Pietatis Praecepta*, printed as a schoolbook at Edinburgh in 1784.

EDITIONS

- D. Erasmus. *Disticha moralia titulo Catonis . . . mimi Publani . . . cum scholiis Erasmi.* (?) London, 1514.
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For a list of translations into other languages see M. Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.*, ed. 3, 1922, pp. 38-39: to which may be added *The Distichs of Cato* translated into couplets, with introductory sketch by Wayland J. Chase, Madison, U.S.A., 1922.

SIGLA FOR DISTICHA

(As in Baehrens, *P.L.M.* III. 206-211.)

- A = codex biblioth. capit. Veronensis 163: saec. ix. (Imperfect and in confused order, though preserving many good readings.^a)
 B = codex Matritensis 14, 22: saec. ix. (Contains *disticha* up to I. 27, 1.)
 C = codex Turicensis 78: saec. ix.
 D = codex scholae medicinalis Montepessulanae 306: saec. ix.

^a On this, the oldest codex, see K. Schenkl, *Zeitschr. für österr. Gymn.* 24 (1873), p. 485; C. Cipolla, *Riv. di filol.* 8 (1880).

DICTA CATONIS

- E = codex Vossianus L.Q. 86: saec. ix.^a
 F = codex Ambrosianus C 74: saec. x. [The last four are from a common original, CD and EF showing close agreement.]
 r = codices inferiores, including Reginenses and Parisini.

[The codex Matritensis is regarded by M. Boas, along with Paris. 8093 saec. ix and Vaticanus Reg. 2078 saec. x, as representing a Spanish-Gallic tradition of the vulgate collection, in contrast to a "Neben-vulgata" and "Vor-vulgata" represented by Paris. 9347, Monacensis 19413 saec. xi, Vaticanus Barber. 8, 41 saec. xiii-xiv. See references at close of the Sigla given for the *Monosticha*.]

The main departures from Baehrens' text are indicated in the apparatus criticus.

^a See H. J. Mueller, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 sqq.

CATO

I. COLLECTIO DISTICHORUM VULGARIS

PROLOGUS

CUM animadverterem quam plurimos graviter in via morum errare, succurrendum opinioni eorum et consulendum famae existimavi, maxime ut gloriose viverent et honorem contingerent. nunc te, fili karissime, docebo quo pacto morem animi tui componas. igitur praecepta mea ita legito, ut intellegas. legere enim et non intellegere negligere est.

Deo supplica.

Parentes ama.

Cognatos cole.

Datum serva.

Foro parce.

Cum bonis ambula.

Antequam voceris, ne accesseris.

Mundus esto.

Saluta libenter.

Maiori concede.

Inop̄ dicta marci catonis ad filium suum A : Marci Catonis ad filium salutem *lit. mai. rubr.* B : Incipiunt libri Catonis philosophi *lit. mai.* D : *tit. om.* C : *totum proloquum om.* EF.

PROLOGUS : ^a graviter in via morum BC *omnes* : gravitate murum A.

SENTENTIOLAE : ^b parce A : pare B *omnes* : para CD *omnes*.

CATO

I. THE COMMON COLLECTION OF DISTICHS

PROLOGUE

As I noticed the very great number of those who go seriously astray in the path of conduct, I decided that I should come to the aid of their belief and take thought for their reputation, so that they might live with the utmost glory and attain honour. Now I will teach you, dearest son, how to fashion a system for your mind. Therefore, so read my precepts as to understand; for to read and not to understand is to give them the go-by.^a

Pray to God.

Love your parents.

Respect your kindred.

Guard what is given you.

Avoid the market-place.^b

Walk in good company.

Don't approach, until you're invited.

Be tidy.

Salute willingly.

Yield to your senior.

^a On the manuscript authority for the order of these *sententiolae* see Baehrens, *P.L.M.* III, pp. 206 and 214-215.

^b This seems to anticipate Bacon's warning against *idola fori*, misconceptions due to the careless notions of the crowd.

MINOR LATIN POETS

Magistratum metue.
 Verecundiam serva.
 Rem tuam custodi.
 Diligentiam adhibe.
 Familiam cura.
 Mutuum da.
 Cui des videto.
 Convivare raro.
 Quod satis est dormi.
 Coniugem ama.
 Iusiurandum serva.
 Vino tempera.
 Pugna pro patria.
 Nihil temere credideris.
 Meretricem fuge.
 Libros lege.
 Quae legeris memento.
 Liberos erudi.
 Blandus esto
 Irascere ob rem <gravem>.
 Neminem riseris.
 In iudicio adesto.
 Ad praetorium stato.
 Consultus esto.
 Virtute utere.
 Trocho lude.
 Aleam fuge.
 Litteras disce.

²² te tempera s pauci.

CATO

Honour a magistrate.
 Preserve your modesty.
 Guard your own property.
 Practise diligence.
 Take trouble for your household.
 Be willing to lend.
 Consider to whom you should give.
 Let your banquets be few.
 Sleep as much as suffices.
 Love your wife.
 Keep an oath.
 Be moderate with wine.
 Fight for your country.
 Believe nothing rashly.
 Shun a harlot.
 Read books.
 Remember what you read.
 Instruct your children.
 Be kind.
 Be angry for a serious cause.
 Mock no one.
 Support a friend in the law-court.
 Maintain your standing at the praetor's residence.^a
 Be conversant with the law.
 Practise virtue.
 Play with the hoop.
 Eschew dice.
 Study literature.

^a The *praetorium* may be the official residence of a provincial governor, or the headquarters in a camp, or sometimes a great private mansion (e.g., Juvenal I. 75). The advice here apparently is "keep in with the powers that be" or "keep in with your patron." Erasmus took *praetorium* of a law-court, explaining "multa enim discutuntur in agendis causis."

MINOR LATIN POETS

Bono benefacito.	
Tute consule.	40
Maledicus ne esto.	
Existimationem retine.	
Aequum iudica.	
Nihil mentire.	
Iracundiam rege.	45
Parentem patientia vince.	
Minorem ne contempseris.	
Nihil arbitrio virium feceris.	
Patere legem quam ipse tuleris.	
Benefici accepti esto memor.	50
Pauca in convivio loquere.	
Miserum noli irridere.	
Minime iudica.	
Alienum noli concupiscere.	
Illud aggredere quod iustum est.	55
Libenter amorem fertō.	
Liberalibus stude.	

CATONIS DISTICHA

LIBER I

1. Si deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt,
hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus.
2. Plus vigila semper neu somno deditus esto;
nam diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat.
3. Virtutem primam esse puto, compescere linguam:
proximus ille deo est qui scit ratione tacere.
4. Sperne repugnando tibi tu contrarius esse:
conveniet nulli qui secum dissidet ipse.

⁴⁰ tute corruptum videtur: fortasse tuta consule A. M. Duff.

^{2, 1} neu A: nec BCDEF: ne s.

CATO

Do good to a good man.
Give safe advice.
Do not be abusive.
Hold fast to your reputation.
Judge fairly.
Tell no lie.
Control your anger.
Overcome your parent with patience.
Do not despise a younger man.
Do nothing with the caprice of might.
Accept the law which you yourself made.
Bear in mind a benefit received.
Say little at a banquet.
Do not deride the wretched.
Judge not at all.
Do not covet what is another's.
Undertake what is fair.
Show affection gladly.
Put zeal into noble pursuits.

THE DISTICHS OF CATO

BOOK I

1. If God be spirit, as bards represent,
He must be worshipped with a clean intent.
2. Watch always more: sleep must not thee entice:
Prolonged inaction serves up food for vice.
3. To rule the tongue I reckon virtue's height:
He's nearest God who can be dumb aright.
4. Avoid the clash of inconsistency:
Who fights with self, with no one will agree.

MINOR LATIN POETS

5. Si vitam inspicias hominum, si denique mores,
cum culpant alios: nemo sine crimine vivit.
6. Quae nocitura tenes, quamvis sint cara, relin-
que:
utilitas opibus praeponi tempore debet.
7. Clemens et constans, ut res expostulat, esto:
temporibus mores sapiens sine crimine mutat.
8. Nil temere uxori de servis crede querenti:
semper enim mulier quem coniunx diligit odit.
9. Cum moneas aliquem nec se velit ille moneri,
si tibi sit carus, noli desistere coeptis.
10. Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis:
sermo datur cunctis, animi sapientia paucis.
11. Dilige sic alios, ut sis tibi carus amicus;
sic bonus esto bonis, ne te mala damna sequan-
tur.
12. Rumores fuge neu studeas novus auctor haberi;
nam nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse locutum.
13. Spem tibi polliciti certam promittere noli:
rara fides ideo est, quia multi multa loquuntur.
14. Cum te aliquis laudat, iudex tuus esse memento;
plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere noli.
15. Officium alterius multis narrare memento;
at quaecumque aliis benefeceris ipse, silet.
16. Multorum cum facta senex et dicta reprendis,
fac tibi succurrant iuvenis quae feceris ipse.
17. Ne cures, si quis tacito sermone loquatur:
consciis ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici.
18. Cum fueris felix, quae sunt adversa caveto:
non eodem cursu respondent ultima primis.

^{12, 1} neu studeas *Baehrens*: ne studeas A: ne (nec D)
incipias *ceteri omnes*.

^{13, 1} polliciti A: promissi BCDE: promissam F (*et sic*
CE *m. 2 corr.*).

CATO

5. Test but the life and ways of them who blame
Their fellows; all, you'll find, have faults the
same.
6. Gear that may harm forgo, however dear:
Wealth yields to usefulness in time of fear.
7. Be mild or firm as circumstances claim:
A sage may change his outlook free from blame.
8. A wife's complaints about the slaves mistrust:
Her husband's favourite wakens her disgust.
9. In warning one who fain would not attend,
Drop not the endeavour, should he be your
friend.
10. To fight the wordy you must words eschew:
Speech is bestowed on all, sound sense on few.
11. Love other men; yet be your own true friend:
Do good to good men so no loss attend.
12. Shun tattling, and the newest thing to say
Seek not: closed lips hurt no one—speaking
may.
13. Think not hopes built on promises are sure:
Much said by many seldom proves secure.
14. When someone praises you, be judge alone:
Trust not men's judgement of you, but your
own.
15. Let others' kindness frankly be revealed;
Your own good turns to others keep concealed.
16. When you, grown old, blame what folk do or
say,
Think what you did in your own youthful day.
17. Reck not of what the whispering lip lets
fall:
Self-conscious men think they're the talk of all.
18. In happy hours beware the hapless lot:
What the start promises, the end is not.

MINOR LATIN POETS

19. Cum dubia et fragilis nobis sit vita tributa,
in morte alterius spem tu tibi ponere noli.
20. Exiguum munus cum dat tibi pauper amicus,
accipito laetus, plene et laudare memento.
21. Infantem nudum cum te natura creavit,
paupertatis onus patienter ferre memento.
22. Ne timeas illam quae vitae est ultima finis :
qui mortem metuit, quod vivit, perdit id ipsum.
23. Si tibi pro meritis nemo succurrit amicus,
incusare deos noli, sed te ipse coerce.
24. Ne tibi quid desit, quod quaesisti, utere parce ;
utque, quod est, serves, semper tibi desse
putato.
25. Quod dare non possis, verbis promittere noli,
ne sis ventosus, dum vir bonus esse videris.
26. Qui simulat verbis nec corde est fidus amicus,
tu quoque fac similes : sic ars deluditur arte.
27. Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare :
fistula dulce canit, volucrum dum decipit auceps.
28. Cum tibi sint nati nec opes, tunc artibus illos
instrue, quo possint inopem defendere vitam.
29. Quod vile est, carum, quod carum, vile putato :
sic tu nec cupidus nec avarus nosceris ulli.
30. Quae culpae soles ea tu ne feceris ipse :
turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguat ipsum.
31. Quod iustum est petito vel quod videatur hones-
tum ;
nam stultum petere est quod possit iure negari.
32. Ignotum tibi tu noli praeponere notis :
cognita iudicio constant, incognita casu.

^{24, 1} quod quaesisti *Baehrens* : quod quaeris A.

^{25, 1} verbis promittere noli *Baehrens* : nec his (*ex vis corr.*

m. 2) promittere noli A : noli promittere verbis *Columb.*

^{30, 2} redarguat *Baehrens* : arguat A : redarguit *ceteri codd.*

CATO

19. Our life is but a frail uncertain breath :
Rest not thy hopes, then, on another's death.
20. When your poor friend gives of his poverty,
Accept well pleased and thank him handsomely.
21. A naked babe since nature fashioned thee,
With patience bear the load of poverty.
22. Fear not lest life's concluding lap be nigh :
He makes his life no life who dreads to die.
23. If no friend helps you as your deeds demand,
Tax not the gods but hold yourself in hand.
24. Save up your gains lest you go short some day :
To keep possessions, fancy they're away.
25. Utter no promise that you can't redeem,
Lest you inconstant prove, while kind you seem.
26. The glib dissembler, faithless friend at heart,
See that you copy : so art baffles art.
27. Approve not men who wheedling nothings say :
Fowlers pipe sweetly to delude their prey.
28. Since sons you have—not wealth—such training
give
Their minds that they, though poor, unharmed
may live.
29. Hold dear the cheap, and cheaply hold the
dear :
So none can say you hunt or hoard your gear.
30. Do not yourself what you are wont to blame :
When sin convicts the preacher's self, 'tis shame.
31. Ask what is right or fair to human eye :
Fools ask what others rightly may deny.
32. Do not the unknown o'er the known advance :
Known things on judgement hang, unknown on
chance.

^{32, 1} notis noli praeponere amicis *Baehrens.*

MINOR LATIN POETS

33. Cum dubia in certis versetur vita periclis,
pro lucro tibi pone diem quicumque sequetur.
34. Vincere cum possis, interdum cede sodali,
obsequio quoniam dulces retinentur amici.
35. Ne dubita, cum magna petes, impendere parva:
his etenim pressos contingit gloria raro.
36. Litem inferre cave, cum quo tibi gratia iuncta
est:
ira odium generat, concordia nutrit amorem.
37. Servorum culpa cum te dolor urguet in iram,
ipse tibi moderare, tuis ut parcere possis.
38. Quem superare potes interdum vince ferendo;
maxima enim est hominum semper patientia
virtus.
39. Conserva potius, quae sunt iam parta, labore:
cum labor in damno est, crescit mortalis egestas.
40. Dapsilis interdum notis et largus amicis
cum fueris, dando semper tibi proximus esto.

LIBER II

Telluris si forte velis cognoscere cultus,
Vergilium legito; quodsi mage nosse laboras
herbarum vires, Macer haec tibi carmina dicit;

^{35, 2} pressos contingit gloria raro *Bachrens*: rebus coniungit gratia caros *codd. omnes, sine sensu.*

^{40, 1} largus *edd. vet.*: carus *codd.* ² cum *§ nonnulli*: dum CDEF *§ nonnulli.* dando *Par. 2772 m. 1, Regin. 2078 in ras.*: felix *codd. ceteri, quod ortum videtur ex I. 18, 1.*

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CATO

33. Since our frail life through dangers sure must
run,
Count every day that comes as something won.
34. Yield to your mate some points you well might
score:
Compliance keeps your friends attached the
more.
35. In mighty aims small cost you must not spare;
For those whom trifles cramp high fame is rare.
36. Beware of strife with one close linked to thee:
Anger breeds hate, love feeds on harmony.
37. If, stung by slaves' misdeeds, you've angry grown,
Control yourself and so hurt not your own.
38. Sometimes put up with him you might beat
down;
Of human virtues patience is the crown.
39. What you have won conserve at cost of pains:
Want must increase, when labour brings no
gains.
40. Though sometimes on your friends you lavish
gear,
In giving always to yourself keep near.^a

BOOK II

If perchance you fain would acquaint yourself
with farming, read Virgil; but if your struggle
rather is to know the virtue of herbs, this is the
poetry that Macer^b offers you; if you long to know

^a The self-regarding morality of this distich advises the generous man never to depart too far from his own interest.

^b The didactic poet Aemilius Macer of Verona (d. 18 B.C.) wrote a work *De Herbis* (Ovid, *Trist.* IV. x. 43-44).

si Romana cupis et Punica noscere bella,
 Lucanum quaeres, qui Martis proelia dixit; 5
 si quid amare libet vel discere amare legendo,
 Nasonem petito; sin autem cura tibi haec est,
 ut sapiens vivas, audi quae discere possis,
 per quae semotum vitiis deducitur aevum:
 ergo ades et quae sit sapientia disce legendo. 10

1. Si potes, ignotis etiam prodesse memento:
 utilius regno est meritis acquirere amicos.
2. An dii sint caelumque regant, ne quaere doceri:
 cum sis mortalis, quae sunt mortalia cura.
3. Linque metum leti; nam stultum est tempore
 in omni,
 dum mortem metuas, amittere gaudia vitae.
4. Iratus de re incerta contendere noli:
 impedit ira animum, ne possis cernere verum.
5. Fac sumptum properare, cum res desiderat ipsa;
 dandum etenim est aliquid, dum tempus postulat
 ant res.
6. Quod nimium est fugito, parvo gaudere memento:
 tuta mage est puppis modico quae flumine
 fertur.
7. Quod pudeat, socios prudens celare memento,
 ne plures culpent id quod tibi displicet uni.

⁴ romam velis et p. cognoscere (sic) A: civica pro punica
Scriverius.

^{2, 1} codd. omnes habent: mitte arc(h)ana dei caelumque
 inquirere quid sit, nisi quod C unus ante versum 2 inserit:
 an dii sint caelum qui (i ex corr.) regant nequere (sic)
 doceri; haec altera versus forma genuina iudicanda est, cum
 prior illa colorem christianum prae se ferat.

of Roman and Punic^a warfare, you will seek Lucan,
 who has recounted the combats of Mars; if your
 fancy is to have a love-affair or by reading learn how
 to love, make for Ovid. But if your serious aim is a
 life of wisdom, hear what you may learn of things
 that ensure a course of life divorced from vice. Come
 then and, as you read, learn what wisdom is.

1. To help even strangers, if you can, take pains:
 A crown counts less than friends whom kindness
 gains.
2. Ask not if Gods exist or are Heaven's kings:
 As thou art mortal, think of mortal things.
3. Cease fearing death: 'tis folly day by day,
 For fear of death, to cast life's joys away.
4. Temper in fighting rival claims eschew:
 Temper bars minds from seeing what is true.
5. Make haste to spend when so the case desires;
 For something must be given, as need requires.
6. Pleased with small store, take care to avoid the
 extreme:
 Safer the craft that sails a moderate stream.
7. What makes you blush 'fore friends decline to
 own,
 Lest many blame what you dislike alone.^b

^a If *Punica* be the right reading, did an erroneous super-
 scription on a manuscript of Lucan mislead the author of these
 lines? (Cf. H. Blass, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxi. p. 134.) Or has a
 verse referring to a poet other than Lucan, e.g. Silius Italicus,
 dropped out of the text? Lucan's *Pharsalia* narrated the
 civil war between Caesar and Pompey; Silius' *Punica* the
 struggle of Rome against Hannibal.

^b One of the many prudential maxims: to confess openly a
 secret fault may invite ill-natured comment about what is
 really your own concern.

MINOR LATIN POETS

8. Nolo putes pravos homines peccata lucrari :
temporibus peccata latent, et tempore parent.
9. Corporis exigui vires contemnere noli :
consilio pollet cui vim natura negavit.
10. Cui scieris non esse parem, pro tempore cede :
victorem a victo superari saepe videmus.
11. Adversum notum noli contendere verbis :
lis verbis minimis interdum maxima crescit.
12. Quid deus intendat, noli perquirere sorte :
quid statuatur de te, sine te deliberat ille.
13. Invidiam nimio cultu vitare memento :
quae si non laedit, tamen hanc sufferre moles-
tum est.
14. Esto animo forti, cum sis damnatus inique :
nemo diu gaudet qui iudice vincit iniquo.
15. Litis praeteritae noli maledicta referre :
post inimicitias iram meminisse malorum est.
16. Nec te collaudes nec te culpaveris ipse ;
hoc faciunt stulti, quos gloria vexat inanis.
17. Utere quaesitis modice : cum sumptus abundat,
labitur exiguo quod partum est tempore longo.
18. Insiptens esto, cum tempus postulat aut res :
stultitiam simulare loco, prudentia summa est.
19. Luxuriam fugito, simul et vitare memento
crimen avaritiae ; nam sunt contraria famae.
20. Nolito quaedam referenti credere saepe :
exigua est tribuenda fides, qui multa loquuntur.

^{8, 2} tempore si *Baehrens* : temporibus *codd. omnes*.

^{14, 1} *ferto Baehrens* : esto *codd.*

^{18, 1} *ipsum A, Baehrens* : aut res *ceteri codd.* ² *ioco Baehrens* : loco *codd.* cum tempore laus est *A* : prudentia summa *ceteri codd.*

CATO

8. Think not that wicked men find wrongdoing
gain :
At times the wrong lies hid—in time 'tis plain.
9. Strength housed in little frame do not disdain :
In counsel men of slight physique may reign.
10. When you're outmatched, to meet the case,
retreat :^a
Of-times the vanquished will the victor beat.
11. In wordy war do not engage thy friend ;
For trivial words in mighty strife may end.
12. What God intendeth seek not to divine :
His plans for thee require no aid of thine.
13. Proud pomp will rouse men's jealousy, be
sure :
Though it mayn't hurt, it's irksome to endure.
14. When judged unfairly, your own courage trust :
None long has joy who wins through judge
unjust.
15. The quarrel past, its bitter words ignore :
'Tis ill to think of wrath, when strife is o'er.
16. Praise not yourself, nor to yourself take blame :
Fools do so, plagued by love of empty fame.^b
17. Make temperate use of gains : when all is cost,
What took long time to get is quickly lost.
18. Play the fool's part, if time or need advise :
To act the fool at times is truly wise.
19. Flee luxury, avoiding all the same
The charge of avarice : both blot a name.
20. Trust not those who for ever news relate :
Slight faith is due to tongues that glibly prate.

^a *Cf. the French reculer pour mieux sauter.*

^b The second line refers more obviously to the first part of the preceding line, but insincere self-depreciation may be the form of vanity known as "fishing for compliments."

MINOR LATIN POETS

21. Quae potus peccas ignoscere tu tibi noli;
nam crimen vini nullum est, sed culpa bibentis.
22. Consilium arcanum tacito committe sodali,
corporis auxilium medico committe fideli.
23. Successu indignos noli tu ferre moleste:
indulget Fortuna malis, ut vincere possit.
24. Prospice qui veniant casus hos esse ferendos:
nam levius laedit, quicquid praevidimus ante.
25. Rebus in adversis animum submittere noli:
spem retine; spes una hominem nec morte
relinquit.
26. Rem tibi quam nosces aptam dimittere noli:
fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva.
27. Quod sequitur spectata quodque imminet ante
videto:
illum imitare deum, partem qui spectat utram-
que.
28. Fortius ut valeas, interdum parcior esto:
pauca voluptati debentur, plura saluti.
29. Iudicium populi numquam contempseris unus:
ne nulli placeas, dum vis contemnere multos.
30. Sit tibi praecipue, quod primum est, cura salutis;
tempora nec culpes, cum sis tibi causa doloris.
31. Somnia ne cures; nam mens humana quod
optat,
dum vigilans sperat, per somnum cernit id
ipsum.

²³, ¹ successus nolito indigni (vel indignos) ferre *Baehrens*.

² vincere A: laedere *ceteri codd.*

²⁶, ¹ noris *Baehrens*: noscis CDEF 5 *plerique*: nosces
5 *pauci*: scieris A.

³⁰, ² git *codd.*: sis 5 *pauci*.

³¹, ² vigilat *codd.*, omnes: vigilans *edd. vet.* verum *Baehrens*:
sperat *codd. omnes*.

CATO

21. Your faults in drink should not your pardon
win:
The wine is guiltless: 'tis the drinker's sin.
22. Trust secret plans to friend who guards his
speech,
And bodily treatment to a faithful leech.
23. Chafe not against men's undeserved success:
To bring it low Luck smiles on wickedness.
24. Ills, as they come, prepare to undergo:
What we've foreseen deals us a lighter blow.
25. Let not your courage droop in darkest hours:
Hope on; for hope alone at death is ours.^a
26. Do not let slip the thing that suits your mind:
Chance wears a forelock, but is bald behind.^b
27. Observe the past and what impends foresee,
Like Janus, facing both ways equally.
28. For growth in strength, at times eat food in
measure;
You owe more to your health than to your
pleasure.
29. Ne'er stand alone to flout the general view:
If you flout many, none may care for you.
30. Your health, the chief thing, guard with might
and main:
Don't blame the season for your self-caused
pain.
31. Reck not of dreams; in things which men
pursue,
Sleep sees the hopes of waking hours come
true.

^a This is probably an instance where Christian thought has
coloured the *Disticha*: "hope alone does not desert man—not
even in death."

^b The Latin is quoted by Wm. Herman in letter to Cornelius
Gerard, A.D. 1494: cf. P. S. Allen, *Erasmii Epistolae* (1906),
no. 36.

LIBER III

Hoc quicumque volet carmen cognoscere lector,
cum praecepta ferat quae sunt gratissima vitae,
commoda multa feret; sin autem spreverit illud,
non me scriptorem, sed se fastidiet ipse.

1. Instrue praeceptis animum, ne discere cessa;
nam sine doctrina vita est quasi mortis imago.
2. Cum recte vivas, ne cures verba malorum:
arbitrii non est nostri quid quisque loquatur.
3. Productus testis, salvo tamen ante pudore,
quantumcumque potes, celato crimen amici.
4. Sermones blandos blaesosque cavere memento:
simplicitas veri forma est, laus ficta loquentis.
5. Segnitiam fugito, quae vitae ignavia fertur;
nam cum animus languet, consumit inertia
corpus.
6. Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis,
ut possis animo quemvis sufferre laborem.
7. Alterius dictum aut factum ne carpseris umquam,
exemplo simili ne te derideat alter.
8. Quod tibi sors dederit tabulis suprema notato,
augendo serva, ne sis quem fama loquatur.
9. Cum tibi divitiae superant in fine senectae,
munificus facito vivas, non parcus, amicis.
10. Utile consilium dominus ne despice servi:
si prodest, sensum nullius tempseris umquam.
11. Rebus et in censu si non est quod fuit ante,
fac vivas contentus eo quod tempora praebent.

III prologum ita habet A: ceteri codices interponunt
distichon primum inter versum 2 et versum 3 prologi.

^{1, 2} forma Barth: fama codd. omnes: norma Scriverius.
laus f. loquentis A: fraus f. loquendi CDEF s.

BOOK III

Any reader who decides to study this poem will
reap many advantages, as it offers maxims most
acceptable for life; but if he spurn it, he will show
disdain not for me, its author, but for himself.

1. Fail not to learn: equip your mind with rules;
Count as but death the life that never schools.
2. Mind not ill tongues, if you live straight of soul:
A neighbour's words are not in our control.
3. If called to witness, hide as best you can
A friend's misdeeds, but be an honest man.
4. Beware of softly whispered flatteries:
Frankness is mark of truth, flattery of lies.
5. Shun slackness, which means idling all your
days:
With lazy minds sloth on the body preys.
6. Sandwich occasional joys amidst your care
That you with spirit any task may bear.
7. Another's word or act ne'er criticise,
Lest others mock at you in selfsame wise.
8. A heritage bequeathed to you by will
Keep and increase: so save your good name
still.
9. If you've abundant wealth, as old age ends,
Be generous, not close-fisted, with your friends.
10. Sound counsel from your slave do not despise:
Spurn no man's view at all, if it is wise.
11. If goods and income are not what they were,
Live satisfied with what the times confer.

^{1, 2} auge servando vel augendo cura ne segnem Withof.

MINOR LATIN POETS

12. Uxorem fuge ne ducas sub nomine dotis,
nec retinere velis, si coeperit esse molesta.
13. Multorum discce exemplo, quae facta sequaris,
quae fugias: vita est nobis aliena magistra.
14. Quod potes id temptato, operis ne pondere
pressus
succumbat labor et frustra temptata relinquis.
15. Quod factum scis non recte, nolito silere,
ne videre malos imitari velle tacendo.
16. Iudicis auxilium sub iniqua lite rogato:
ipsae etiam leges cupiunt ut iure regantur.
17. Quod merito pateris patienter ferre memento,
cumque reus tibi sis, ipsum te iudice damna.
18. Multa legas facito, perfectis neglege multa;
nam miranda canunt, sed non credenda poetae.
19. Inter convivas fac sis sermone modestus,
ne dicare loquax, cum vis urbanus haberi.
20. Coniugis iratae noli tu verba timere;
nam lacrimis struit insidias, cum femina plorat.
21. Utere quaesitis, sed ne videaris abuti:
qui sua consumunt, cum dest, aliena sequuntur.
22. Fac tibi proponas mortem non esse timendam:
quae bona si non est, finis tamen illa malorum
est.
23. Uxoris linguam, si frugi est, ferre memento;
namque malum est non velle pati nec posse
tacere.
24. Aequa diligit caros pietate parentes,
nec matrem offendas, dum vis bonus esse parenti.

^{14, 2} inceptata *Baehrens*: temptata s nonnulli.

^{15, 2} velle irritare *Baehrens*.

^{16, 2} rogentur (i.e. adeantur) *Baehrens*: regantur E m.1.

^{18, 1} facito tum lectis *Baehrens*: factorum lectis CD.

^{23, 2} tacere *codd.*: carere *Withof*.

CATO

12. Do not for dowry's sake espouse a wife,
Nor wish to keep her, if she causes strife.
13. From men's behaviour learn what to pursue
Or shun. The life of others gives the cue.
14. Try what you can, lest by hard task foregone
You fail and drop what you've in vain begun.
15. Do not conceal ill deeds within your ken,
Lest silence look like aping wicked men.
16. If sued unfairly, ask the judge for aid:
The very laws would fain be justly swayed.
17. What you deserve to bear, with patience bear:
And, when you're judge of self, you must not
spare.
18. Read much, but, having read, with much dis-
pense;
Bards' themes are wonders, but revolt the sense.
19. Upon your talk, at dinners, set a bit,
Lest you're dubbed "rattle," when you'd fain
be "wit."
20. Fear not the words your angry wife may say:
A weeping woman plots but to waylay.
21. Use your estate, yet shun extravagance:
Want follows waste and begs for maintenance.
22. Be this thy motto—"I do not dread death":
Death, if no boon, our troubles finisheth.
23. A thrifty wife may talk and talk: endure:
Lost patience and loud brawling are no cure.
24. Love both your parents, one as much as other:
To please your father never wound your mother.

LIBER IV

Semotam a curis si vis producere vitam
nec vitiis haerere animi, quae moribus obsunt,
haec praecepta tibi saepe esse legenda memento :
invenies, quo te possis mutare, magistrum.

1. Despice divitias, si vis animo esse beatus ;
quas qui suspiciunt, mendicant semper avari.
2. Commoda Naturae nullo tibi tempore derunt,
si contentus eo fueris quod postulat usus.
3. Cum sis incautus nec rem ratione gubernes,
noli Fortunam, quae non est, dicere caecam.
4. Dilige † te ornari, sed parce dilige formam,
quam nemo sanctus nec honestus captat habere.
5. Cum fueris locuples, corpus curare memento :
aeger dives habet nummos, se non habet ipsum.
6. Verbera cum tuleris discens aliquando magistri,
fer patris imperium, cum verbis exit in iram.
7. Res age quae prosunt ; rursus vitare memento,
in quis error inest nec spes est certa laboris.
8. Quod donare potes gratis concede roganti ;
nam recte fecisse bonis in parte lucrorum est.
9. Quod tibi suspectum est confestim discute quid
sit ;
namque solent, primo quae sunt neglecta,
nocere.
10. Cum te detineat veneris damnosa libido,
indulgere gulae noli, quae ventris amica est.

^{4, 1} olens nardum *Baehrens* : denarium *codd.* : te ornari
Canmegieter. defuge odorem *Baehrens* : dilige formam *codd.*
² quem *codd.* (quod non congruit cum formam) : quam vulgo
habere *codd.* : ab aere *Scaliger*.

BOOK IV

If you would lead a long life divorced from anxieties,
and not cling to faults in the mind which harm
character, then remember that you must often read
these rules. You will find a teacher through whom
you will be able to transform yourself.

1. Scorn wealth, if you would have a mind care-
freed :
Its votaries are but beggars in their greed.
 2. Ne'er will you lack supplies from Nature's hands,
If you're content with that which need demands.
 3. Reckless, haphazard steersman of your lot,
Do not call Fortune blind : blind she is not.
 4. Love neatness : showiness love not amain,
Which good and honest folk seek not to gain.
 5. Yourself, when you grow rich, treat well ; for
pelf
The invalid owns, but does not own himself.
 6. At school you sometimes bear the teacher's cane :
So 'gainst a father's angry words don't strain.^a
 7. Do what is helpful ; but from things recoil
Where hazard leaves dim hope to honest toil.
 8. Give gratis what you can upon request :
Befriending friends may be as gain assessed.
 9. Test quickly what it is that you suspect :
Men end by suffering from what they neglect.
 10. When on some ruinous amour forced to spend,
Indulge not gluttony, the belly's friend.^b
- ^a *verbera* and *verbis* make an excellent contrast in the
Latin.
^b *i.e.* love in itself is ruinous enough ; but expensive feasts
given in honour of a sweetheart may prove ruinous to health
and purse.

MINOR LATIN POETS

11. Cum tibi praeponas animalia bruta timore,
unum hominem scito tibi praecipue esse timen-
dum.
12. Cum tibi praevalidae fuerint in corpore vires,
fac sapias: sic tu poteris vir fortis haberi.
13. Auxilium a notis petito, si forte labores;
nec quisquam melior medicus quam fidus amicus.
14. Cum sis ipse nocens, moritur cur victima pro te?
stultitia est morte alterius sperare salutem.
15. Cum tibi vel socium vel fidum quaeris amicum,
non tibi fortuna est hominis sed vita petenda.
16. Utere quaesitis opibus, fuge nomen avari:
quid tibi divitiae, si semper pauper abundes?
17. Si famam servare cupis, dum vivis, honestam,
fac fugias animo quae sunt mala gaudia vitae.
18. Cum sapias animo, noli ridere senectam;
nam quocumque seni puerilis sensus inhaeret.
19. Disce aliquid; nam cum subito Fortuna recessit,
ars remanet vitamque hominis non deserit
umquam.
20. Prospicito tecum tacitus quid quisque loquatur:
sermo hominum mores et celat et indicat idem.
21. Exerce studio quamvis perceperis artem:
ut cura ingenium, sic et manus adiuvat usum.
22. Multum venturi ne cures tempora fati:
non metuit mortem qui scit contemnere vitam.
23. Disce sed a doctis, indoctos ipse doceto:
propaganda etenim est rerum doctrina bonarum.

11. ¹ bruta *Arntzen*: cuncta *codd.* timore D: timere *ceteri codd.*

13. ² divitias *DF. Baehrens*: divitiae C.

16. ² quicumque seni *edd. vet.*: quocumque sene *codd.*: quicumque senet *Scaliger*. pueri bis *Withof.* inhaeret *Baehrens*: in illo est *codd.*

CATO

11. When fear of brute beasts harasses your mind,
Know what you most should dread is human
kind.
12. If you have bodily strength in high degree,
Add wisdom: so win fame for bravery.
13. In straits ask those you know their aid to lend;
No doctor can surpass a trusty friend.
14. Why dies a victim for you in your sin?
Grace through another's blood fools hope to win.
15. Seeking a mate or friend who will be true,
A man's life, not his fortune, you must view.
16. Employ your gains: earn not a niggard's name:
What boots your wealth, if you're in want the
same?
17. If throughout life you'd keep an honoured name,
Shun in your thought the joys which end in
shame.
18. Don't mock old age, though you've a gifted
brain:
Old age must ever show a childish vein.
19. Learn something; for when Luck is sudden
gone,
Art stays nor ever leaves man's life alone.
20. Look quietly out on what the city says:
Men's talk at once reveals and hides their
ways.
21. Practise with zeal an art once learned: as pains
Help talent, so the hand, used deftly, trains.
22. For fated hours to come show small concern:
He fears not death who knows how life to spurn.
23. Learn from the learned, but the unlettered
teach:
Far should the spread of wholesome knowledge
reach.

MINOR LATIN POETS

24. Hoc bibe quo possis si tu vis vivere sanus :
morbi causa mali minima est quaecumque
voluptas.
25. Laudaris quodcumque palam, quodcumque pro-
baris,
hoc vide ne rursus levitatis crimine damnes.
26. Tranquillis rebus semper diversa timeto,
rursus in adversis melius sperare memento.
27. Discere ne cessa : cura sapientia crescit,
rara datur longo prudentia temporis usu.
28. Parce laudato ; nam quem tu saepe probaris,
una dies, qualis fuerit, ostendit, amicus.
29. Non pudeat, quae nescieris, te velle doceri :
scire aliquid laus est, culpa est nil discere velle.
30. Cum venere et baccho lis est et iuncta voluptas :
quod lautum est animo complectere, sed fuge
lites.
31. Demissos animo et tacitos vitare memento :
quod flumen placidum est, forsán latet altius unda.
32. Dum fortuna tibi est rerum discrimine prava,
alterius specta cui sit discrimine peior.
33. Quod potes id tempta ; nam litus carpere remis
utilius multo est quam velum tendere in altum.
34. Contra hominem iustum prave contendere noli ;
semper enim deus iniustus ulciscitur iras.
35. Ereptis opibus noli maerere dolendo,
sed gaude potius, tibi si contingat habere.
36. Est iactura gravis quaesitum amittere damno ;
sed tibi cum valeat corpus, superesse putato.

²⁴, ¹ hoc adhibe vitae quo possis v. s. *Baehrens*. ² mali est nimia est *Baehrens*.

²², ¹ tibist rerum *Baehrens* : rerum tibi A : tua rerum tibi *ceteri codd.* discrimine prava *Baehrens* : discrimine peior A : displicet ipsi *ceteri codd.*

CATO

24. If you'd live healthy, drink in temperate
measure :
Oft ill diseases spring from trivial pleasure.
25. What you've approved and lauded openly,
Shun the reproach of damning flightily.
26. When all is calm, dread ever fortune's change :
Then, in bad times, your hope towards good must
range.
27. Fail not to learn ; for wisdom grows by pains :
Mere long-drawn waiting rarely prudence gains.
28. Praise sparingly ; for him you oft commend—
One day reveals how far he has been friend.
29. Blush not to wish, where ignorant, to be taught :
Knowledge wins praise : drones wish to study
naught.
30. With love and wine are strife and pleasure knit :
Take to your heart the joy : the strife omit.
31. Gloomy and silent men take care to shun ;
Still waters haply all too deep may run.
32. When fortune at a crisis serves thee ill,
Look at that other who is served worse still.
33. Try only what you can : 'tis wiser far
To row inshore than sail beyond the bar.
34. Strive not unfairly 'gainst an upright man :
On wrath unjustified God sets a ban.
35. When robbed of wealth, in anguish sorrow not :
Rather rejoice in what falls to thy lot.
36. To part with what toil won the loss is sore :
Yet think, if health be thine, thou hast full
store.

²², ² utilius multo est A : tutius est multo s.

²⁶, ¹ quaesitum a. damno A : quae sunt a. dam(p)nis *ceteri codd.*

MINOR LATIN POETS

37. Tempora longa tibi noli promittere vitae:
quocumque incedis, sequitur Mors corporis
umbra.
38. Ture deum placa, vitulum sine crescat aratro:
ne credas gaudere deum, cum caede litatur.
39. Cede locum laesus Fortunae, cede potenti:
laedere qui <potuit> poterit prodesse aliquando.
40. Cum quid peccaris, castiga te ipse subinde:
vulnera dum sanas, dolor est medicina doloris.
41. Damnaris numquam post longum tempus ami-
cum:
mutavit mores, sed pignora prima memento.
42. Grator officiis, quo sis mage carior, esto,
ne nomen subeas quod dicunt officiperdi.
43. Suspectus cave sis, ne sis miser omnibus horis;
nam timidus et suspectis aptissima mors est.
44. Cum servos fueris proprios mercatus in usus
et famulos dicas, homines tamen esse memento.
45. Quam primum rapienda tibi est occasio prona,
ne rursus quaeras iam quae neglexeris ante.
46. Morte repentina noli gaudere malorum:
felices obeunt quorum sine crimine vita est.
47. Cum coniunx tibi sit, ne res et fama laboret,
vitandum ducas inimicum nomen amici.
48. Cum tibi contigerit studio cognoscere multa,
fac discas multa a vita te scire doceri.
49. Miraris versus nudis me scribere verbis?
hoc brevitatis fecit, sensu uno iungere binos.

^{45, 1} prona *Baehrens*: prima *codd.* ² iam quae *Baehrens*:
quae iam *codd.*

^{48, 2} multa a vita *Baehrens*: multa vita *codd.* te scire
Baehrens: nescire *codd.* doceri EF: docere C.

^{49, 2} sensu uno iungere *Baehrens*: sensu (-sum m. 2 corr.)
coniungere A: sensus coniungere *ceteri codd.*

CATO

37. Thyself to promise years of life forbear;
Death, like thy shadow, dogs thee everywhere.
38. Spare calves to plough: heaven's grace with
incense gain:
Think not God loves the blood of victims slain.
39. When stricken, yield to Fortune, yield to power:
Who once could hurt may help in happier hour.
40. For faults committed, oft yourself arraign:
In treating wounds, the cure for pain is pain.
41. Never condemn your friend of many a year:
If changed his ways, think how he once was dear.
42. Show gratitude to bind affection's tie:
Lest "ingrate" be the name you justify.
43. Earn not suspicion lest you live in grief:
Suspected cravens find in death relief.
44. When you've bought slaves to serve your own
sweet will,
Though servants called, they're men, remember,
still.
45. The lucky chance you must secure with speed,
Lest you go seeking what you failed to heed.
46. Joy not when knaves come by a sudden end:
Their death is blest whose life you can commend.
47. Having a wife, wouldst save thy gear and fame?
Beware the friend who is but friend in name.
48. Great knowledge you have gained from books,
you own:
Yet note that life has lessons to be known.
49. You wonder that I write in these bare lines?
Terseness the couplet in one thought combines.^a

^a An apology for the unadorned language of the distichs:
the aim at brevity has prevented expansion, the object being
to clinch one general thought in a couplet (or, if *sensus*
coniungere binos be read, "to combine two allied thoughts").

MINOR LATIN POETS

II. CODICUM TURICENSIS ET
VERONENSIS APPENDIX

1. LAETANDUM est vita, nullius morte dolendum;
cur etenim doleas a quo dolor ipse recessit.
2. Quod scieris opus esse tibi, dimittere noli;
oblatum auxilium stultum est dimittere cui-
quam.
3. Perde semel, socium ingratum quom noveris
esse;
saepe dato, quom te scieris bene ponere dona.
4. Dissimula laesus, si non datur ultio praesens:
qui celare potest odium pote laedere quem vult.
5. Qui prodesse potest non est fugiendus amicus,
si laesit verbo: bonitas sine crimine nil est.
6. Contra hominem astutum noli versutus haberi:
non captare malos stultum est, sed velle cluere.
7. Dat legem Natura tibi, non accipit ipsa.
8. Quod tacitum esse velis verbosis dicere noli.
9. Fortunae donis parvum tribuisse memento:
non opibus bona fama datur, sed moribus ipsis.

^{6, 2} nihil est A: an nulla est? Baehrens in not.

^{6, 2} velle cluere Baehrens: velle nocere A sine sensu.

SIGLA FOR MONOSTICHA

(As used by Baehrens in constituting his text.)

[For the contribution of single lines from each
manuscript, see *P.L.M.* III. pp. 212-213.]

A = Vaticano-Palatinus 239: saec. x.

B = Vaticano-Reginensis 711: saec. xi.

C = Vaticano-Reginensis 300: saec. xi.

CATO

II. APPENDIX OF ADDITIONAL LINES
FROM ZÜRICH AND VERONA MSS. (= C and A)

1. FIND joy in life; grieve for the death of none.
Why grieve for him from whom all grief has
gone?
2. Never let slip the thing you know you need:
They're fools who fail the proffered aid to heed.
3. Your friend, ungrateful proved, dismiss with
haste:
Give often, when you know your gifts well
placed.
4. Conceal your wrong, if vengeance must be slow:
Who hides his hate can injure any foe.
5. Your useful friend, though by his words annoyed,
Drop not; there is no goodness unalloyed.
6. To outwit craft, court not for guile a name:
Trap rogues you may, but not therefrom seek
fame.
7. On you falls Nature's law, not on herself.
8. Don't tell a chatterbox what you'd keep quiet.
9. As slight in worth the gifts of Fortune view:
To character, not wealth, renown is due.

D = Parisinus 8069: saec. xi.

E = Voravensis 111: saec. xii.

F = Marbodi codex S. Gatian. Turonensis 164.

[For the Cambridge MS. in Gonville and Caius
College, saec. ix, see H. Schenkl, *Wien. Sitzungsber.*
143 (1901). For further views on the MSS. see
M. Boas, *Mnemos.* 43 (1915), 44 (1916); *Philol.* 74
N.F. 28 (1917); *Rhein. Mus.* 72 (1917).]

III. COLLECTIO MONOSTICHORUM

UTILIBUS monitis prudens accomodet aurem.
 Non laeta extollant animum, non tristia frangant.
 Dispar vivendi ratio est, mors omnibus una.
 Grande aliquid caveas timido committere cordi.
 Numquam sanantur deformis vulnera famae.
 Naufragium rerum est mulier male fida marito.
 Tu si animo regeris, rex es; si corpore, servus.
 Proximus esto bonis, si non potes optimus esse.
 Nullus tam parcus, quin prodigus ex alieno.
 Audit quod non vult, qui pergit dicere quod vult.
 Non placet ille mihi, quisquis placuit sibi multum.
 Nulli servitium si defers, liber haberis.
 Vel bona contemni docet usus vel mala ferri.
 Ex igne ut fumus, sic fama ex crimine surgit.
 Paulisper laxatus amor decedere coepit.
 Splendor opum sordes vitae non abluit unquam.
 Improbis officium scit poscere, reddere nescit.
 Irridens miserum dubium sciat omne futurum.
 Mortis imago iuvat somnus, mors ipsa timetur.
 Quanto maior eris, tanto moderatior esto.
 Alta cadunt odiis, parva extolluntur amore.
 Criminis indultu secunda audacia crescit.
 Quemlibet ignavum facit indignatio fortem.
 Divitiae trepidant, paupertas libera res est.
 Haut homo culpandus, quando est in crimine casus.
 Fac quod te par sit, non alter quod mereatur.
 Dissimilis cunctis vox vultus vita voluntas.
 Ipsum se cruciat, te vindicat invidus in se.
 Semper pauperies quaestum praedivitis auget.
 Magno perficitur discrimine res memoranda.
 Terra omnis patria est, qua nascimur et tumulamur.

^a i.e. the very fact of envying a man is in itself (*in se*) a testimony to his merit.

III. COLLECTION OF SINGLE LINES

LET prudence to sound warnings lend an ear.
 Gladness must not transport, nor sorrow break.
 Life's way will vary: death is one for all.
 Trust not a faint heart with some high emprise.
 The wounds of base repute are never cured. 5
 The wife who tricks her husband wrecks the home.
 King art thou, ruled by mind; by body, slave.
 If short of best, then emulate the good.
 No thrift but will be free with others' gear.
 Say all you like; you'll hear what you mislike. 10
 Who much hath pleased himself doth not please me.
 To none subservient, you are reckoned free.
 Life's rule is—spurn your goods and face your ills.
 As fire gives smoke, a charge gives rise to talk.
 Love gradually relaxed begins to go. 15
 Wealth's glitter never washed a foul life clean.
 Rascals can ask a service, but not give.
 Mockers at woe should know the future's hid.
 Death's copy, sleep, delights: death's self affrights. 20
 The greater you are, be all the more restrained.
 Hate ruins high things, love exalts the small.
 Give rein to guilt, and daring grows secure.
 Wrath forces any coward to be brave.
 Where wealth brings panic, poverty is free.
 Man's not to blame when fortune is arraigned. 25
 Act as befits you, not as men deserve.
 In voice, look, life and will all are unlike.
 Self-racking Envy clears you in herself.^a
 The rich man's gain aye grows by poverty.
 Great crises foster deeds enshrined in thought. 30
 All the Earth's our home; there we are born and
 buried.

MINOR LATIN POETS

Aspera perpressu fiunt iucunda relatu.
 Acrius appetimus nova quam iam parta tenemus.
 Labitur ex animo benefactum, iniuria durat.
 Tolle mali testes: levius mala nostra feremus. 35
 Saepe labor siccat lacrimas et gaudia fundit.
 Tristibus afficiar gravius, si laeta recorder.
 Quid cautus caveas aliena exempla docebunt.
 Condit fercla fames, plenis insuavia cuncta.
 Doctrina est fructus dulcis radicis amarae. 40
 Cum accusas alium, propriam prius inspice vitam.
 Qui vinci sese patitur pro tempore, vincit.
 Dum speras, servis, cum sint data praemia sensis.
 Nemo ita despectus, quin possit laedere laesus.
 Ille nocet gravius quem non contemnere possis. 45
 Quod metuis cumulas, si velas crimine crimen.
 Consilii regimen virtuti corporis adde.
 Cum vitia alterius satis acri lumine cernas
 nec tua prospicias, fis verso crimine caecus.
 Suffragium laudis quod fert malus, hoc bonus odit. 50
 Si piget admissi, committere parce pigenda.
 Quod nocet interdum, si prodest, ferre memento:
 dulcis enim labor est, cum fructu ferre laborem.
 [Laetandum est vita, nullius morte dolendum:
 cur etenim doleas, a quo dolor ipse recessit?] 55
 Spes facit illecebras visuque libido movetur.
 Non facit ipse aeger quod sanus suaserit aegro.
 Ipsos absentes inimicos laedere noli.
 Ulcus proserpit quod stulta silentia celant.

⁴⁵ *solus habet A. cum data sint A. sensis Baelwrens: saevius A: servis Mai.*

^a Cf. Tennyson's "For a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things" and Dante's "nessun maggior dolore che ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria."

^b i.e. you are a slave if you cherish extravagant hopes. because your thoughts have no freedom from the imaginary
 626

CATO

Things hard to bear grow pleasant to relate.
 Keener our zest for the new than our grasp on the old.
 A good turn slips the mind, a wrong endures.
 No witness near—we'll easier bear our ills. 35
 Work often dries the tear and spreads delight.
 Memory of joys will aggravate my woes.^a
 Caution and care you'll learn from others' case.
 Hunger is sauce: no dishes please the gorged.
 Learning is pleasant fruit from bitter root. 40
 Ere you accuse, your own life first inspect.
 Who at fit moment yields is conqueror.
 Your hopes enslave you; for your thoughts are bribed.^b
 None so despised as cannot hurt when hurt.^c
 The man you could not slight can harm you more.^d 45
 Cloak crime with crime and you increase your fear.
 To bodily courage add the sway of thought.
 When with sharp eye another's faults you mind,
 Not seeing yours, you're blamed in turn as blind.
 Praise voted to the bad disgusts the good. 50
 If irked by what you've done, don't do what irks.
 Harm sometimes must be borne, if found to suit;
 For sweet the toil of bearing toil with fruit.
 [Find joy in life; grieve for the death of none.
 Why grieve for him from whom all grief has gone?] ^e 55
 Hope makes allurements: lust is stirred by sight.
 What you prescribe when well, you drop when sick.
 Don't hurt e'en enemies behind their backs.
 Sores spread in stealth by foolish silence hid.
 advantages you are counting on and allotting to yourself
 as if already won.
^a i.e. the veriest craven will retaliate: "even a worm will
 turn."
^b The thought is not very deep: the man with no chinks
 in his armour is one to be reckoned with.
^c In D: also in Appendix from Zürich and Verona MSS.
supra.

MINOR LATIN POETS

Nemo reum faciet qui vult dici sibi verum. 60
 Vincere velle tuos satis est victoria turpis.
 Nonnumquam vultu tegitur mens taetra sereno.
 Quisque miser casu alterius solatia sumit.
 Vera libens dicas, quamquam sint aspera dictu.
 Vir constans quicquid coepit complere laborat. 65
 Iniustus, qui sola putat proba quae facit ipse.
 Omne manu factum consumit longa vetustas.
 Haut multum tempus mentis simulata manebunt.
 Quicquid inoptatum cadit, hoc homo corrigat arte.
 Durum etiam facilem facit adsuetudo laborem. 70
 Robur confirmat labor, at longa otia solvunt.
 Ut niteat virtus, absit rubigo quietis.
 Sat dulcis labor est, cum fructu ferre laborem.
 Magni magna parant, modici breviora laborant.
 Ne crede amissum, quicquid reparare licebit. 75
 Non pecces tunc cum peccare impune licebit.
 Tristis adest messis, si cessat laeta voluptas.
 Absentum causas contra maledicta tuere.

⁶⁸ haut multum E: haud ullum CF. mentis E: vanitas
 CF: bonitas Riese: gravitas vel virtus Buecheler.

IV. LINES FROM COLUMBANUS

WHICH MAY BE REGARDED AS CATONIAN

Under the name of the Irish monk Columbanus (A.D. 543-615) there has come down a *carmen monostichon* in 207 verses constituting a set of rules for life (*praecepta vivendi*). While many are of Christian origin, Baehrens selects about a quarter of these as being Catonian in source; and Manitius thinks considerably more might be claimed under this head.^a Baehrens bases his text on Canisius in

CATO

None him arraigns who wants truth said to him. 60
 'Tis a poor win to seek to beat your own.
 Calm looks do sometimes cloak a loathsome mind.
 Another's woe consoles all wretched folk.
 Another's woe consoles all wretched folk.
 Speak the truth freely, though the truth be hard.
 The steadfast strive to end a task begun. 65
 Unfair the man who approves his own acts only.
 Long lapse of time consumes all handiwork.
 The mind's pretences will not long endure.
 Let man by skill make good unwelcome chance.
 Hard work grows easy to the practised hand. 70
 Long leisure saps the strength which work upbuilds.
 That worth may shine, let rest be free from rust.
 Sweet task it is to face a task and win.^a
 The great aim high; plain folk ply humbler tasks.
 Whate'er may be recovered think not lost. 75
 Sin not in the hour when you may safely sin.
 Sad reaping comes, if joyful pleasure wanes.
 Champion the absent 'gainst backbiting tongues.

^a Cf. line 53 *supra*.

his *Thesaurus* (Amsterdam, 1725),^b who used a *codex Frisingensis*. It gives the ascription to Columbanus — *incipit libellus cuiusdam sapientis et ut fertur beati Columbani*. In the word *sapientis* may be detected an echo of "Cato the Philosopher."^c Other manuscripts are the *codices Sangallenses, Lugdunensis* 190, and *Parisinus* 8092.

^a *Gesch. der latein. Lit. des Mittelalters*, I. (1911), pp. 181 sqq.: cf. E. Dümmler, *Poet. lat. aevi Karolini*, I. 275-281.
^b First ed. Ingolstadt, 1601.

^c The *Disticha* are entitled in the *Parisinus* 2659, saec. ix. *liber (quartus) Catonis philosophi*. The *Montepessulanus* has *libri Catonis philosophi*.

IV. EX COLUMBANO QUAE VIDENTUR
CATONIS ESSE

CORPORIS exsuperat vires prudentia mentis.
 Ne tua paeniteat caveas victoria temet.
 Vir bonus esse nequit nisi qui siet omnibus aequus.
 Non tu quaeso iocis laedas nec carmine quemquam.
 Sit servus mentis venter, sit serva libido. 5
 Eripe, si valeas, non suggere tela furenti.
 Saepe nocet puero miratio blanda magistri.
 Cum sapiente loquens perpaucis utere verbis.
 Egregios faciet mentis constantia mores.
 Felix, qui causam loquitur prudentis in aurem. 10
 Tantum verba valent, quantum mens sentiat illa.
 Non erit antiquo novus antefendus amicus.
 Moribus egregiis facias tibi nomen honestum.
 Cui prodest socius qui non prodesse probatur?
 Res se vera quidem semper declarat honeste. 15
 Actibus aut verbis noli tu adsuescere pravis.
 Praemeditata animo levius sufferre valebis.
 Quae subito adveniunt multo graviora videntur.
 Felix, alterius cui sunt documenta flagella. 20
 Praemia non capiet, ingrato qui bona praestat.
 Omnis paulatim leto nos applicat hora.
 Ante diem mortis nullus laudabilis exstat.
 Doctor erit magnus, factis qui quod docet implet.
 Quod tibi vis fieri, hoc alii praestare memento.
 Quod tibi non optes, alii ne feceris ulli. 25
 Corripe prudentem: reddetur gratia verbis.
 Plus tua quam alterius damnabis crimina iudex.

^a Cf. Publilius Syrus, line 2.

IV. LINES FROM COLUMBANUS

PRESUMABLY OF CATONIAN ORIGIN

FORESIGHT of mind surpasses bodily strength.
 Take care your victory bring you no regrets.
 He can't be good who is not fair to all.
 Wound no one, pray, with either jest or verse.
 Let appetite and lust be slaves of mind. 5
 Seize, if you can, a madman's arms: lend none. 5
 A teacher's flattering wonder harms a boy.
 Talking with sages, use but scanty words.
 Firmness of mind will make fine character.
 Blest he who states his case to wisdom's ear. 10
 As the heart feels, so much the worth of words. 10
 New friends must not be set before the old.
 By noble traits make yours an honoured name.
 Who gains by friend who stands no test of use?
 Truth ever honourably declares herself. 15
 Do not grow used to evil acts or words. 15
 You'll bear more lightly what the mind fore-knew.
 Far heavier seem the strokes which sudden fall.
 Blest he who from another's scourging learns.
 Goods given to ingrates will bring no reward. 20
 Each hour slow moving steers us nearer death. 20
 Praiseworthy none stands out till day of death.
 Great teacher he who as he teaches acts.
 As you'd be treated, see you treat another.^a
 What you'd not like yourself, don't do to any. 25
 Reprove the wise: your words will bring you
 thanks.
 Thy faults, when judge, condemn more than
 another's.

MINOR LATIN POETS

Sis bonus idque bonis, laesus nec laede nocentem.
 Vir prudens animo est melior quam fortis in armis. 30
 Divitias animo iniustas attendere noli.
 Semper avarus amat mendacia furta rapinas.
 Invidiae maculat famam mala pestis honestam.
 Nil sine consilio facias: sic facta probantur.
 Instanter facias, sors quae tibi tradat agenda.
 Improperes numquam, dederis munuscula si qua. 35
 Omnia pertractet primum mens verba loquelae.
 Sic novus atque novum vinum veterascat amicus.
 Alma dies noctem sequitur somnosque labores.
 Tempora dum variant, animus sit semper honestus.
 Corripe peccantem, noli at dimittere, amicum. 40
 Observat sapiens sibi tempus in ore loquendi;
 insipiens loquitur spreum sine tempore verbum.
 Iam magnum reddis modico tu munus amico,
 si ipsum ut amicus amas: amor est pretiosior auro.
 Dives erit semper, dure qui operatur in agro. 45
 Otia qui sequitur, veniet huic semper egestas.
 Omnibus est opibus melior vir mente fidelis.
 Qui bona sectatur prima bene surgit in hora.
 Multorum profert sapientis lingua salutem.
 Hostili in bello dominatur dextera fortis. 50
 Lingua ligata tibi multos acquirat amicos.
 Diligit hic natum, virga qui corripit illum.

⁴¹ forte *Baehrens*: in ore *cod. Fris.*

⁵⁰ hostili *Baehrens*: hostibus *cod. Fris.*

⁵¹ ligata tibi *Baehrens*: placata sibi *cod. Fris.*

CATO

Treat well the good: though harmed, harm not the
 bad.
 Men sage in mind excel the brave in arms.
 To unfair money-getting give no heed. 30
 Greed ever loves lies, theft and robbery.
 Fair fame is soiled by envy's cursed plague.
 Do naught uncounselled: so are deeds approved.
 What chance hands you to do, do earnestly.
 Never upbraid for any gifts you give. 35
 Thought, words and language first must handle all.^a
 Let time mature new friends just like new wine
 Kind day comes after night, toil after sleep.
 Times change: let honour always rule the mind.
 Reprove, but don't let go, your erring friend. 40
 Wise men respect the hour for utterance;
 Fools out of season utter worthless trash.
 To a humble friend you give a handsome gift
 In friendly love: love counts for more than gold.
 Rich he'll be ever who toils hard afield. 45
 The quest of ease will in its trail bring want.
 The man of trusty mind excels all wealth.
 Who aims at gear is smart to rise at dawn.
 The sage's tongue reveals the health of many.^b
 In fighting foes, the strong right hand is lord. 50
 A tongue fast bound procures you many a friend.^c
 He loves his son who chides him with the rod.^d

^a *i.e.* reflection and discussion should precede action.

^b *i.e.* gives advice which, if acted on, will secure the general welfare.

^c *i.e.* silence may be golden in avoiding offence to others.

^d This may be influenced by the Scriptures: *e.g. Prov. xiii.*
 24 "He that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes."

MINOR LATIN POETS

LINES ON THE MUSES

The lines on the Muses were well known in the Middle Ages, and, according to Baehrens, may well be the work of the composer of the *Disticha*. They are found in the following, among other, MSS. :—

A = Turicensis 78: saec. ix.

B = Caroliruhensis 36 f.: saec. ix-x.

CATONIS DE MUSIS VERSUS

Clio gesta canens transactis tempora reddit.
 dulciloquis calamos Euterpe flatibus urguet.
 comica lascivo gaudet sermone Thalia.
 Melpomene tragico proclamat maesta boatu.
 Terpsichore affectus citharis movet impetrat auget. 5
 plectra gerens Erato saltat pede carmine vultu.
 signat cuncta manu loquiturque Polymnia gestu.
 Urania <arce> poli motus scrutatur et astra.
 carmina Calliope libris heroica mandat.
 mentis Apollineae vis has movet undique Musas, 10
 in medioque sedens complectitur omnia Phoebus.

^a comicolus civo A: lascivio E.

^b impetrat Baehrens: imperat codd. omnes.

^c ita ponunt DE: 8, 9, 7 collocant ABC et ceteri omnes.

^d Urania arce poli Baehrens: Urania poli codd. omnes (poliq. B): Uranie caeli vulgo.

^e medioque sedens Baehrens: medio residens codd. omnes (aut 10 aut 11 spurium putat Riese).

^a Cf. p. 434, *supra*, lines *De Musis* ascribed to Florus. The ascription of the above verses to "Cato" is doubtful. Burman, *Anthol. Lat., Lib. I. No. 74*, gives the heading "Musarum

CATO

C = Vossianus L.Q. 33: saec. x.

D = Cantabrigiensis, Collegii S. Trinit. O. 4. 11: saec. x-xi.

E = Parisinus 7930: saec. xi.

The title in A is simply *Nomina Musarum*; but two MSS. ascribe the lines to Cato, viz. B *Versus Catonis de musis vel nominibus philorum (sic)* and C *Incipiunt versus Catonis philosophi de novem musis*.

LINES ON THE MUSES^a

To recreate the past is Clio's theme:
 Euterpe plies the pipes with tuneful breath
 Thalia's joy is playful comedy:
 Melpomene utters woe with tragic cry:
 Terpsichore's lute moves, wins and swells the heart:
 Lyric the song, dance, smile of Erato:
 Polymnia's hand marks all—she speaks in act:^b
 Urania scans the sky and moving stars:
 Calliope records heroic lays.
 Apollo's varied thought each Muse inspires:^c
 So Phoebus, mid them throned, combines their
 charms.

Inventa" and cites the parallel lines from the *Anthologia Graeca*.

^b Polymnia or Polyhymnia was traditionally the Muse of sacred song, but varied provinces were at different periods assigned to her—rhetoric and even agriculture and geometry. A wall-painting from Herculaneum associated her with *μῦθος* (*fabulas*). It was a late development to assign *pantomimus* to her patronage, and the line refers to the expression of everything by gesture.

^c Apollo, as their patron, was known as *Musagetes*.

MINOR LATIN POETS

EPITAPH ON VITALIS THE MIME-ACTOR

This poem is subjoined to the *Disticha Catonis* in the following manuscripts:

- A = Turicensis 78: saec. ix.
 B = Reginensis 2078: saec. ix-x.
 C = Parisinus 2772: saec. x-xi.
 D = Reginensis 1414: saec. xi.
 E = Parisinus 8319: saec. xi.

A gives no title: D gives *Epitaphium Vitalis Mimi Filii Catonis*, which Baehrens accepts: BC give

EPITAPHIUM VITALIS MIMI [FILII CATONIS]

QUID tibi, Mors, faciam, quae nulli parcere nosti?
 nescis laetitiam, nescis amare iocos.
 his ego praevalui toto notissimus orbi,
 hinc mihi larga domus, hinc mihi census erat.
 gaudebam semper. quid enim, si gaudia desint, 5
 hic vagus ac fallax utile mundus habet?
 me viso rabidi subito cecidere furores;
 ridebat summus me veniente dolor.
 non licuit quemquam curis mordacibus uri
 nec rerum incerta mobilitate trahi. 10
 vincebat cunctos praesentia nostra timores
 et mecum felix quaelibet hora fuit.
 motibus ac dictis, tragica quoque veste placebam
 exhilarans variis tristia corda modis.
 fingebam vultus, habitus ac verba loquentum, 15
 ut plures uno crederēs ore loqui.

² amara coni. *Burman*.

³ curis mordacibus uri *Baehrens*: mordacibus urere curis *codd.* (ordac. B. curris B, C m. I).

CATO

Epitaphium filii Cat(h)onis; and E *Epitaphium Vitalis mimi*. *Burman, Anth. Lat., Lib. IV. No. 20*, and *Meyer, Anth. vet. Lat., 1173*, have the poem under the heading *Vitalis mimi*. Its late period is shown in the shortening of the final syllable in *nescis* l. 2 and *crederes* l. 16. The German monk Ermenrich of the ninth century, writing to Grimald, cites *nescis* as a trochee "in epitaphio Catonis Censorini dicentis" (where *dicentis*, it may be guessed, is an attempt to include the lines as among *Dicta Catonis*).

EPITAPH ON VITALIS THE MIME-ACTOR

How shall I treat thee, Death, who sparest none?
 Thou knowst not mirth, knowst not the love of fun:
 Yet all the world in these my merit knew—
 Hence came my mansion, hence my revenue.
 I always wore a smile: if smiles be lost,
 What boots a world in wayward trickery tossed?
 At sight of me wild frenzy met relief:
 My entrance changed to laughter poignant grief.
 None felt the canker of anxiety
 Nor worried mid this world's uncertainty.
 O'er every fear my presence won success:
 An hour with me was ever happiness.
 In tragic rôle my word and act could please,
 Cheering in myriad ways hearts ill at ease:
 Through change in look, mien, voice I so could run
 That many seemed to use the lips of one.

¹³ veste *Buecheler*: verba *codd.*: voce *Pithoeus*.

¹⁵ angebam CD. loquentū E *corr.*: loquentur *codd.*

¹⁶ crederis *codd.*, nisi quod in A e *supra* i m. 1 est positum.

MINOR LATIN POETS

ipse etiam, quem nostra oculis geminabat imago,
 horruit in vultus se magis isse meos.
 o quotiens imitata meos per femina gestus
 vidit et erubuit totaque muta fuit! 20
 ergo quot in nostro vivebant corpore formae,
 tot mecum raptas abstulit atra dies.
 quo vos iam tristi turbatus deprecor ore,
 qui titulum legitis cum pietate meum:
 "o quam laetus eras, Vitalis" dicite maesti, 25
 "sint tibi di tali, sint tibi fata modo!"

¹⁹ meos per femina *Baehrens*: meo ≡ se ≡ femine A: meos
 es semina BCD: meo se femina E. gestus *Baehrens*: gestu *codd.*

²⁰ muta *Baehrens*: mata CD: mota E: nata B: compta
 A interpolate.

²¹ vivebant *Goetz*: videbantur *codd.* (videantur E): ride-
 bant *Hauthal.*

CATO

The man whose double on the stage I seemed
 Shrank, as my looks his very own he deemed.
 How oft a woman whom my gestures played
 Saw herself, blushed, and held her peace dismayed!
 So parts which I made live by mimicry
 Dark death hath hurried to the grave with me.^a
 To you who with compassion read this stone
 I utter my request in saddened tone:
 Say sadly: "Glad, Vitalis, did you live:
 Such gladness may the Gods and fates thee give!"

^a *abstulit atra dies* (22) is from *Virg. Aen. VI. 429.*

²² raptas *Pithoeus*: raptor *codd.* (rapitor E).

²⁴ titulum *Burman, Schrader*: tumulum *codd.*

²⁶ di tali *Baehrens*: vitalis *codd.*, nisi quod vitalis m. I in
 dii tales *corr. A.* fata *Heinsius*: laeta *codd. e glossa.*

PHOENIX

INTRODUCTION

TO PHOENIX

It is not surprising that poets and historians, Latin as well as Greek, should have felt the magnetism of legends concerning the phoenix, a strange Eastern bird of brilliantly varied plumage, reappearing in loneliness at long cyclic intervals after an aromatic and musical death, which was at once a mysterious loss and a mysterious renewal of life. Even in its pagan forms—for it varied considerably in detail—the story had undeniable attraction.^a The earliest reference traceable is one in Hesiod^b to the bird's longevity. Herodotus' contact with Egypt impelled him to mention the story of its re-emergence at Heliopolis every 500 years—a cyclic period doubled and even further increased by other

^a See W. H. Roscher *Ausführliches Lexicon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1902-1909, III. 2. col. 3450-3472 for an account of the Phoenix (φαινίξ) in literature and in both pagan and Christian art, e.g. on coins as a symbol of eternity and rejuvenation. Here it must suffice to select some representative references: Herod. II. 73; Ovid *Am.* II. vi. 54, *Mét.* XV. 392-407; Stat. *Silv.* II. iv. 36; Sen. *Epist.* xlii. 1; Pliny, *N.H.* X. 3-5; Tac. *Ann.* VI. 28; Aur. Vict. *De Caesaribus* 4; Claudian, *De Cons. Stil.* II. 414-420, *Carm. min.* xxvii (xliv).

^b *Fragm.* 163 (222), 3-4, ed. Goettling, 1878 = Loeb ed. of Hesiod, etc., p. 74. ἀνὰρ δὲ φαινίξ ἐννέα μὲν κόρακας (sc. γηράσκειται), "the phoenix lives nine times longer than the raven." The idea is echoed in the "reparabilis ales" of Ausonius, Bk. VII. *Eclog.* v. 5-6 (Loeb ed.).

authorities. Ovid fitted the description of the nest into the last book of his *Metamorphoses*; and at a subsequent date Statius conceived the fancy of a still happier phoenix untouched by the lethargy of age. The rarity of the fabulous bird struck Seneca as a good analogy to the infrequent occurrence of a perfect Stoic sage. Pliny in his *Natural History* touches with considerable minuteness upon the bird's nest of spices, its habits, and the growth of its offspring; while the news that it had been seen in Egypt in the year A.D. 34 draws from Tacitus an account of its periodic death and the transport of the father's body by the new phoenix to the altar of the Sun. Towards the end of the classical period we note the continued attraction of the theme for Claudian, not only in an elaborate simile of half a dozen lines in his *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, but also in the 110 hexameters which he almost certainly modelled upon our extant elegiac *Phoenix*. This is most commonly ascribed to Lactantius, the pupil of Arnobius in oratory, who was professor of rhetoric at Nicomedia early in the fourth century and who later in the West became the instructor of Prince Crispus by the invitation of Constantine. As his conversion from paganism did not divorce him from ancient culture, Lactantius attained distinction among early Christian authors for the beauty and eloquence of his Latin style.

But no more surprising than the semi-romantic pagan appeal of the phoenix fable is the fact that Christian writers should have found an added symbolic fascination in such features as its Oriental paradise and its resurrection to life through death. *Prima facie*, then, there seems little to startle one

in the ascription to Lactantius; but, in fact, the authorship of the *Phoenix* has long been under discussion. It is easy to discover in the poem both pagan and Christian constituents. Baehrens indeed argues that the pagan element is enough to invalidate the traditional ascription (supported by certain MSS.^a of the poem) to so unquestionably Christian an author. To meet this objection Brandt has argued that the *Phoenix* was composed by Lactantius before his conversion; and Pichon, who minimises the Christian colour, is so sure that the pagan touches would have been unacceptable to a Christian, that he holds the only possible alternatives to be the composition of the poem either by Lactantius at a pre-Christian stage or by a different author who was pagan. Yet such "contamination" of conflicting strains does not seem to be an insuperable barrier to the prevailing belief: indeed it is rather to be expected in the age and circumstances of Lactantius. Baehrens, who, like Ribbeck, rejects the Lactantian authorship, is not convinced by Dechent's study of similarities in phraseology between our poem and the unquestioned works of Lactantius. As regards the testimony by Gregory of Tours^b in the sixth century to a poem on the phoenix which he summarises and ascribes to Lactantius, Baehrens eventually concluded^c that Gregory

^a See the Sigla.

^b *De cursu stellarum* 12, p. 861. Our poem is quoted eight times under the name of Lactantius in a short anonymous treatise *de dubiis nominibus* (between Isidore of Seville and the ninth century); and it is significant that Alcuin cites Lactantius as a Christian poet in his list of books in the library at York (F. Dümmler, *Poet. lat. aev. Carol.* I, p. 204).

^c *P.L.M.* III, pp. 250-252.

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had not before him the same poem as we have, but a lost one by Lactantius. On Jerome's authority we know that Lactantius wrote a *ῥητορικόν* from Africa to Nicomedia, presumably when he went on Diocletian's invitation to teach rhetoric in that city; and it is Baehrens' suggestion that into this narrative of his own journey eastwards he might have appropriately worked an account of the fabled Oriental bird, using our extant poem (according to Baehrens, by a pagan) but adding Christian colour. The hypothesis next assumes that after the supposed disappearance of Lactantius' poem monkish copyists made an incorrect ascription of the surviving poem to the "Christian Cicero," being misled by the outward resemblances in it to Christian ideas and by the knowledge that a *Phoenix* had actually been composed by Lactantius. It will be noted that the monks, if this guess be true, did not find the paganism of the poem so much of a stumbling-block as Baehrens and Pichon have done. But the majority of critics, including Ebert, Manitius, Riese, Birt and Dechent, have been satisfied with a less elaborate theory and have accepted our poem as Lactantius' authentic work.

For English readers the *Phoenix* possesses special historical and literary interest as the basis of an early Anglo-Saxon *Phoenix* in alliterative accentual verse. Its author, whether the Northumbrian Cynewulf or not—for here too there is a dispute—undoubtedly modelled the earlier portion of his poem upon the extant Latin poem. Here again, as in the original, we meet the earthly paradise, partly a plain, partly "a fair forest where fruits fall not" (*vuduholt nymlic, waestmas ne dreosað*).

PHOENIX

Here too, familiar as in the ancient source, are the bird's unrivalled notes of song, its flight to the Syrian palm-tree in the fullness of a thousand years, the building of its nest, its own admirable beauty, its strange death and birth to fresh life. But the adaptation is free. The English borrower omits as he wishes. Phaethon and Deucalion vanish. Phoebus' car becomes "God's candle." Even the texture of the Anglo-Saxon poem on the far Eastern land where the marvellous bird dwells is interwoven with Biblical thought. Such expansion is still more noticeable in the later part, where a transition is made from the mystery of the phoenix's sex and birth to analogies with the life of the elect; and, when the ways of the phoenix are treated as symbolic of the Christian life, the English poem departs entirely from the Latin original.

EDITIONS

Apart from editions of Lactantius (*e.g. ed. princeps*, Rome, 1468; M. Thomasius, Antwerp, 1570; Gallaeus, Leyden, 1660):

- Gryphiander. Jena, 1618.
- Burman. In his *Claudian*. Amsterdam, 1760.
- Wernsdorf. In *P.L.M.* III. Altenburg, 1782.
- A. Martini. Lüneburg, 1825.
- H. Leyser. Quedlinburg, 1839.
- A. Riese. In *Anthol. Lat.* 1863; ed. 2. Leipzig, 1906.
- L. Jeep. In his *Claudian*, vol. ii. Leipzig, 1879.
- E. Baehrens. In *P.L.M.* III. Leipzig, 1881.

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RELEVANT WORKS

- A. Ebert. In *Allgemeine Geschichte der Lit. des Mittelalters im Abendlande*. Leipzig, 1874, ed. 2, 1889.
- G. Goetz. In *Acta Societ. philol. Lips.* V. p. 319 sqq.
- H. Klapp. In *Progr. gymn. Wandsbeckiani*. 1875.
- A. Riese. *Ueber den Phoenix des Lactantius*, *Rh. Mus.* xxxi. 1876.
- H. Dechent. *Ueber die Echtheit des Phoenix von Lactantius*, *Rh. Mus.* xxxv. 1880, pp. 39-55.
- M. Manitius. In *Geschichte der christl.-latein. Poesie*. Stuttgart, 1891.
- O. Ribbeck. In *Geschichte der röm. Dichtung*, III. p. 364. Stuttgart, 1892.
- S. Brandt. *Zum Phoenix des Lactantius*, *Rh. Mus.* xlvii. 1892.
- A. Knappitsch. *De Lactantii Ave Phoenice*. Graz, 1896.
- R. Pichon. *Lactance: Étude sur le mouvement philosophique et religieux sous le règne de Constantin*. Paris, 1901.
- C. Pascal. *Sul carme de ave Phoenice*. Naples, 1904.
- . *I carmi De Phoenice in Letteratura latina medievale*: Nuovi Saggi. Catania, 1909.
- C. Landi. *De Ave Phoenice: il carme e il suo autore in Atti e memorie di Padova*, 31, 1914-1915.

SIGLA

(As in Baehrens' *P.L.M.* III. pp. 247-249.)

- A = Parisinus 13048: saec. viii, scriptura langobardica exaratus inter Venantii Fortunati poemata, fol. 47^a-48^b versus 1-110, sine titulo exhibens.

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- B = codex bibliothecae capitularis Veronensis 163: saec. ix, continens Claudianum maxime cuius post "Phoenicem" legitur nostrum carmen, fol. 14^a-19^b, cum hac inscriptione *item Lacta(n)tii de eadem ave*.
- C = Vossianus L.Q. 33: saec. x: fol. 73^a-75^b, versus *Lactantii de ave Phoenice* habet.
- O = consensus codicum melioris notae vel communis archetypus.

CODICES INTERPOLATI

- D = codex Cantabrigiensis [Bibl. Univers. Gg. 5.35]: saec. xi, qui inter multa poemata christiana fol. 168^a-170^b, habet "Phoenicem" praemisso titulo: *Incipit libellus de fenice, paradisi ut fertur habitatrice. Quidam ferunt Lactantium hunc scripsisse libellum*.
- E = Bodleianus F. 2. 14: saec. xii, fol. 126^b-128^b, sine inscriptione libellum continens.
- S = pauca quae correctiora leguntur in codicibus saeculo xiv maximeque xv scriptis.
- [For the large number of late and inferior manuscripts see A. Martini's edition, 1825.]

DE AVE PHOENICE

Est locus in primo felix oriente remotus,
 qua patet aeterni maxima porta poli,
 nec tamen aestivos hiemisve propinquus ad ortus,
 sed qua Sol verno fundit ab axe diem.
 illic planities tractus diffundit apertos, 5
 nec tumulus crescit nec cava vallis hiat,
 sed nostros montes, quorum iuga celsa putantur,
 per bis sex ulnas imminet ille locus.
 hic Solis nemus est et consitus arbore multa
 lucus perpetuae frondis honore virens. 10
 cum Phaethonteis flagrasset ab ignibus axis,
 ille locus flammis inviolatus erat;
 et cum diluvium mersisset fluctibus orbem
 Deucalioneas exsuperavit aquas.
 non huc exsanguis Morbi, non aegra Senectus 15
 nec Mors crudelis nec Metus asper adest
 nec Scelus infandum nec opum vesana Cupido
 aut Ira aut ardens caedis amore Furor;
 Luctus acerbus abest et Egestas obsita pannis
 et Curae insomnes et violenta Fames. 20
 non ibi tempestas nec vis furit horrida venti
 nec gelido terram rore pruina tegit;

¹⁶ adest AB : adit CDE.

¹⁸ aut metus O (cf. v. 16) : aut Mars *edd. vet.* : Venus *Ouden-*
dorp : Pavor *Goetz* : Letum *Riese* : huc meat *Birt* : aut Ira
Baehrens.

PHOENIX

THERE is a far-off land, blest amid the first streaks
 of dawn, where standeth open the mightiest portal
 of the everlasting sky, yet not beside the risings of
 the summer or the winter Sun, but where he sheds
 daylight from the heavens in spring. There a plain
 spreads out its open levels; no knoll swells there,
 no hollow valley gapes, yet that region o'ertops
 by twice six ells our mountains whose ridges are
 reckoned high. Here is the grove of the Sun, a
 woodland planted with many a tree and green with
 the honours of eternal foliage. When the sky went
 ablaze from the fires of Phaethon's car, that region
 was inviolate from the flames;^a it rose above the
 waters on which Deucalion sailed, when the flood had
 whelmed the world in its waves.^b Hither no bloodless
 Diseases come, no sickly Eld, nor cruel Death nor
 desperate Fear nor nameless Crime nor maddened
 Lust for wealth or Wrath or Frenzy afire with the love
 of murder; bitter Grief is absent and Beggary beset
 with rags and sleepless Cares and violent Hunger.^c
 No tempest raveth there nor savage force of wind:
 nor does the hoar-frost shroud the ground in chilly

^a For Phaethon's disastrous driving of the car of his father
 Apollo see Ovid, *Met.* II. 1-332.

^b Deucalion's ark saved him and Pyrrha during the primeval
 deluge.

^c The personifications are largely based on Virg. *Aen.* VI.
 274 sqq.

nulla super campos tendit sua vellera nubes
 nec cadit ex alto turbidus umor aquae.
 sed fons in medio, quem vivum nomine dicunt,
 perspicuus, lenis, dulcibus uber aquis;
 qui semel erumpens per singula tempora mensum
 duodeciens undis irrigat omne nemus.
 hic genus arboreum procero stipite surgens
 non lapsura solo mitia poma gerit.

hoc nemus, hos lucos avis incolit unica Phoenix,
 unica, si vivit morte refecta sua.
 paret et obsequitur Phoebus memoranda satelles:
 hoc Natura parens munus habere dedit.
 lutea cum primum surgens Aurora rubescit,
 cum primum rosea sidera luce fugat,
 ter quater illa pias immergit corpus in undas,
 ter quater e vivo gurgite libat aquam.
 tollitur ac summo considit in arboris altae
 vertice, quae totum despicit una nemus,
 et conversa novos Phoebi nascentis ad ortus
 exspectat radios et iubar exoriens.
 atque ubi Sol pepulit fulgentis limina portae
 et primi emicuit luminis aura levis,
 incipit illa sacri modulamina fundere cantus
 et mira lucem voce ciere novam,
 quam nec aedoniae voces nec tibia possit
 musica Cirrheis adsimulare modis;

²⁵ sed O : est *Baehrens*.

³² sed O : si (= siquidem) *Baehrens*.

³³ memoranda O : veneranda *Baehrens*.

⁴⁷ voces O : fauces *Baehrens*.

damp. Above the plains no cloud stretches its
 fleece, nor falleth from on high the stormy moisture
 of rain. But there is a well in the midst, the well
 of life they call it, crystal-clear, gently-flowing, rich
 in its sweet waters: bursting forth once for each
 several month in its season, it drenches all the grove
 twelve times with its flood. Here is a kind of tree
 that rising with stately stem bears mellow fruits
 which will not fall to the ground.

In this grove, in these woods, dwells the peerless
 bird,^a the Phoenix, peerless, since she lives renewed
 by her own death. An acolyte worthy of record,^b
 she yields obedience and homage to Phoebus: such
 the duty that parent Nature assigned to her for observ-
 ance. Soon as saffron Aurora reddens at her rising,
 soon as she routs the stars with rosy light, thrice
 and again that bird plunges her body into the kindly
 waves, thrice and again sips water from the living
 flood. Soaring she settles on the topmost height of
 a lofty tree which alone commands the whole of the
 grove, and, turning towards the fresh rising of
 Phoebus at his birth, awaits the emergence of his
 radiant beam. And when the Sun has struck the
 threshold of the gleaming portal and the light shaft
 of his first radiance has flashed out, she begins to
 pour forth notes of hallowed minstrelsy and to sum-
 mon the new day in a marvellous key which neither
 tune of nightingale nor musical pipe could rival in

^a "alone of its kind," "unparalleled": cf. Ovid *Am. II.*
vi. 54, et vivax phoenix, unica semper avis.

^b In most accounts the phoenix appears as a male bird
 (*pater*, etc.). Contrast, however, Ovid's *unica avis* (*l.c.*)
 with Claudian's *Titanius ales* (*Carm. Min. xxvii.7*) and his
idem (*masc.*) in *De Cons. Stil. II. 415*. Aurelius Victor, *De*
Caesaribus 4, has *quam volucrem* in reference to the phoenix.

sed neque olor moriens imitari posse putetur
nec Cylleneae fila canora lyrae.

50

postquam Phoebus equos in aperta effudit Olympi
atque orbem totum protulit usque means,
illa ter alarum repetito verbere plaudit
igniferumque caput ter venerata silet.

atque eadem celeres etiam discriminat horas
innarrabilibus nocte dieque sonis,
antistes luci nemorumque verenda sacerdos
et sola arcanis conscia, Phoebe, tuis.

55

quae postquam vitae iam mille peregerit annos
ac sibi reddiderint tempora longa gravem,
ut reparet lapsum spatiis vergentibus aevum,
adsuetum nemoris dulce cubile fugit;

60

cumque renascendi studio loca sancta reliquit,
tunc petit hunc orbem, Mors ubi regna tenet.
derigit in Syriam celeres longaeva volatus,

65

Phoenicen nomen cui dedit ipsa vetus,
securosque petit deserta per avia lucos,
hic ubi per saltus silva remota latet.

tum legit aereo sublimem vertice palmam,
quae Graium Phoenix ex ave nomen habet,
in quam nulla nocens animans prorepere possit,
lubricus aut serpens aut avis ulla rapax.

70

⁴⁹ sed O : et *Baehrens*.

⁶⁰ ac si A : ac se BCDE : et sic *Barth* : ac sibi *Hoeufft*.

⁶⁵ dirigit O : derigit *Baehrens*.

⁶⁶ vetus DE : vaetus A : vetustas BC : Venus *Heinsius*.

⁶⁸ sic ubi post DE : hic ubi per *edd. vet.*

⁷⁰ Graium A : gratum *ceteri*.

⁷¹ prorepere A : proripere B : prorumpere *ceteri*.

^a From Cirrha near Parnassus.

^b An allusion to Mercury's early association with Mount Cyllene in Arcadia.

Cirrhean ^a modes; nay, let not the dying swan be thought capable of imitating it, nor yet the tuneful strings of Cyllenean ^b lyre.

After Phoebus has given his steeds the rein into the open heavens and in ever onward course brought forth his full round orb,^c then that bird with thrice repeated beat of the wing yields her applause, and after three obeisances to the fire-bearing prince holds her peace. She it is also who marks off the swift hours by day and night in sounds which may not be described, priestess of the grove and awe-inspiring ministrant of the woods, the only confidant of thy mysteries, Phoebus. When she has already fulfilled a thousand years of life ^d and long lapse of time has made it burdensome to her, she flees from her sweet and wonted nest in the grove, so that in the closing span she may restore her bygone existence, and when in passion for re-birth she has left her sacred haunts, then she seeks this world where Death holds sovereignty. Despite her length of years she directs her swift flight into Syria, to which she herself of old gave the name of "Phoenix," and seeks through desert wilds the care-free groves, here where the sequestered woodland lurks among the glades. Then she chooses a palm-tree towering with airy crest which bears its Greek name "Phoenix" from the bird: against it no hurtful living creature could steal forth, or slippery serpent, or any bird of

^c Possibly "revealed the whole wide world" (*cf. Virg. Aen. IV. 118*).

^d *Tac. Ann. VI. 28* gives 500 years as the usually accepted length of the Phoenix-cycle, but he mentions also 1461 years (*i.e.* the "magnus annus" = $365\frac{1}{4} \times 4$). *Martial V. vii. 2* gives *decem saecula*, and *Pliny 1000 years*, a round figure adopted by *Claudian* and *Ausonius*.

tum ventos claudit pendentibus Aeolus antris,
 ne violent flabris aera purpureum, 75
 ne concreta Noto nubes per inania caeli
 submoveat radios solis et obsit avi.
 construit inde sibi seu nidum sive sepulcrum:
 nam perit ut vivat, se tamen ipsa creat.
 colligit huic sucos et odores divite silva,
 quos legit Assyrius, quos opulentus Arabs, 80
 quos aut Pygmaeae gentes aut India carpit
 aut molli generat terra Sabaea sinu.
 cinnamon hic auramque procul spirantis amomi
 congerit et mixto balsama cum folio.
 non casiae mitis nec olentis vimen acanthi 85
 nec turis lacrimae guttaque pinguis abest.
 his addit teneras nardi pubentis aristas
 et sociat tenerae vim, Panachaea, tuae.
 protinus instructo corpus mutabile nido
 vitalique toro membra vieta locat. 90
 ore dehinc sucos membris circumque supraque
 inicit exsequiis immoritura suis.
 tunc inter varios animam commendat odores,
 depositi tanti nec timet illa fidem.

⁷⁹ hinc O : huc *Riese* : huic *Baehrens*.

⁸⁸ panacea s *Wernsdorf*.

⁹⁰ quieta CDE : quiete AB : vieta *Heinsius*.

^a Cf. Claudian, *Carm. Min.* xxvii. 44, *bustumque sibi partumque futurum*.

^b The Pygmies were considered legendary dwarfs of Egypt or Ethiopia : the allusions are to both African and Asiatic spices.

^c *terra Sabaea* = Arabia Felix, whose chief town Saba was famed for its myrrh and frankincense.

^d Cf. Ovid, *Met.* XV. 398, *nardi lenis aristas*.

prey. Then Aeolus imprisons the winds in over-
 arching grottoes, lest their blasts harass the bright-
 gleaming air, or the cloud-wrack from the South
 banish the sunrays throughout the empty tracts of
 heaven and do harm to the bird. Thereafter she
 builds herself a cradle or sepulchre^a—which you
 will—for she dies to live and yet begets herself.
 She gathers for it from the rich forest juicy scented
 herbs such as the Assyrian gathers or the wealthy
 Arabian, such as either the Pygmaean races or
 India^b culls or the Sabaeen^c land produces in its
 soft bosom. Here she heaps together cinnamon and
 effluence of the aromatic shrub that sends its breath
 afar and balsam with its blended leaf. Nor is there
 lacking a slip of mild casia or fragrant acanthus or
 the rich dropping tears of frankincense. Thereto
 she adds the tender ears^d of downy spikenard,
 joining as its ally the potency of thy myrrh, Pana-
 chaea.^e Forthwith in the nest she has furnished
 she sets her body that awaits its change—withered
 limbs on a life-giving couch: thereafter with her
 beak she casts the scents on her limbs, around them
 and above, being appointed to die in her own funeral.
 Then she commends her soul^f amid the varied
 fragrances without a fear for the trustworthiness of

^a The usual form is *Panchaia*, a fabled island east of Arabia, famous for precious stones and myrrh. Cf. Virg. *Georg.* II. 139: Plin. *N.H.* X. 4.

^f This paradoxical idea is introduced by the preceding lines which picture the bird as laying out her own body, and, by throwing perfumes on herself, performing a ritual usually assigned to mourners: *immoritura* is echoed in 95, *corpus genitali morte peremptum*.

^g One of the Christian notes in the poem: cf. 64, *hunc orbem mors ubi regna tenet*. With 94 cf. 2 Timothy I. 12.

interea corpus genitali morte peremptum 95
 aestuat et flammam parturit ipse calor,
 aetherioque procul de lumine concipit ignem :
 flagrat et ambustum solvitur in cineres.
 quos velut in massam cineres umore coactos
 conflatur; et effectum seminis instar habet. 100
 hinc animal primum sine membris fertur oriri,
 sed fertur vermi lacteus esse color :
 creverit immensum subito cum tempore certo
 seque ovi teretis colligit in speciem,
 inde reformatur quali fuit ante figura 105
 et Phoenix ruptis pullulat exuviis :
 ac velut agrestes, cum filo ad saxa tenentur,
 mutari tineae papilione solent.
 non illi cibus est nostro consuetus in orbe
 nec cuiquam implumentum pascere cura subest; 110
 ambrosios libat caelesti nectare rores,
 stellifero tenues qui cecidere polo.
 hos legit, his alitur mediis in odoribus ales,
 donec maturam proferat effigiem.
 ast ubi primaeva coepit florere iuventa, 115
 evolat ad patrias iam reditura domus.
 ante tamen, proprio quicquid de corpore restat,
 ossaque vel cineres exuiasque suas,

⁹⁹ in more ABC: in morte D, Wernsdorf: in monte E: umore Ritschl, Baehrens: alii alia.

¹⁰⁰ it tener in densum duratus Baehrens: alii alia.
¹⁰⁷⁻¹⁰⁸ post 102 ponit Baehrens.

¹⁰⁸ pinnae AB: pennae ceteri: tineae Didacus Couarruvias episcopus Segobiensis, teste Thomasio: cf. Ovid, Met. XV. 372-4.

¹⁰⁹ concessus O: consuetus Baehrens.

¹¹⁰ in verbis cura subest desinit codex A.

a deposit so great. Meanwhile her body, by birthing death destroyed, is aglow, the very heat producing flame and catching fire from the ethereal light afar: it blazes and when burned dissolves into ashes. These ashes she welds together, as if they were concentrated by moisture in a mass, possessing in the result what takes the place of seed.^a Therefrom, 'tis said, rises a living creature first of all without limbs, but this worm is said to have a milky colour: when suddenly at the appointed hour it has grown enormously, gathering into what looks like a rounded egg, from it she is remoulded in such shape as she had before, bursting her shell and springing to life a Phoenix: 'tis even so that larvae in the country fastened by their threads^b to stones are wont to change into a butterfly. Hers is no food familiar in this world of ours: 'tis no one's charge to feed the bird as yet unfledged: she sips ambrosial dews of heavenly nectar fallen in a fine shower from the star-bearing sky. Such is her culling, such her sustenance, encompassed by fragrant spices until she bring her appearance to maturity. But when she begins to bloom in the spring-time of her youth, she flits forth already bent on a return to her ancestral abodes. Yet ere she goes, she takes all that remains of what was her own body—bones or ashes and the shell that was hers—and stores it

^a The simile from metallurgy seems violent as applied to a substance endowed with the seeds of life. With *umore coactos* cf. Virg. G. IV. 172-173 *stridentia tingunt aera lacu*, of dipping metal in the blacksmith's watertank.

^b The passage, like Ovid, *Met. XV. 372-4*, has silkworms in view. Thomasio thought *saxa* should be *taxa*, presumably in the sense of yew branches, an invention of which Wernsdorf does not approve.

unguine balsameo murraque et ture soluto
 condit et in formam conglobat ore pio. 120
 quam pedibus gestans contendit Solis ad urbem
 inque ara residens ponit in aede sacra.
 mirandam sese praestat praebetque videnti:
 tantus avi decor est, tantus abundat honor.
 principio color est qualis sub sidere caeli 125
 mitia quem corio punica grana tegunt;
 qualis inest foliis, quae fert agreste papaver,
 cum pandit vestes Flora rubente polo.
 hoc umeri pectusque decens velamine fulget,
 hoc caput, hoc cervix summaque terga nitent; 130
 caudaque porrigitur fulvo distincta metallo,
 in cuius maculis purpura mixta rubet;
 alarum pennas lux pingit discolor, Iris
 pingere ceu nubes desuper acta solet;
 albicat insignis mixto viridante smaragdo 135
 et puro cornu gemmea cuspis hiat;

¹²¹ ortus O (e *versu* 41): urbem *ed. Gryphiandri* 1618.

¹²² vehentes B: vehentis E: videnti *vulgo*: verendam *Baehrens*.

¹²⁴ ubi B: ibi CDE: avi *Heinsius*.

¹²⁵⁻⁶ principio O: puniceus *Heinsius*: purpureus *Burman*: praecipuus *Baehrens*: qualis sub sidere caeli O: qualis sub cortice laevi *Heinsius*. qu(a)e croceo BE: qui croceo CD: quem croceum *Heinsius*: quae corio *Goetz*. legunt O: tegunt *Heinsius*: quali sunt, sidere Cancrī mitia quae corio, Punica, grana tegunt *Baehrens*.

¹²⁸ flore O: Flora *vulgo*. caelo BC: polo B m. 2: flore rubente novo *Baehrens*.

¹³¹ fulvo BC: flavo DE. distenta BC: distincta DE: *cf. vers.* 141.

in balsam oil, myrrh, and frankincense set free,^a
 rounding it into ball-shape with loving beak. Bearing
 this in her talons she speeds to the City of the
 Sun,^b and perching on the altar sets it in the hallowed
 temple. Marvellous is her appearance and the show
 she makes to the onlooker: such comeliness has the
 bird, so ample a glory. To begin with, her colour
 is like the colour which beneath the sunshine of the
 sky ripe pomegranates cover under their rind^c;
 like the colour in the petals of the wild poppy when
 Flora displays her garb at the blush of dawn. In
 such a dress gleam her shoulders and comely breast:
 even so glitter head and neck and surface of the
 back, while the tail spreads out variegated with a
 metallic yellow, amid whose spots reddens a purple
 blend. The wing-feathers are picked out by a con-
 trasted sheen, as 'tis the heaven-sent rainbow's way
 to illuminate the clouds. The beak is of a fine
 white with a dash of emerald green, glittering jewel-
 like in its clear horn as it opens. You would take

^a *i.e.* dissolved from the form of roundish tears of gum resin.

^b The usual form of the legend, as in Ovid, Mela and Tacitus, gives Heliopolis as the destination, *i.e.* a westward instead of the eastward flight suggested by *Solis ad ortus* of the MSS. Pliny, *N.H.* X. 4, has in *Solis urbem*.

^c The text of 125-126 is difficult. Wernsdorf reads *principio color est, qualis sub cortice laevi (= levi), mitia quem croceum punica grana legunt*. *Baehrens'* text is given in the apparatus criticus. The editors do not consider either reading satisfactory. For *qualis* followed by the relative *cf.* Liv. VIII. 39, *acies qualis quae esse instructissima potest*: Calp. Sic. iv. 160, *talīs erit qualis qui . . .*

¹²⁸ harum inter pennas inaigneque desuper iris DE: clarum *Wernsdorf*: alarum *Ritschl*. lux pingit discolor, Iris *Baehrens*.

¹³⁴ aura O: alta *g*: acta *Heinsius, Baehrens*.

ingentes oculos credas geminos hyacinthos,
 quorum de medio lucida flamma micat;
 aptata est toto capiti radiata corona
 Phoebei referens verticis alta decus; 140
 crura tegunt squamae fulvo distincta metallo,
 ast ungues roseo tingit honore color.
 effigies inter pavonis mixta figuram
 cernitur et pictam Phasidis inter avem. 145
 magnitiem terris Arabum quae gignitur ales
 vix aequare potest, seu fera seu sit avis.
 non tamen est tarda, ut volucres quae corpore
 magno
 incessus pigros per grave pondus habent,
 sed levis ac velox, regali plena decore:
 talis in adspectu se tenet usque hominum. 150
 huc venit Aegyptus tanti ad miracula visus
 et raram volucrem turba salutat ovans.
 protinus exsculpunt sacrato in marmore formam
 et titulo signant remque diemque novo.
 contrahit in coetum sese genus omne volantum, 155
 nec praedae memor est ulla nec ulla metus.
 alituum stipata choro volat illa per altum
 turbaque prosequitur munere laeta pio.
 sed postquam puri pervenit ad aetheris auras,
 mox redit; illa suis conditur inde locis. 160
 a fortunatae sortis finisque volucrem,
 cui de se nasci praestitit ipse deus!

¹³⁹ aequataq; O: aptatur *Oudendorp*: aptata est *Ritschl*:
 arguata est *Baehrens*. noto BD: notho C: nota E:
 toto *Wernsdorf*: croceo *Klapp*: summo vel nitido *Ritschl*:
 rutilo *Baehrens*.

¹⁴¹ ad B: at C: a *Is. Vossius*: sat *Baehrens*. filisque
 volucrum BC: fatique volucrem *edd. vet.*: finisque volu-
 crem *Is. Vossius*.

for twin sapphires those great eyes from between
 which shoots a bright flame. All over the head is
 fitted a crown of rays, in lofty likeness to the glory
 of the Sun-god's head. Scales cover the legs, which
 are variegated with a metallic yellow, but the tint
 which colours the claws is a wonderful rose. To
 the eye it has a blended semblance between the
 peacock's appearance and the rich-hued bird from
 Phasis.^a Its size^b the winged thing that springs
 from the Arabs' lands is scarce able to match,
 whether wild animal it be or bird.^c Yet 'tis not
 slow like large-sized birds which are of sluggish
 movement by reason of their heavy weight, but 'tis
 light and swift, filled with a royal grace: such is its
 bearing ever to the eyes of men. Egypt draws
 nigh to greet the marvel of so great a sight and the
 crowd joyfully hails the peerless bird. Straightway
 they grave its form on hallowed marble and with a
 fresh title mark both the event and the day.^d Every
 breed of fowl unites in the assemblage: no bird
 has thoughts of prey nor yet of fear. Attended by
 a chorus of winged creatures, she flits through the
 high air, and the band escorts her, gladdened by
 their pious task. But when the company has reached
 the breezes of ether unalloyed, it presently returns:
 she then ensconces herself in her true haunts. Ah,
 bird of happy lot and happy end to whom God's
 own will has granted birth from herself! Female or

^a The pheasant.

^b *magnitiem* is unparalleled.

^c *ales* is a reference to the ostrich or *strouthiocamelos*,
 which was so called from its camel-like neck, and which might
 be considered either land animal or bird.

^d *i.e.* in their joy over the periodic return of the Phoenix.

MINOR LATIN POETS

femina vel mas haec, seu neutrum, seu sit utrumque,
 felix quae veneris foedera nulla colit : 165
 mors illi venus est, sola est in morte voluptas :
 ut possit nasci, appetit ante mori.
 ipsa sibi proles, suus est pater et suus heres,
 nutrix ipsa sui, semper alumna sibi—
 ipsa quidem, sed non eadem quia et ipsa nec ipsa est,
 aeternam vitam mortis adepta bono. 170

¹⁶⁸ sic Heinsius et Wernsdorf: *discrepant codices*: femina
 seu mas est seu neutrum: belua felix Baehrens.

¹⁶⁴ colit O: coit Baehrens.

¹⁶⁹ sic s et Wernsdorf: *omiserunt et CD*: non <eadem est>
 eademque nec ipsa est Baehrens.

PHOENIX

male she is, which you will—whether neither or
 both, a happy bird, she regards not any unions of
 love: to her, death is love; and her sole pleasure
 lies in death: to win her birth, it is her appetite
 first to die. Herself she is her own offspring, her
 own sire and her own heir, herself her own nurse,
 her own nurseling evermore—herself indeed, yet
 not the same; because she is both herself and not
 herself, gaining eternal life by the boon of death.

AVIANUS

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

In most of the extant MSS. the name of the author of these forty-two fables is given (in the genitive) *Aviani*. Two of our principal MSS. (A and *Rawl.*), however, have *Avieni*. If one may judge from inscriptions, Avianus was a commoner name than Avianus. Between Avienus and Avienius there is not enough material on which to form a judgement. Since, however, there is no trace of the ending *-ii* in any of our MSS., we may venture to limit ourselves to the question of Avianus as against Avienus.

The suggestion has been made that the writer of the fables was identical with Rufius Festus Avienus, author of works entitled *Aratea* and *Descriptio Orbis Terrae*. Chronology agrees, it is true; but there are two grave objections: the fables and the *Aratea* are poles asunder in style; and the author of the *Aratea* is designated in full in the MSS. *Rufi Festi Avieni*, while the prevailing description of the fabulist is simply *Aviani*. A more possible suggestion is that our fabulist was the Avienus who took part in the symposium described in the *Saturnalia* which was written early in the fifth century by Macrobius Theodosius. The theory appears more likely, if we agree that *ad Theodosium* in the title of the dedi-

catory letter means Macrobius Theodosius^a and neither of the emperors named Theodosius, although two MSS. (*Rawl.* and *Reg.*) have *imperatorem* in apposition to *Theodosium*. Other arguments are given by Ellis (*Proleg.* p. xiv) in favour of this particular Avienus; but nothing in the way of proof is forthcoming, and the prevalence of "Aviani" in the MSS. militates against it. It seems, then, best to conclude that the fables are the work of an unknown Avianus, who wrote about A.D. 400 in the lifetime of Macrobius and dedicated his work to him.

Cannegieter and Lachmann, denying that the Theodosius of the preface was either of the emperors or Macrobius, argued that Avianus lived in the middle of the second century A.D. Cannegieter based his theory partly on the fact that the preface omits Julius Titianus (a fabulist of about A.D. 200 mentioned by Ausonius) from the list of Avianus' predecessors. Therefore, he held, Avianus must have preceded Titianus. This argument from silence is demolished by Wernsdorf's reply that Avianus' list of fabulists does not profess to be exhaustive. But Cannegieter (like Lachmann in the following century) argued from Avianus' style also. The first impression is that of general metrical correctness marred by some glaring licences and of a Latinity, partly Augustan, partly Silver, combined with a number of violent departures from classical usage. Therefore, according to Cannegieter and Lachmann, the original

^a This hypothesis, originally propounded by Pithou, *Poemat. Vet.* p. 474, has been accepted by many scholars, including Voss, *De Histor. Latinis* ii. 9; Wernsdorf, *P.L.M.* V. 669; L. Müller, *De Phaedri et Av. Libellis*, 32; Baehrens, *P.L.M.* V. 31; Unrein, *De Aviani Aetate*, 60.

Avianus lived in the second century and wrote in classical Latin and in correct metre, while schoolmasters, rhetoricians, interpolators and copyists are responsible for the depravations.

Since Lachmann's day, however, the date of Babrius^a the fabulist, whom Avianus mentions and upon whom (as we shall see) he models a great part of his work, has been established by Otto Crusius.^b Babrius, we now know, wrote under Severus Alexander (222-235 A.D.); and so Avianus must belong to a subsequent age. Moreover, arguments from style really support the view that Avianus flourished about 400 A.D. Many couplets, it may be conceded, particularly in the "promythia" and "epimythia," employed to introduce or conclude some fables, as we now have them, are quite late additions; others can be plausibly emended into classical Latin. Still, there remain some violations of prosody,^c both defying emendation and occurring in couplets which cannot be dismissed as interpolations without destroying the sense of the fable; while much of the late Latin (see Ellis, *Proleg.* xxx sqq.) is embedded in the core of a fable, and must therefore come from the original Avianus. These violations of prosody and this late Latin prevent us from putting the period of Avianus earlier than the later part of the fourth century.

^a Valerius Babrius composed two books of fables in Greek scazons. The dedication of one of his books is to the son of Severus Alexander. We have in all 137 fables along with fragments. There is in the Bodleian a Greek prose paraphrase of many of his fables, including some no longer extant in Babrius: see W. G. Rutherford, *Babrius*, London 1833.

^b *De Babrii Aetate*, *Leipz. Stud.* II. 238.

^c Cf. remarks on metre later in Introduction.

Avianus in his preface or dedicatory letter makes no claim to be original. He claims that he has put into elegiac verse 42 fables from the Aesopic collection—a collection from which Socrates and Horace^a had drawn to illustrate moral maxims and which Phaedrus^b and Babrius had abridged in their Latin and Greek iambs respectively. It is strange that Avianus should mention Phaedrus and Babrius together in such a way as to suggest he was no more indebted to one than to the other. The truth is that he owes practically nothing to Phaedrus and nearly everything to Babrius. Avianus 2, 5, 9, 34, 37 are respectively more or less similar in subject-matter to Phaedrus II. vi, I. xi, V. ii, IV. xxiv, III. vii. In fable 37 Avianus is as near to Phaedrus as he is to Babrius and (though a lion has taken the place of a wolf) Phaedrian influence may be admitted; the other four Avianus could have composed without reading Phaedrus. Fables 2, 9, 34 are much closer to Babrius than to Phaedrus, and 5, which is not in our Babrius, is closer to the Aesopic prose version. As for single lines, apart from Av. xi. 10 and xxxi. 12 (which perhaps are echoes of Phaedrus I. v. 1 and IV. vi. 13) there is scarcely a trace of indebtedness to the first-century fabulist. The case is very different in regard to Babrius.^c With a few exceptions the 42 fables can be traced to a Babrian source—either to the sczons of Babrius or to the Greek prose

^a Cf. notes on the dedicatory letter.

^b Phaedrus, of Thracian origin, composed his five books in Latin iambic senarii. His first two books were written under Tiberius (14–37 A.D.); see J. Wight Duff, *Lit. Hist. of Rome in Silver Age*, pp. 133–154.

^c The Greek text of the extant Babrian versions is given in Ellis' commentary.

paraphrase now in the Bodleian. Probably, if our Babrius were complete, we should be able to account for all Avianus' *fabulae*. In most cases Avianus' version is longer than that of Babrius. Avianus expands his Babrian material, sometimes to make an alteration in the story (e.g. 32, 35, 36), but more often to elaborate the descriptive element with poetical diction which contains frequent echoes of Virgil or Ovid. Thus a strained, even grotesque, artificiality displaces the simple directness of Babrius. For a forcible instance, one may examine fable 7, which is based on Babrius 104. Here Avianus takes four lines (3–6) to paraphrase *λάθρη κύων ἔδακνε*, virtually repeats in lines 9 and 10 the preceding couplet, and introduces the Virgilian *crepitantia aera*, perhaps as a tardy recognition of *χαλκείσας* in Babrius' opening line. Then the couplet 15–16

“ Infelix, quae tanta rapit dementia sensum,
munera pro meritis si cupis ista dari? ”

represents ὦ πάλαν, τί σεμνίνῃ; and combines a mock-heroic imitation of Virgil with a colloquial post-classical use of *si cupis* for “if you want to make out that . . .” Other expansions, largely descriptive, are observable in most fables where the Babrian original has survived (e.g. in 14, 18, 34). To such expansions throughout the fables a very noticeable contribution is made by Avianus' habit of drawing poetical phrases freely from Virgil and, to a less extent, from Ovid. They may be pleasantly picturesque reminiscences like *glaucas salices* (xxvi. 6) and *querulo ruperat arva sono* of the grasshopper (xxxiv. 12);^a or they may lend a quaint epic turn to the story

^a Cf. Virg. *Georg.* IV. 182; III. 328.

as in *pendit onus* (ix. 8), *rumpere vocem* (xiv. 11, xxv. 13), *surgentes demoror austros* (xvi. 15), *generis fiducia vestri* (xxiv. 11);^a or they may be still more positively mock-heroic as in *circumstetit horror* of the ass in the lion's skin (v. 9) and *lacrimis obortis* of a weeping fish (xx. 5).^b

Mingled with this poetical language of a pre-Avianian age we have frequent instances of a degenerate Latin. These have been collected and tabulated by Ellis (*Proleg.* xxxvi *sqq.*). The use of *nimius* for *magnus*, of *tanti* for *tot*, and of *datur* for *dicitur*, are among the most noticeable as far as single words are concerned. Indirect statement is sometimes introduced by *quod* or expressed by the subjunctive without a conjunction. *Que* and *atque* according to the manuscripts (though emendation is generally possible) may be used illogically to connect participles with finite verbs; and the gerundive once or twice does the work of a future participle passive.

To the prosody of Avianus a reference has already been made. In general, he gives us correct Ovidian elegiacs. Occasionally, according to the traditional text, at the end of the first half of a pentameter, hiatus is admitted or a short syllable takes the place of a long one (Ellis xxiv-xxv). In most of these cases the text can be easily emended and Avianus himself absolved from a metrical fault. Some other violations of classical prosody (*velis* iii. 6; *nölam* vii. 8; *dispär* xi. 5; *herës* xxxv. 14) cannot be explained away; they come from Avianus' own hand and attest

^a Cf. Ovid, *Her.* ix. 98, *Rem. Am.* 18, *Fasti* II. 760; Virg. *Aen.* II. 129, etc.; III. 481; I. 132.

^b Cf. Virg. *Aen.* II. 559; XI. 41.

the decline of metrical strictness at the end of the fourth century.

There is no trace of Christian influence in the Fables. Pagan gods and sacrifices are introduced after a pre-Christian fashion in 4, 8, 14, 22, 23, 32, 36 and 42.

The popularity of Avianus in the schools of the Middle Ages is attested by accretions, paraphrases, scholia and quotations. As rhetorical exercises, promythia or epimythia were composed at the beginning or end of many fables to point the moral. A few of these came to be included in the text. Some epimythia (those contained in the earliest MSS.), it is likely, come from Avianus himself; but the four promythia (to fables 5, 7, 8, 34) are probably the work of a rhetorician, although, being contained in the tenth century MSS., they are of an early date. A number of undoubtedly spurious epimythia (found only in later MSS.) are omitted in most editions. Froehner prints them separately in his edition of 1862. Paraphrases were often made of Avianus. One collection entitled *Apologi Aviani*^a is attached to two of the later Paris MSS. Here the paraphrast usually turns the first half or more of each fable into prose and ends by copying the last few lines of Avianus' own version, so that occasionally his work is useful for determining the text. Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) composed verse paraphrases, perhaps of the whole of Avianus, entitling his work *Novus Avianus*. His versions of the first six fables are contained in a St. Germain MS. of the thirteenth century.^b Scholia of varying

^a Published by Froehner in his ed. of Avianus 1862.

^b Published by Edelestand du Meril (*Poésies Inédites*, 260-267) and afterwards by Froehner, *op. cit.*

INTRODUCTION TO

extent and value are included in nearly all MSS. of Avianus, indicating the assiduity with which he was studied. He is extensively quoted or alluded to by medieval grammarians and anthologists,^a and the fables were to be found in many libraries of the Middle Ages.^b

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^a Manitius, *Gesch. der lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, Index, s.v. Avianus; *Philologus* LI (1892), 533 sqq.

^b G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, 306.

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SIGLA

(following Ellis in the main)

- A = Paris. 8093: saec. ix.
 P = Paris. 13206: saec. ix.
 C = Paris. 5570: saec. ix (Froehner), x (Ellis), xi (Baehr).
 O = Oxon. Auct. F. 2. 14: saec. xi.
Rawl. = Oxon. B. N. Rawl. 111: saec. xi-xii.
 X = Oxon. Auct. F. 5. 6: circ. 1300.
 G = Cantab. Trinity, Gale O. 3. 5: saec. xii.
*Pet*¹. = Cantab. Peterhouse, 4 (fabulis i-xxii derep-
 tis): saec. xiii-xiv.
*Pet*². = Cantab. Peterhouse, 25 (continens Avianum
 et Maximianum): saec. xiii-xiv.
 B = Londin. Brit. Mus. Harl. 4967: saec. xiii.
 b = Londin. Brit. Mus. 21, 213 (saepe inter-
 polatus): saec. xiii.
 b² = Londin. Brit. Mus. A. xxxi (xvii-xxi omissis):
 circ. 1300.
 b³ = Londin. Brit. Mus. 10090 (interpolatus).
 T = Trevirensis. 1464 (continens Avianum et
 Prudentium): saec. x.
 V = Lugdun. Batav. Vossianus L.Q. 86: saec. ix.

INTRODUCTION TO FABLES OF AVIANUS

W = Lugdun. Batav. Vossianus L.O. 15: saec. xi.

Ashb. [= B in Baehrens' ed.] = Ashburnhamensis
(Libri 1813): saec. xi-xii.

Reg. = Reginensis. 1424: saec. xi.

L = Laurentianus, lxxviii 24: saec. xi.

S = Fragmentum Sangallense. 1396: saec. xi.

K = Fragmentum Karoliruhense (ab Froehnero
adhibitum): saec. ix.

Cab. = readings reported by Cabeljau from a
"codex vetustissimus" and reprinted by Canne-
gieter in D'Orville's *Miscellanea Nova*, 1734.

Paraphr. = readings of the paraphrast, author of
the *apologi Aviani*.

Of the MSS. Baehrens collated the Leyden manu-
scripts V and W, the Trèves one, T, the Florence one,
L, and the Ashburnhamensis (his B). G was collated
for Baehrens by H. A. J. Munro. Baehrens cites
the readings of the Paris MSS. P, A, C and of the
Carlsruhe fragment, K, from Froehner's edition.
Ellis based his text largely on a personal examination
of the three Paris codices, those at Oxford, and those
in the British Museum, besides T and S. The most
important MSS. are C, Rawl., G, B (in Ellis' sigla,
i.e. Harl. 4967), T and V.

Bibliographical addendum (1982)

On the author's name see Alan Cameron, *CQ* 17
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FABULAE AVIANI

EPISTULA EIUSDEM AD THEODOSIUM

Dubitanti mihi, Theodosi optime, quoinam litterarum titulo nostri nominis memoriam mandaremus, fabularum textus occurrit, quod in his urbane concepta falsitas deceat et non incumbat necessitas veritatis. nam quis tecum de oratione, quis de poemate loqueretur, cum in utroque litterarum genere et Atticos Graeca eruditione superes et Latinitate Romanos? huius ergo materiae ducem nobis Aesopum noveris, qui responso Delphici Apollinis monitus ridicula orsus est, ut legenda firmaret. verum has pro exemplo fabulas et Socrates divinis operibus indidit et poemati suo Flaccus aptavit, quod in se sub iocorum communium specie vitae argumenta contineant.

Titulus: Incipiunt fabulae Aviani poetae: epistola eiusdem ad Theodosium C: ad imperatorem Theodosium Reg.: ad Theodosium imperatorem Rawl.

^a falsitas codd.: falsitas Baehrens. veritatis codd.: severitatis Lachmann.

¹⁰ legenda codd.: sequenda Lachmann.

^a i.e. probably Macrobius Theodosius, author of the *Saturnalia*: see Introduction. The tone of the dedication suits a literary addressee.

^b The historical "Aisopos" was a slave in Samos, 6th cent. B.C., who used beast-stories to convey moral lessons. Later generations freely ascribed to him a mass of fables, and the supposed Aesopic fables were collected about 300 B.C. by

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

DEDICATORY LETTER TO THEODOSIUS^a

I WAS in doubt, most excellent Theodosius, to what class of literature I should entrust the memory of my name, when the narration of fables occurred to my mind; because in these, fiction, if gracefully conceived, is not out of place, and one is not oppressed by the necessity of adhering to the truth. Who could speak in your company on oratory or on poetry? In both these divisions of literature you outstrip the Athenians in Greek learning as well as the Romans in mastery of Latin. My pioneer in this subject, you must know, is Aesop,^b who on the advice of the Delphic Apollo started droll stories in order to establish moral maxims. Such fables by way of example have been introduced by Socrates^c into his inspired works and fitted by Horace^d into his poetry, because under the guise of jests of general application they contain illustrations

Demetrius of Phaleron. The authority for Avianus' statement that Aesop was advised by the Delphic oracle is unknown.

^c The reference is to Plato's dialogues (*Socraticis sermonibus*, *Hor. Od.* III. xxi. 9-10) which represent much of Socrates' teaching. In Plato's *Phaedo*, 60-61, Socrates says a dream led him to turn Aesopic fables into verse. Avianus here refers to apologues in fable style: e.g. of Grasshoppers, *Phaedr.* 259; of Plenty and Poverty, *Symp.* 203; of Prometheus and Epimetheus, *Protag.* 320-321.

^d e.g. the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse in *Sat.* II. vi.

quas Graecis iambis Babrius repetens in duo volumina
coartavit. Phaedrus etiam partem aliquam quinque 15
in libellos resolvit. de his ego ad quadraginta et duas
in unum redactas fabulas dedi, quas rudi Latinitate
compositas elegis sum explicare conatus. habes ergo
opus, quo animum oblectes, ingenium exerceas,
sollicitudinem leves totumque vivendi ordinem cautus 20
agnoscas. loqui vero arbores, feras cum hominibus
gemere, verbis certare volucres, animalia ridere
fecimus, ut pro singulorum necessitatibus vel ab
ipsis <in>animis sententia proferatur. <vale.>

I

DE NUTRICE ET INFANTE

Rustica deflentem parvum iuraverat olim,
ni taceat, rabido quod foret esca lupo.
credulus hanc vocem lupo audiit et manet ipsas
pervigil ante fores, irrita vota gerens.
nam lassata puer nimiae dat membra quieti; 5
spem quoque raptoris sustulit inde fami.

¹⁰ ergo plerique: ego OP.

I. ¹ iuraverat Pet.²: iuraverat cett. codd.: iurgaverat
Froehner secutus Cabellavium.

⁶ sic Wopkens: fami (ex -mes corr.) T: famis PVM¹W:
fames Vm² cum cett.

^a See Introduction and note.

^b Ibid.

^c Cf. Phaedrus, I. prol. 6-7 quod arbores loquantur non
tantum ferae, fictis iocari nos meminerit fabulis, and Babrius,

of life. They were taken up by Babrius^a in Greek
choliambics and abridged into two volumes. A
considerable portion also was expanded by Phaedrus^b
to a length of five books. I have compressed forty-
two of these into one book for publication—writing
in unembellished Latin and attempting to set them
forth in elegiacs. You have, therefore, a work to
delight the mind, to exercise the brain, to relieve
anxiety—one that will give you a wary knowledge
of the whole course of life. I have made trees talk,^c
beasts growl in conversation with men, birds engage
in wordy disputes, and animals laugh, so that to meet
the needs of each individual a maxim may be proffered
even by inanimate things. Farewell.

I

THE NURSE AND HER CHILD

Once upon a time when her little boy was crying, a
peasant-woman had sworn that if he were not quiet
he would be given as a tit-bit^d for a ravenous wolf.
A credulous wolf overheard these words and waited
on guard close in front of the cottage doors, cherishing
hopes in vain. For the child let a deep sleep come
over his weary limbs, and besides deprived the
hungry robber thereby of his expectation. The wolf

praef. 9 ἐλάλει δὲ πέρη καὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς πεύκης. In Avianus,
pine and bramble argue xix, and a reed speaks xvi. His
other remarks in this sentence are illustrated by the follow-
ing: tigress challenges hunter xvii; lion and hunter dispute
xxiv; crane and peacock quarrel xv; fox laughs vi; ant
laughs xxxiv; and among "inanimate things" a jar speaks
xi; a statue xxiii and a trumpet xxxix.

^d quod foret esca replaces the classical accus. and infin.
Cf. xxv. 16.

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hunc ubi silvarum repetentem lustra suarum
 ieiunum coniunx sensit adesse lupa,
 "cur" inquit "nullam referens de more rapinam
 languida consumptis sic trahis ora genis?" 10
 "ne mireris" ait "deceptum fraude maligna
 vix miserum vacua delituisse fuga:
 nam quae praeda, rogas, quae spes contingere posset,
 iurgia nutricis cum mihi verba darent?"
 haec sibi dicta putet seque hac sciat arte notari, 15
 femineam quisquis credidit esse fidem.

II

DE TESTUDINE ET AQUILA

Pennatis avibus quondam testudo locuta est,
 si quis eam volucrum constituisset humi,
 protinus e Rubris conchas proferret harenis,
 quis pretium nitido cortice baca daret:
 indignum, sibimet tardo quod sedula gressu 5
 nil ageret toto proficeretque die.
 ast ubi promissis aquilam fallacibus implet,
 experta est similem perfida lingua fidem;
 et male mercatis dum quaerit sidera pennis,
 occidit infelix alitis ungue fero. 10

II. ² volucrum PAm²: volucrum Am¹ cum ceteris codd.
⁶ proficeretque ACOTW Ash.; proficeretque Pet.² G Rawl.
 B b b² Cab.

¹⁰ occidit plerique codd.: excidit Baehrens.

^a verba darent in the classical sense of tricking. Contrast ix. 20; xxiv. 10; xxxvii. 2; xxxviii. 6, where the sense is simply that of speaking.

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repaired to the lair in his native woods, and his mate, seeing him arrive famished, said, "Why don't you bring back the usual prey? Why are your cheeks wasted and your jaws so drawn and emaciated?" "A mean trick took me in," he said; "so don't be surprised that I have been hard put to it to skulk pitifully away—with no spoil. What kill, do you ask, could come my way? what prospect could there be, when a scolding nurse befooled me?"^a

Let anyone who believes in a woman's sincerity reflect that to him these words are spoken and that it is he whom this lesson censures.

II

THE TORTOISE AND THE EAGLE

Once a tortoise said to the feathered birds that if one of the swift fliers could carry her away and set her safe on the ground^b she would at once from the sands of the Erythraean Sea produce shells^c on which their bright-crueted pearl conferred a value. She felt it an outrage that, despite her diligence, her slow pace prevented her doing anything or making any progress the whole day. She loaded an eagle with false promises, but her untruthful tongue found a broken troth to match her own. While soaring aloft on the wings whose aid she had bought so ill, the wretched tortoise met her death by the bird's

^b Line 2 presents difficulties. It has *eam* for *se*; *quis* implying the rare masc. gender for *volucrum*; and *constituisset* involving a latent idea. The alternative *volucrum* means that the tortoise asked to be made a bird: this is accepted by Baehrens, who reads *ibi* for *humi*.

^c Late Latin for *se prolaturam esse conchas*.

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tum quoque sublimis, cum iam moreretur, in auras
 ingemuit votis haec licuisse suis;
 nam dedit exosae post haec documenta quieti
 non sine supremo magna labore peti.

sic quicumque nova sublatus laude tumescit,
 dat merito poenas, dum meliora cupit. 15

III

DE CANCRO ET MATRE EIUS

Curva retro cedens dum fert vestigia cancer,
 hispida saxosis terga relisit aquis.
 hunc genetrix facili cupiens procedere gressu
 talibus alloquiis emouisse datur:
 "ne tibi transverso placeant haec devia, nate, 5
 rursus in obliquos neu velis ire pedes,
 sed nisu contenta ferens vestigia recto
 innocuos proso tramite siste gradus."
 cui natus "faciam, si me praecesseris" inquit,
 "rectaque monstrantem certior ipse sequar. 10
 nam stultum nimis est, cum tu praevisissima temptes,
 alterius censor si vitiosa notes."

¹² licuisse *plerique codd.*: libuisse *Cannegieter*.
 III. ³ procedere *CT*: praecedere *plerique codd.*
⁴ praemonuisse *codd.*: emouisse *Ellis*.
¹² ut *codd.*: si *Ellis (servans metrum)*.

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cruel talons. Then it was that, raised on high,^a in the hour of death, she filled the breezes with her moaning plaint that such had been the answer to her prayers. For she gave surly sloth a warning for the future that great achievement is only reached by the utmost toil.

So anyone elated and puffed up with new-found glory pays a just penalty in hankering after what is too high for him.

III

THE CRAB AND ITS MOTHER

While a crab was walking backwards and tracing its crooked way, it banged its scaly back in the rocky pools. Its mother, eager to go forward with step unhindered, is said to have delivered a warning to it in such words as these: "Don't go zigzag and choose these crooked ways, my child, and don't seek to move backwards and slantwise on your feet. Step out vigorously with straightforward effort and plant your footsteps safely in the onward path." "I will do so," the young crab replied, "if you go ahead of me; and, if you show me the correct road, I will follow the more surely. For it is exceedingly foolish of you, when you are attempting the most crooked of courses yourself, to set up as censor and criticise the faults of another."

^a *sublimis* is emphatic: cf. the application in 15-16. *sublimes*, the variant in several MSS., goes with *auras*, "breezes of heaven."

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IV

DE VENTO ET SOLE

Immitis Boreas placidusque ad sidera Phoebus
 iurgia cum magno conseruere Ioue,
 quis prior inceptum peragat : mediumque per aequor
 carcebat solitum forte viator iter. 5
 convenit hanc potius liti praefigere causam,
 pallia nudato decutienda viro.
 protinus impulsus ventis circum tonat aether
 et gelidus nimias depluit imber aquas :
 ille magis lateri duplicem circumdat amictum, 10
 turbida submotos quod trahit aura sinus.
 sed tenuous radios paulatim increscere Phoebus
 iusserat, ut nimio surgeret igne iubar,
 donec lassa volens requiescere membra viator
 deposita fessus veste sederet humi.
 tunc victor docuit praesentia numina Titan, 15
 nullum praemissis vincere posse minis.

V

DE ASINO PELLE LEONIS INDUTO

[Metiri se quemque decet propriisque iuvari
 laudibus, alterius nec bona ferre sibi,
 ne detracta gravem faciant miracula risum,
 coeperit in solitis cum remanere malis.]

IV. ¹ sidera *codd.* : cetera *Lachmann* : ludicra *Baehrens*.

² aequor *Cm*¹ : orbem *cett. codd.*

V. ⁴ solitis *Pet.*² b : solis *plerique codd.*

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IV

THE WIND AND THE SUN

Savage Boreas and gentle Phoebus joined strife
 in the presence of the stars with great Jupiter, to
 decide which should first achieve his task ; and over
 the midst of the plain it happened a traveller was
 plying his wonted way. They agree to preface
 their dispute with this case for trial—to get the
 man stripped by tearing off his cloak.^a Straight-
 way with the onset of the wind the sky thunders
 around, and the chill rain-storm pours down torrents
 of water. The traveller folds his cloak double and
 draws it round his sides all the more, because the
 tempestuous blast pushes the folds aside and tugs at
 them. But Phoebus had bidden his penetrating rays
 grow stronger little by little, so that his splendour
 might emerge in excessive heat,—until the traveller,
 anxious to rest his weary limbs, threw down his
 cloak and sat on the ground exhausted. Then in his
 triumph the Titan taught the assembled gods^b
 that no one can win victory by an advance guard of
 threats.

V

THE DONKEY IN THE LION'S SKIN

[Everyone should take his true measure and be
 content with his own merits, and not claim for himself
 his neighbour's goods, lest the stripping of the finery
 lead to painful ridicule as soon as he is left in possession
 of his usual defects.]

^a nudato is proleptic.

^b i.e. the stars and Jupiter.

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Exuvias asinus Gaetuli forte leonis 5
 reperit et spoliis induit ora novis.
 aptavitque suis incongrua tegmina membris
 et miserum tanto pressit honore caput.
 ast ubi terribilis mimo circumstetit horror
 pigraque praesumptus venit in ossa vigor, 10
 mitibus ille feris communia pabula calcans
 turbabat pavidas per sua rura boves.
 rusticus hunc magna postquam deprendit ab aure,
 correptum vinclis verberibusque domat;
 et simul abstracto denudans corpora tergo 15
 increpat his miserum vocibus ille pecus:
 "forsitan ignotos imitato murmure fallas;
 at mihi, qui quondam, semper asellus eris."

VI

DE RANA ET VULPE

Edita gurgitibus limoque immersa profundo
 et luteis tantum semper amica vadis,
 ad superos colles herbosaque prata recurrens
 mulcebat miseras turgida rana feras, 5
 callida quod posset gravibus succurrere morbis
 et vitam ingenio continuare suo;
 nec se Paeonio iactat cessisse magistro,
 quamvis perpetuos curet in orbe deos.

⁵ getuli *plerique* *codd.*: defuncti PV.
⁶ mimo *Cannegieter*: animo *plerique* *codd.*: animū *Ashb.*
 VI. ¹ limoque *W Nevelet*: olimque *cett. codd.*
⁷ P(a)eonio *plerique* *codd.*: Paeoni *Lachmann.*

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It happened that a donkey discovered a Gaetulian lion's skin and clothed his face with the new-found spoil. To his own limbs he fitted the ill-assorted covering and burdened his wretched head with trappings so majestic. But when the grim appearance, awe-inspiring in its mimicry,^a enveloped him, and the courage he had assumed in advance entered his sluggish bones, then, trampling the pasture which he shared with the tame animals, he drove the scared cattle in confusion over their fields. The farmer, after catching him by his long ear, hustled him off and subdued him by tying him up and thrashing him; and as he stripped the stolen skin off his body he scolded the poor beast with these words: "Perhaps your mimic roar may cheat strangers. To me you will always be a donkey as before."

VI

THE FROG AND THE FOX

Sprung from pools, immersed in depths of mud, the constant friend of naught but miry shallows, a distended frog, revisiting the hills above and the grassy meadows, sought to comfort the afflicted beasts with the assurance that her leech-craft could relieve their sore diseases and her genius could prolong their lives. Her boast was that she had never been surpassed by the Paeonian master,^b though he attended the ever-

^a *mimo* goes with *terribilis* as an ablative. The reading *animū* tempts one to suggest *mimum*: "when the awful appearance enveloped this farcical actor" (*i.e.* the ass). For the diction *cf.* *Virg. Aen.* II. 559, *me . . . circumstetit horror.*
^b Paeon was the Master Healer: *cf.* *Rut. Namat.* I. 75 *Paeoniam artem.*

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tunc vulpes pecudum ridens astuta quietem,
 verborum vacuum prodidit esse fidem: 10
 "haec dabit aegrotis" inquit "medicamina membris,
 pallida caeruleus cui notat ora color?"

VII

DE CANE QUI NOLUIT LATRARE

[Haud facile est pravis innatum mentibus ut se
 verberibus dignas suppliciove putent.]

Forte canis quondam nullis latratibus horrens
 nec patulis primum rictibus ora trahens,
 mollia sed pavidae submittens verbera caudae, 5
 concitus audaci vulnera dente dabat.
 hunc dominus, ne quem probitas simulata lateret,
 iusserat in rabido gutture ferre nolam.
 faucibus innexis crepitantia subligat aera,
 quae facili motu signa cavenda darent. 10
 haec tamen ille sibi credebat praemia ferri,
 et similem turbam despiciebat ovans.
 tunc insultantem senior de plebe superbum
 aggreditur tali singula voce monens:
 "infelix, quae tanta rapit dementia sensum, 15
 munera pro meritis si cupis ista dari?"

¹⁰ vacuum *codd.*: vanam *Cannegieter.*

VII. ⁹ muneribus *codd.*: verberibus *Withof*: vulneribus
Froehner in not.

⁸ nolam *plerique codd.*: molam *Vm¹W*: notam *Cab.*

¹⁴ singula voce *codd.*: monens *plerique codd.*: sibila voce
 movens *Lachmann*: voce severa monens *Baehrens*: cingula
 voce moves? *Ellis.*

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lasting gods in turn. Then a cunning vixen, laughing
 at the acquiescence of the cattle, disclosed the
 futility of giving credence to words: "Is physic,"
 she asked, "going to be prescribed for diseased limbs
 by this frog, whose pale face is sicklied o'er with a
 livid hue?"

VII

THE DOG THAT WOULD NOT BARK

[Not readily is it the nature of evil dispositions
 to believe themselves deserving of stripes and
 punishment.]

It happened once there was a dog with no gruff
 bark, that did not open its mouth in a wide gape as a
 first sign of mischief, but put its soft-wagging tail
 in fear beneath it, and then would fly into a fury and
 snap recklessly with its teeth. To prevent anyone
 being taken unawares by its pretended good character,
 its master had made it wear a bell ^a round its savage
 throat. He fastened its neck and tied the tinkling
 brass underneath to give signals of warning by its
 ready motion. The dog, however, believed this was
 worn by it as a reward, and triumphantly began to look
 down on the crowd of dogs like itself. Then an older
 dog of humble rank accosted the swaggerer in its
 exaltation, giving each word of advice ^b after the
 following strain: "Wretch, what is this monstrous
 madness that steals away your senses, if indeed you
 will have it that those rewards are given you for your

^a *nolam* elsewhere has a long o.

^b *Ellis'* reading is attractive, "tali cingula voce moves?"
 "what, so loud in shaking your collar?"

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non hoc virtutis decus ostentatur in aere,
nequitiae testem sed geris inde sonum."

VIII

DE CAMELO ET IOVE

[Contentum propriis sapientem vivere rebus
nec cupere alterius fabula nostra monet,
indignata cito né stet Fortuna recursu
atque eadem minuat quae dedit ante rota.]

Corporis immensi fertur pecus isse per auras 5
et magnum precibus sollicitasse Iovem :
turpe nimis cunctis irridendumque videri,
insignes geminis cornibus ire boves,
et solum nulla munitum parte camelum 10
obiectum cunctis expositumque feris.
Iuppiter irridens postquam sperata negavit,
insuper et magnae sustulit auris onus.
"vive minor meritis, cui sors non sufficit" inquit,
"et tua perpetuum, livide, damna geme."

IX

DE DUOBUS SOCIIS ET URSA

Montibus ignotis curvisque in vallibus artum
cum socio quidam suscipiebat iter,

VIII. ³ det . . . recursum *Baehrens* (ex *recursu* in *W*).
⁶ auras *plerique codd.* : aras *b* : arva *Pet.*² : Afros *Witthof*.

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deserts? This is not an ornament of merit displayed
in a brass setting: no, by wearing it you carry a
sound as witness of your bad character."

VIII

JUPITER AND THE CAMEL

[Our fable counsels a man if he be wise to live
contented with his own property and not to covet
what belongs to another, lest Fortune be angry and
run quickly back to a standstill, and the same wheel
that once bestowed favours end in lessening them.]

The story goes that an animal of vast bulk went
through the air and besought high Jove with
entreaties, saying that everyone thought it a mon-
strous scandal and theme for ridicule that oxen
should strut about in the glory of a pair of horns,
while the camel alone should be undefended in every
quarter, at the mercy of all the animal world and open
to their attacks. Jupiter, mocking the camel, after
refusing the expected boon, went further and relieved
it of the weight of its large ears, saying, "Live
beneath your deserts, as you are not satisfied with
your lot; bewail your loss for ever, you jealous
creature."

IX

THE TWO COMPANIONS AND THE BEAR

A man was once journeying along a narrow road
with a companion among unknown hills and in

¹¹ *adridens vel arridens plerique codd.* : *irridens B Rawl.*
*Pet.*⁴ : *at ridens Cannegieter.*

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securus, cum quodque malum Fortuna tulisset,
 robore collato posset uterque pati.
 dumque per inceptum vario sermone feruntur, 5
 in mediam praeceps convenit ursa viam.
 horum alter facili comprehendens robora cursu
 in viridi trepidum fronde pependit onus;
 ille trahens nullo iacuit vestigia gressu,
 exanimem fingens, sponte relisus humi. 10
 continuo praedam cupiens fera saeva cucurrit
 et miserum curvis unguibus ante levat;
 verum ubi concreto riguerunt membra timore
 (nam solitus mentis liquerat ossa calor),
 tunc olidum credens, quamvis ieiuna, cadaver 15
 deserit et lustris conditur ursa suis.
 sed cum securi paulatim in verba redissent,
 liberior iusto, qui fuit ante fugax:
 "dic, sodes, quidnam trepido tibi rettulit ursa?
 nam secreta diu multaue verba dedit." 20
 "magna quidem monuit, tamen haec quoque maxima
 iussit,
 quae misero semper sunt facienda mihi:
 'ne facile alterius repetas consortia,' dixit,
 'rursus ab insana ne capiare fera.'"

X

DE CALVO EQUITE

Calvus eques capiti solitus religasse capillos
 atque alias nudo vertice ferre comas,

IX. ³ quodcumque *plerique codd.*: cum quodque *Baehrens.*

⁵ inceptum *plerique codd.*: incertum T: inseptum *Ellis.*

⁶ convenit *codd.*: en venit *Carneg.*: convolat *Baehrens.*

X. ¹ religasse *PVW Ashb. Rawl.*: religare *plerique codd.*

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winding valleys. He felt safe because, whatever
 adversity Fortune might bring, both would be able
 to unite their strength and face it. While with
 varied conversation they were pursuing the journey
 they had started, a she-bear came headlong to
 meet them in the middle of the way. One of the
 travellers with an easy run grasped an oak branch
 and suspended his panic-stricken weight among
 the green foliage. The other, without advancing
 his course a single step, feigned death, and lay
 down, throwing himself intentionally on the ground.
 At once, eager for the spoil, the savage beast
 ran up and, to start with, lifted the poor man in
 her crooked claws. But when icy fear stiffened his
 limbs (for the usual vital warmth had left his bones),
 then the bear, thinking him a rank corpse, abandoned
 him in spite of her hunger and vanished into her own
 haunts. But after they recovered their nerve and
 gradually resumed their talk, the man who before
 had run away grew now over-merry and said, "Tell
 me, please, what was it the bear told you when you
 were trembling there? She spoke much with you
 in a long private talk." "Yes, she gave me important
 advice, but laid also this command especially on me,
 and I, poor wretch, must always carry it out. 'Be
 chary of returning to partnership with another,'
 she said, 'lest a rabid beast get hold of you a second
 time.'"

X

THE BALD HORSEMAN

A bald horseman, accustomed to fasten hair to
 his head and wear strange locks on his bare crown,

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ad Campum nitidis venit conspectus in armis
 et facilem frenis flectere coepit equum.
 huius ab adverso Boreae spiramina praeflant
 ridiculum populo conspiciente caput;
 nam mox deiecto nituit frons nuda galero,
 discolor apposita quae fuit ante coma.
 ille sagax, tantis quod risus milibus esset,
 distulit admota calliditate iocum,
 "quid mirum" referens "positos fugisse capillos,
 quem prius aquaevae deseruere comae?"

5

10

XI

DE DUABUS OLLIS

Eripiens geminas ripis cedentibus ollas
 insanis pariter flumen agebat aquis.
 sed diversa duas ars et natura creavit:
 aere prior fusa est, altera ficta luto.
 dispar erat fragili et solidae concordia motus,
 incertumque vagus amnis habebat iter.
 ne tamen allisam confringeret, aerea testa
 iurabat solidam longius ire viam.

5

⁵ praeflant *Ellis*: perfli = ant *Ashb.*: praestant *cett. codd.*

⁶ apposita *codd.*: ab posita *Baehrens.*

XI. ^a facta CX ^b *Pei.* ² *Reg.*: ficta *plerique codd.*

⁶ vagans B, *Ellis*: vagus *cett. codd.*

⁷ elisam *codd.*: allisam *Barth, Baehrens*: illisam *Schenkl.*

⁸ solitam *codd.*: solidam *Ellis*: sociam *Nevelet.* longius *codd.*: comminus *Canney.*: urgebat coctam, comminus *Baehrens.*

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came to the Campus^a conspicuous in shining armour
 and began manœuvring his nimble horse with the
 bridle. The blasts of the North wind driving against
 him blew upon the front of his head and made it a
 figure of fun in the sight of the people. For soon his
 wig flew off and his uncovered forehead shone
 brightly, which just before had another hue while
 the false hair was fixed on. As the horseman
 saw that he was the laughing-stock of so many
 thousands, he shrewdly brought cunning to his aid
 and turned away the jest from himself. "Why be
 surprised," he remarked, "that my assumed locks
 have gone, when my natural hair deserted me first?"

XI

THE TWO JARS

Two jars were once swept away by a river owing to
 a collapse of its banks and were being carried down
 together in the wild current. Different craftsmanship
 and material had created the two; the first was of
 fused bronze, the other of moulded clay. The
 brittle and the solid jar kept up an uneven harmony
 of progress,^b while the meandering river took its way-
 ward course. The bronze jar, however, swore to pursue
 its metallic route at a distance from the other lest it
 should strike against it and smash it to pieces. The

^a i.e. the *Campus Martius*, the ancient open exercise-ground of Rome: cf. *Hor. Sat. I. vi. 126 fugio Campum lusumque trigonem.*

^b *dispär*: cf. *xxiii. 8*, and *impär, xviii. 10*. The oxymoron *dispar concordia* means that in general the pots kept together, but irregularly so. Each in turn might drop behind and afterwards catch up.

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illa timens ne quid levibus graviora nocerent,
 et quia nulla brevi est cum meliore fides, 10
 "quamvis securam verbis me feceris" inquit,
 "non timor ex animo decutiendus erit;
 nam me sive tibi seu te mihi conferat unda,
 semper ero ambobus subdita sola malis."

XII

DE RUSTICO ET THESAURO

Rusticus impresso molitus vomere terram
 thesaurum sulcis prosiluisse videt.
 mox indigna animo properante reliquit aratra,
 gramina compellens ad meliora boves.
 continuo supplex Telluri construit aras, 5
 quae sibi depositas sponte dedisset opes.
 hunc Fortuna novis gaudentem provida rebus
 admonet, indignam se quoque ture dolens:
 "nunc inventa meis non prodis munera templis
 atque alios mavis participare deos; 10
 sed cum surrepto fueris tristissimus auro,
 me primam lacrimis sollicitabis inops."

XIII

DE HIRCO ET TAURO

Immensum taurus fugeret cum forte leonem
 tutaque desertis quaereret antra viis,

¹⁴ subruta sola modis *Lachmann.*

XII. ⁴ semina plerique codd.: gramina *Canneg.*: fortasse
 vimina vel stramina *Ellis.*

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clay jar, through fear that it might be an instance of
 the light damaged by the heavy, and because weak-
 ness has no confidence in dealings with the stronger,
 said, "Though you relieve me of anxiety as far as
 your promises go, still I cannot shake my mind clear
 of fear. For whether the water brings me up against
 you or you against me, I shall always be the sole
 victim of either disaster."

XII

THE PEASANT AND THE TREASURE

On breaking up the earth by the impact of his
 plough a peasant noticed a treasure-hoard leap into
 view from the furrows. Presently with quickened
 heart he abandoned the plough, now disesteemed,
 and drove his oxen to better pastures. At once with
 vows he raised altars in honour of Earth, since she
 unasked had given him the wealth entrusted to her.
 As he rejoiced in his new estate, Fortune with an eye
 to the future gave him a warning; for she was piqued
 that he did not think her also deserving of incense.
 "For the moment you neglect to hand over your
 treasure-trove to any temple of mine, and prefer to
 share it with other gods; but when the gold is stolen
 and you are in the depths of grief, I shall be the first
 whom you will tearfully entreat in your beggary."

XIII

THE GOAT AND THE BULL

It happened once that a bull was running away
 from a mighty lion, seeking by lonely paths for some

MINOR LATIN POETS

speluncam reperit, quam tunc hirsutus habebat
 Cinyphii ductor qui gregis esse solet.
 ast ubi submissa meditantem irrumpere fronte
 obuius obliquo terruit ore caper,
 tristis abit longaque fugax de valle locutus
 (nam timor expulsum iurgia ferre vetat):
 " non te demissis saetosum, putide, barbis,
 illum, qui super est consequiturque, tremo;
 nam si discedat, nosces, stultissime, quantum
 discrepet a tauri viribus hircus olens."

XIV

DE SIMIA

Iuppiter in toto quondam quaesiverat orbe,
 munera natorum quis meliora daret.
 certatim ad regem currit genus omne ferarum,
 permixtumque homini cogitur ire pecus;
 sed nec squamigeri desunt ad iurgia pisces
 vel quicquid volucrum purior aura vehit.
 inter quos trepidae ducebant pignora matres,
 iudicio tanti discutienda dei.
 tunc brevis informem traheret cum simia natum,
 ipsum etiam in risum compulit ire Iovem.

XIII. ³ repetit *C Rawl. m*¹.

⁵ post *plerique codd.*: ast *BX Pet.*² b².

⁷ longaque *plerique codd.*: longeque *Caneg.*: longumque
Ellis. valle (vale P) *codd.*: calle *Lachmann.*

XIV. ⁴ homini *codd.*: cicur *Baehrens.*

⁷ inter quos *codd.*: in tergo *Baehrens.*

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safe cavern, when he discovered a cave which was then occupied by a shaggy goat accustomed to lead the Cinyphian herd.^a Thereupon, when the goat met him and with sidelong look frightened him out of his intention to lower his head and burst in, he went off mournfully and in his flight sent a reply from the far reaches of the valley (fear forbade him to quarrel over his rebuff). "It's not you I tremble at, you stinking creature, with your bristly hair and trailing beard; it's that lion—which is still to come and which follows in my track. If he abandons the chase, you'll learn, you arrant fool, the difference between a bull in his strength and a smelly goat."

XIV

THE MONKEY

Jupiter had once inquired through the whole world which animal it was that could present the gift of the finest offspring. In eager rivalry there hastened to the king every sort of creature of the wild, and every beast that has dealings with man was constrained to come. Nor did the scale-covered fish fail to contest their claim, or any bird borne on the clearer air. Among this gathering nervous mothers led up their progeny to be inspected at the judgment-seat of the powerful god. Just then, as a dwarfish monkey pulled forward her ugly offspring, she forced even Jove himself to laugh. But for all her

^a The epithet refers to the long-haired goats bred in the Mauritanian territory washed by the Cinyps.

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hanc tamen ante alios rupit turpissima vocem,
 dum generis crimen sic abolere cupit:
 "Iuppiter hoc norit, maneat victoria si quem;
 iudicio superest omnibus iste meo."

XV

DE GRUE ET PAVONE

Threiciam volucrem fertur Iunonius ales
 communi sociam conteruisse cibo—
 namque inter varias fuerat discordia formas,
 magnaue de facili iurgia lite trahunt—
 quod sibi multimodo fulgerent membra decore, 5
 caeruleam facerent livida terga gruem;
 et simul erectae circumdans tegmina caudae
 sparserat arcatum sursus in astra iubar.
 illa licet nullo pennarum certet honore,
 his tamen insultans vocibus usa datur: 10
 "quamvis innumerus plumas variaverit ordo,
 mersus humi semper florida terga geris:
 ast ego deformi sublimis in aera penna
 proxima sideribus numinibusque feror."

¹¹ haec BX Rawl. : hec Ashb. : hanc cett. codd.
 XV. ² contenuisse P : continuisse vel continuasse cett. codd. :
 conripuisse Froehner : commonuisse vel detinuisse vel con-
 teruisse Ellis.

⁷ agmina Ellis.
⁸ arcanum codd. : arcatum Barth. rursus codd. : sursus
 Lachmann.

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ugliness the monkey flung out these words before
 others could speak, anxious by so doing to remove the
 reproach upon her race: "Let Jupiter determine
 whether victory is in store for anyone; to my mind
 the little monkey before you beats the lot."

XV

THE CRANE AND THE PEACOCK

The story goes that Juno's bird disparaged the
 Thracian fowl,^a when she shared their joint feeding-
 ground. For a quarrel had arisen involving their
 different kinds of beauty and they were protracting
 a long argument on a case easy to settle. The pea-
 cock contended that the parts of his body gleamed in
 manifold loveliness, but that a dingy back gave the
 crane a dun colour, and at the word he arrayed about
 him the canopy of his uplifted tail and shot an arc of
 light upwards to the sky. The crane, though unable
 to rival the other in any glory of plumage, is never-
 theless said to have used these words in mockery:
 "Countless may be the array of colours variegating
 your plumage, yet you, the wearer of that gaudy
 tail, are for ever kept close to earth. But I soar
 aloft into the air on my wing for all its ugliness,
 and am wafted nigh to the stars and heavenly
 powers."

^a i.e. the crane: cf. Ovid, *A. A.* iii. 182, *Threiciamve gruem*;
 Virg. *Aen.* X. 265, *Strymoniae grues*.

XVI

DE QUERCU ET HARUNDINE

Montibus e summis radicitus eruta quercus
 decidit insani turbine victa Noti,
 quam tumidis subter decurrens alveus undis
 suscipit et fluvio praecipitante rapit.
 verum ubi diversis impellitur ardua ripis, 5
 in fragiles calamos grande residit onus.
 tunc sic exiguo conectens caespite ramos
 miratur liquidis quod stet harundo vadis:
 se quoque tam vasto necdum consistere trunco,
 ast illam tenui cortice ferre minas. 10
 stridula mox blando respondens canna susurro
 seque magis tutam debilitate docet.
 "tu rabidos" inquit "ventos saevasque procellas
 despicias et totis viribus acta ruis.
 ast ego surgentes paulatim demoror Austros 15
 et quamvis levibus provida cedo Notis;
 in tua praeruptus se effundit robora nimbus,
 motibus aura meis ludificata perit."
 haec nos dicta monent magnis obsistere frustra,
 paulatimque truces exsuperare minas. 20

XVI. ^a *necdum plerique codd.*: rectum C *Reg.*: rectam *Ellis.* consistere *plerique codd.*: non sistere *Ellis.*

¹⁷ *offendit codd. praeter X*: se effundit *Lachmann.*

¹⁸ *frusta b*: *lustra B*: *rebus b²*: *frustra ceti. codd.*: *fluxa Ellis.*

XVI

THE OAK AND THE REED

An oak was torn up by its roots, a victim of the mad South Wind's whirling force, and fell down from the mountain heights. A river-channel, flowing below in high spate, took it and bore it off in the headlong current. But after the tall trunk had been thrust from bank to bank, its mighty bulk came to rest among slender reeds. Then it marvelled that a reed, fastening its stalks in but a tiny tuft, should stand firm in the flowing water; it marvelled that, for all its massive trunk, even it could not yet^a stand unmoved, while the reed with its slender rind endured the menaces of nature.^b Presently the creaking reed, answering with meek whisper, declared that its weakness increased its safety. "You," it said, "scorn the ravening winds and cruel tempests, and fall beneath the onset of their full strength. I keep in dalliance the gradually rising Auster and, with an eye to the future, let myself be swayed by Notus, however light his breath. Against your strength the rain-storm hurls itself sheer; but, baffled by my motion, the breeze sinks into nothing."

This teaches us that it is in vain we resist the mighty and that it is by slow degrees that we surmount the fury of their menaces.

^a *necdum.* The years in which the *truncus* had grown *tam vastus* had not yet made it strong enough to resist the storm. Cf. J. E. B. Mayor, *C. R. I.* (1887) p. 191.

^b *miratur* (8) is first followed by *quod stet* to express indirect statement, then by two *accus.* and *infin.* clauses (9-10).

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XVII

DE VENATORE ET TIGRIDE

Venator iaculis haud irrita vulnera torquens
 turbabat trepidas per sua lustra feras.
 tum pavidis audax cupiens succurrere tigris
 verberare commoto iussit adesse minax.
 ille tamen solito contorquens tela lacerto 5
 " nunc tibi, qualis eam, nuntius iste refert."
 et simul emissum transegit vulnere ferrum,
 praestrinxitque citos hasta cruenta pedes.
 molliter at fixum traheret cum saucia telum,
 a trepida fertur vulpe retenta diu, 10
 nempe quis ille foret, qui talia vulnera ferret,
 aut ubinam iaculum delituisset agens.
 illa gemens fractoque loqui vix murmure coepit
 (nam solitas voces ira dolorque rapit):
 " nulla quidem medio convenit in aggere forma 15
 quaeque oculis olim sit repetenda meis,
 sed cruor et validis in nos directa lacertis
 ostendunt aliquem tela fuisse virum."

XVIII

DE QUATTUOR IUVENCIS ET LEONE

Quattuor immensis quondam per prata iuencis
 fertur amicitiae tanta fuisse fides,

XVII. ² pavidas BGOX *Rawl. Ashb. Pet.*²: rapidas L:
 rabidas *cett. codd.*: trepidas *Lachmann.*

⁴ commoto O: commotas *plerique codd.* minas *codd.*:
 minax *Froehner.*

⁶ eram *plerique codd.*: eam *Tm², Froehner.*

¹¹ dum quis *plerique codd.*: quis deus *Baehrens*: nempe
 quis *Ellis.*

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XVII

THE HUNTER AND THE TIGRESS

A huntsman who dealt effective wounds with the
 javelins he discharged used to drive the wild animals
 in terrified confusion through their coverts. Then
 a bold tigress, eager to succour the panic-stricken
 beasts, lashing with her tail in threatening wise,
 bade him come up against her. But he hurled as
 usual his missile from his shoulder, saying, " That is
 the messenger which in this hour tells you my
 prowess as I go my way "; and at that moment the
 weapon which he discharged pierced and wounded
 her, and the blood-stained shaft grazed her swift feet.
 When the wounded tigress was gently drawing forth
 the tight-fixed weapon, she is said to have been kept
 in converse a long time by a fox asking in dismay,
 who was the man that could deal such wounds or
 where had he hid himself to shoot his javelin. The
 tigress with moans and broken growls found speech
 with difficulty; for rage and pain robbed her of her
 usual utterance; " No shape that my sight could
 afterwards recall confronted me in the middle of the
 road,^a but the blood and the weapon aimed at me by a
 powerful arm show that it was some man of might."

XVIII

THE FOUR OXEN AND THE LION

Once among four huge oxen in the meadows there
 existed, as the story goes, so trusty a bond of affection,

^a Servius on *Virg. Aen. V. 273*, *viae deprensus in aggere*,
 explains *agger est media viae eminentia coaggeratis lapidibus*
strata: cf. *Rut. Namat. I. 39 Aurelius agger = Via Aurelia.*

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ut simul emissos nullus divelleret error,
 rursus et e pastu turba rediret amans. 5
 hos quoque collatis inter se cornibus ingens
 dicitur in silvis pertimuisse leo,
 dum metus oblatam prohibet temptare rapinam
 et coniuratos horret adire boves;
 et quamvis audax factisque immanior esset, 10
 tantorum solus viribus impar erat.
 protinus aggreditur pravis insistere verbis,
 collisum cupiens dissociare pecus.
 sic postquam dictis animos disiunxit acerbis,
 invasit miserum diripuitque gregem.
 tunc quidam ex illis "vitam servare quietam 15
 qui cupit, e nostra discere morte potest;
 neve cito admotas verbis fallacibus aures
 impleat aut veterem deserat ante fidem."

XIX

DE ABIETE AC DUMIS

Horrentes dumos abies pulcherrima risit,
 cum facerent formae iurgia magna suae,
 indignum referens cum istis certamen haberi,
 quos meritis nullus consociaret honor:
 "nam mihi deductum surgens in nubila corpus 5
 verticis erectas tollit in astra comas,
 puppibus et patulis media cum sede locamur,
 in me suspensos explicat aura sinus;
 at tibi deformem quod dant spineta figuram,
 despectum cuncti praeteriere viri." 10

XVIII. ¹ ovans WBX b *Pet.*²: amans *cett. codd.*

² sed *codd.*: et *vulgo.*

¹⁴ invasit BX *Pet.*²: invadit *cett. codd.*

XIX. ³ cunctis *codd.*: cum istis *Baehrens*: dumis *Ellis.*

⁴ quos GTOX *Reg. Rawl.*: quod *cett. codd.*

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that on being sent from their stalls together no
 straying would sunder them, and then again the group
 would return from pasture still friends. Now, before
 these oxen, with their horns united in line, a mighty
 lion in the forest is said to have quailed, so long as
 fear forbade him to make trial of the quarry facing
 him, and he shrank from approaching the allied
 cattle; and, though courageous and more savage
 in his deeds, he was no match by himself for the
 strength of such powerful beasts. Thereupon he
 began to urge evil counsels, anxious to divide the
 herd by making them quarrel. So after he had sown
 disunion with embittering words, he rushed upon the
 poor herd and tore them limb from limb. Then one
 of them said, "Anyone who wants to preserve an
 untroubled life may learn from our death. Let him
 not be in a hurry to suffer a ready ear to be filled with
 guile, or to desert over soon an ancient loyalty."

XIX

THE PINE AND THE BRAMBLE BUSH

A very lovely pine made mockery of a prickly
 bramble bush in a serious dispute touching their
 claims to beauty. The pine said it was unfair it
 should have to contend with such as no title brought
 by merit into its own class. "For my tapering trunk
 rises towards the clouds, and rears starward the lofty
 foliage of my tree-top; and when I am placed on the
 ship's open deck in the centre, the sails unfurled by
 the wind hang upon me. But you—everyone passes
 you by with scorn, because your growth of thorns
 gives you an ugly appearance." The bramble

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ille refert: " nunc laeta quidem bona sola fateris
 et nostris frueris imperiosa malis;
 sed cum pulchra minax succidet membra securis,
 quam velles spinas tunc habuisse meas! "

XX

DE PISCATORE ET PISCE

Piscator solitus praedam suspendere saeta
 exigui piscis vile trahebat onus.
 sed postquam superas captum perduxit ad auras
 atque avido fixum vulnus ab ore tulit,
 " parce, precor " supplex lacrimis ita dixit obortis; 5
 " nam quanta ex nostro corpore dona feres?
 nunc me saxosis genetrix fecunda sub antris
 fudit et in propriis ludere iussit aquis.
 tolle minas, tenerumque tuis sine crescere mensis :
 haec tibi me rursus litoris ora dabit : 10
 protinus immensi depastus caerulea ponti
 pinguior ad calamum sponte recurro tuum."
 ille nefas captum referens absolvere piscem,
 difficiles queritur casibus esse vices :
 " nam miserum est " inquit " praesentem amittere
 praedam, 15
 stultius et rursus vota futura sequi."

XX. ⁶ *damna codd.* : dona *Lachmann.*
¹⁴ *casibus codd.* : *cassibus Froehner, Baehrens, Ellis.*

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rejoins: " True, now you rejoice and all you profess
 is fair, and in your domineering way you take pleasure
 in my defects. But in that day when the threatening
 axe shall hew your fine limbs, how you would then
 wish that you had possessed my thorns! "

XX

THE ANGLER AND THE FISH

A fisherman who used to catch his prey hanging
 on a horsehair line was drawing in a tiny fish of
 trumpery weight. But after he had brought his
 catch up into the air and the fish had been pierced
 with a wound ^a through its hungry mouth, in entreaty
 amid starting tears it said, " Have mercy, I pray you;
 for how much gain will you derive from my flesh?
 Just now has a fertile mother spawned me 'neath the
 rocky caves, and bidden me disport myself in our
 own waters. Banish your fell designs; I am young;
 let me grow up for your table. This bank of the shore
 will give me to you again. In a little time, when I
 have fed on the blue waters of the boundless deep,
 I shall willingly return the fatter to your rod." The
 fisherman, declaring it a crime to let go a fish once
 caught, complained that hazards are beset with turns
 incalculable: " It is a pity," he said, " to lose the
 spoil in hand, and a worse folly to start afresh in
 pursuit of future hopes."

^a *vulnus ferre* here means to endure a wound: contrast
 XVII. 11, where it means to deal a wound.

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XXI

DE ALITE ET MESSIONE

Parvula progeniem terrae mandaverat ales,
 qua stabat viridi caespite flava seges.
 rusticus hanc fragili cupiens decerpere culmo
 vicinam supplex forte petebat opem.
 sed vox implumes turbavit credita nidos,
 suavit et e laribus continuare fugam.
 cautior hos remeans prohibet discedere mater:
 "nam quid ab externis proficietur?" ait.
 ille iterum caris operam mandavit amicis;
 at genetrix rursus tutior inde manet.
 sed postquam curvas dominum comprehendere falces,
 frugibus et veram sensit adesse manum,
 "nunc" ait, "o miseri, dilecta relinquitte rura,
 cum spem de propriis viribus ille petit."

5

10

XXII

DE CUPIDO ET INVIDO

Iuppiter ambiguas hominum praediscere mentes
 ad terras Phoebum misit ab arce poli.
 tunc duo diversis posebant numina votis;
 namque alter cupidus, invidus alter erat.

XXI. ⁵ credula plerique codd.: sedula b: credita *Withof*:
 acredula (*in casu vocativo*) *Ellis*.

⁶ suaserat e X: suaserat et cett. codd.: suavit et e *Ellis*.

XXII. ⁴ invidus codd. (*contra metrum*): lividus *Withof*.

^a Babrius makes the bird a lark. Gellius, *N. A.* ii. 29, who paraphrases the fable from Ennius' trochaic septenarii,

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

XXI

THE BIRD AND THE REAPING OF THE CORN

A tiny little bird ^a had entrusted her young to the ground where with its root-stem green stood the yellow corn-crop. It so happened that a farmer wanting to cut the corn from its fragile stalk begged and prayed for a neighbour's help. Now these words, which the unfledged nestlings believed, struck panic into them and counselled instant flight from their home. Their mother was more wary; on her return she told them not to go away, saying, "What good will come from outsiders?" The farmer once more entrusted the task to his dear friends; but the mother again stayed where she was, all the safer for that reason. But when she perceived that the owner was gripping the curved sickle and that his true hand was near the crops, she said, "Now, my poor dears, abandon the fields you love so well, now that he seeks the fulfilment of his hopes from his own powers."

XXII

THE GREEDY MAN AND THE JEALOUS MAN

Jupiter sent Phoebus to the earth from the citadel of the sky to discover in advance the doubtful hearts of mankind. Just then two men were beseeching the gods to satisfy different desires, for one had a covetous and the other a jealous nature. The Sun-

describes it as *cassita*, "helmeted" or "crested." *Ellis*' *acredula* strictly means a nightingale. While the Ennian moral is explicitly "Do not expect friends to do what you can do yourself," it is noticeable that Avianus gives no epimythion.

his sese medium Titan scrutatus utrumque
 obtulit et precibus cum peteretur, ait:
 " praestant di facilis; quae namque rogaverit unus,
 protinus haec alter congeminata feret."
 sed cui longa iecur nequeat satiare cupido,
 distulit admotas in nova damna preces,
 spem sibi confidens alieno crescere voto
 seque ratus solum munera ferre duo.
 ille ubi captantem socium sua praemia vidit,
 supplicium proprii corporis optat ovans;
 nam petit extinctus sic lumine degeret uno.
 alter ut hoc duplicans vivat utroque carens.
 tum sortem sapiens humanam risit Apollo,
 invidiaeque malum rettulit ipse Iovi,
 quae, dum proventis aliorum gaudet iniquis,
 laetior infelix et sua damna cupit.

XXIII

DE VENDITORE ET BACCHO

Venditor insignem referens de marmore Bacchum
 expositum pretio fecerat esse deum.
 nobilis hunc quidam funesta in sede sepulcri
 mercari cupiens compositurus erat;

⁶ confiteretur X: ut peteretur *cett.*: cum peteretur *Ellis*:
 Iuppiter aecus *Lachmann*.

⁷ praestabit C *Reg.*: praestandi *cett. codd.*: praestandist
Baehrens: praestant di *Ellis*. facilis *codd.*. nam quae spera-
 verit VW: nam quaeque rogaverit *plerique codd.*: quae
 namque rogaverit *Ellis*.

¹⁵ ut *plerique codd.*: sic *Ellis*.

^a *Ellis*' conjecture and interpretation have been followed,
 though *facilis* is a rare form for the nom. plur. (See *Neue*,
Formenlehre d. lat. Sprache, II. 1875, pp. 34 *sqq.*)

God, scrutinising both, presented himself as a
 mediator between them, and when entreated with
 prayers said, "The gods being kind grant fulfilment;^a
 for what one of you asks, that shall the other forth-
 with receive, doubled." But the one, whose far-
 reaching desires could not satisfy his heart, put off
 addressing his prayer—with a surprising loss as the
 sequel.^b He was sure the desires of the other would
 increase his own prospects, calculating that in his
 single person he was thus winning two boons. The
 other, when he saw his companion grasping at his
 own prizes, gleefully prayed for a punishment to be
 inflicted on his own body. For he asked that he
 might lose one eye for the rest of his life in order that
 the other, doubling this misfortune, might live de-
 prived of both. Then Apollo, learning the truth,
 smiled at human lot, and with his own lips reported to
 Jupiter the curse of jealousy, which, as it rejoices in
 other people's untoward fortunes, is unlucky enough
 the more gladly to desire its own harm also.

XXIII

THE SALESMAN AND HIS STATUE OF BACCHUS^c

A trading craftsman who had fashioned a fine
 Bacchus in marble had put up the god for sale. A
 nobleman who wanted to buy it intended to place it
 in the funereal resting-place containing his tomb.

^b *i.e.* the loss of both his eyes, described later.

^c The fable is so full of difficulties that *Ellis* questions its
 authenticity. The use of the participles in lines 1 and 4
 marks the deterioration of syntax; *expositum fecerat esse*
 cannot be called good Latin; and the obscurity of lines 7-9
 led *Baehrens* to rewrite them with more than usual infelicity.

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alter adoratis ut ferret numina templis,
 redderet et sacro debita vota loco.
 "nunc" ait "ambiguum facies de mercibus omen,
 cum spes in pretium munera dispar agit,
 et me defunctis seu malis tradere divis,
 sive decus busti seu velis esse deum;
 subdita namque tibi est magni reverentia sacri
 atque eadem retines funera nostra manu."

convenit hoc illis, quibus est permissa potestas,
 an prodesse magis seu nocuisse velint.

XXIV

DE VENATORE ET LEONE

Certamen longa protractum lite gerebant
 venator quondam nobilis atque leo.
 hi cum perpetuum cuperent in iurgia finem,
 edita continuo forte sepulcra vident.
 illic docta manus flectentem colla leonem
 fecerat in gremio procubuisse viri.
 "scilicet affirmas pictura teste superbum
 te fieri? extinctam nam docet esse feram."
 ille graves oculos ad inania signa retorquens
 infremit et rabido pectore verba dedit:

XXIII. ^a et me licet addere vivis *Baehrens.*

¹¹ fati *plerique codd.*: facti AGO *m. pr.* b *Pet.*²: sati P: sacri
Ellis: fani *Baehrens.*

¹⁴ prodesse X: praestare *plerique codd.*

XXIV. ^a contigue *Baehrens (in not.)*: continuo *codd.*

fronte *Ellis*: forte *codd.*

⁷ affirmans *plerique codd.*: affirmas *Ellis.*

⁹ se *codd.*: te *Ellis.*

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Another wished to present^a the god in the temple
 where he worshipped and in the hallowed precincts
 to fulfil a vow that was owing. "Now," said the
 statue, "you will make a puzzling forecast about
 your wares, when two far different prospects set a
 price upon your work,^b and you will be in doubt
 whether you prefer to consign me to the dead or to
 the gods, whether you wish me to adorn a tomb or
 to be a deity. To your arbitrament is submitted the
 reverence of a great religious act; in your hand also
 you hold my death-warrant."^c

This is applicable to those who have it in their
 power to do a good or a bad turn according as they
 wish.^d

XXIV

THE HUNTER AND THE LION

A huntsman of renown and a lion were once
 engaged in a contest protracted by long dispute.
 As they desired to put an end once for all to their
 quarrel, they saw on the instant, it so happened, a
 lofty tombstone. Thereon a cunning hand had
 represented a lion bowing its neck in submission and
 prostrate in a man's embrace. "Can you really
 assert that the evidence of that work of art makes
 you proud? Why, it shows the death of the beast."
 The lion, turning downcast eyes to the unreal figures,
 growled and in fierceness of heart broke into speech:

^a *ut ferret* depends on *mercari cupit* supplied from *mercari cupiens.*

^b *munera* seems more suitably translated as "result of your employment" than as "gift."

^c *i.e.* to make of me a sepulchral ornament.

^d *i.e.* the salesman had the option of benefiting or injuring the statue.

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"irrita te generis subiit fiducia vestri,
 artificis testem si cupis esse manum.
 quod si nostra novum caperet sollertia sensum,
 sculperet ut docili pollice saxa leo,
 tunc hominem adspiceres oppressum murmure
 magno,
 conderet ut rabidis ultima fata genis." 15

XXV

DE PUERO ET FURE

Flens puer extremam putei consedit ad undam,
 vana supervacuis rictibus ora trahens.
 callidus hunc lacrimis postquam fur vidit obortis,
 quatenam tristitiae sit modo causa rogat. 5
 ille sibi abrupti fingens discrimina funis
 hac auri queritur desiluisse cadum.
 nec mora, sollicitam traxit manus improba vestem :
 exutus putei protinus ima petit.
 parvulus exiguo circumdans pallia collo 10
 sentibus immersus delituisse datur.
 sed post fallaci suscepta pericula voto
 tristis ut amissa veste resedit humi,
 dicitur his sollers vocem rupisse querellis
 et gemitu summos sollicitasse deos :
 "perdita, quisquis erit, post haec bene pallia credat, 15
 qui putat in liquidis quod latet urna vadis."

¹⁵ *expressum marmore Lachmann.*

XXV. ⁶ *atque plerique codd. : ac C Reg. : hao Froehmer.*

¹⁶ *natat vel natet codd. : latet Wight Duff.*

^a *latet* implies that the thief ought not to have been fool enough to be cheated by the boy's story about letting a golden pitcher drop into the well : he had not paused (*nec mora*, 7)

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

"Vain is the confidence in your human birth that has entered into you, if you desire to have for a witness an artist's hand. If our ingenuity admitted of an extra sense, allowing a lion to engrave stones with skilful touch, then you would behold how the man, overwhelmed by a loud roar, closed his final destiny in ravening jaws."

XXV

THE BOY AND THE THIEF

A boy sat down in tears at the edge of the water of a well, deceitfully opening wide his mouth in groundless blubbing. A smart thief, on seeing him with tears starting from his eyes, asked what was the cause of his distress now. The boy pretended his rope had parted in two; thereby, he sobbed, his golden pitcher had fallen down the well. At once the rascal's hand dragged off his hampering garment, and, when stripped, he made straight for the bottom of the well. The youngster, so the story has it, put the cloak round his own little neck, plunged into the brambles and was lost to sight. But when, after encountering danger on a deceptive hope, he had seated himself again on the ground, miserable over the loss of his cloak, the shrewd knave (so the story goes) gave utterance to these laments and made moaning supplication to the high gods: "Henceforth let anyone, whoever he be, who thinks a jar lies hid in clear water,^a reckon that he has richly deserved to lose his cloak."

to see if the gold was visible in the water. *Natet* or *natat* implies that anyone who expected a jar to be floating at the bottom of a well would be served right by losing his cloak.

MINOR LATIN POETS

XXVI

DE CAPELLA ET LEONE

Viderat excelsa pascentem rupe capellam,
 comminus esuriens cum leo ferret iter,
 et prior "heus" inquit "praeruptis ardua saxis
 linque nec hirsutis pascua quaere iugis;
 sed cytisi croceum per prata virentia florem
 et glaucas salices et thyma grata pete."
 illa gemens "desiste, precor, fallaciter" inquit
 "securam placidis instimulare dolis.
 vera licet moneas, maiora pericula tollas,
 tu tamen his dictis non facis esse fidem:
 nam quamvis rectis constet sententia verbis,
 suspectam hanc ravidus consiliator habet."

XXVII

DE CORNICE ET URNA

Ingentem sitiens cornix adspexerat urnam,
 quae minimam fundo continuisset aquam.
 hanc enisa diu planis effundere campis,
 scilicet ut nimiam pelleret inde sitim,
 postquam nulla viam virtus dedit, admovet omnes
 indignata nova calliditate dolos;
 nam brevis immersis accrescens sponte lapillis
 potandi facilem praebuit unda viam.

XXVI. ^a instimulare b ^a et *paraphr.*: insimulare *plerique*
codd.: insinuare *Cab.*

¹² ravidus *Ashb.*: gravidus *cett. codd.*: pravus *Baehrens.*
 habes b^a, *Lachmann, Ellis*: habet *cett. codd.*

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

XXVI

THE LION AND THE GOAT

A hungry lion while passing near by had spied a she-goat grazing on a rocky height. He opened conversation with "Ho, there! leave these steeps with their precipitous crags and don't look for pasture on prickly ridges. No, you should go through the green meadows in quest of the yellow lucerne-flower and pale green willow and sweet thyme." "Please stop," said the goat with a groan, "your lying attempts to rouse me from my security with your gentle wiles. Though your advice has truth in it, though you suppress the greater dangers, yet you do not make me trust what you say. For however correct your words be and however sound their meaning, yet a famished counsellor has his meaning under suspicion."

XXVII

THE CROW AND THE JAR

A thirsty crow had spied a huge jar containing a very little water at the bottom. Long did the crow strive to spill this water on the level plain, to banish, of course, thereby her excessive thirst; but, when no valiant effort could provide a way, she lost her temper and with fresh cunning applied all her crafty devices. She threw pebbles in, and the low level of water rose naturally and so supplied an easy way of drinking.

MINOR LATIN POETS

viribus haec docuit quam sit prudentia maior,
qua coeptum cornix explicuisset opus.

10

XXVIII

DE RUSTICO ET IUVENCO

Vincla recusanti dedignantique iuvenco
aspera mordaci subdere colla iugo
rusticus obliqua succidens cornua falce
credidit insanum defremuisse pecus,
cautus et immenso cervicem innectit aratro 5
(namque erat hic cornu promptior atque pede),
scilicet ut longus prohiberet verbera temo
neve ictus faciles ungula saeva daret.
sed postquam irato detractans vincula collo 10
immeritam vacua calce fatigat humum,
continuo eversam pedibus dispergit harenam,
quam † in domini Boreas ora sequentis agat.
tunc hic infirmi squalentes pulvere crines
discutiens imo pectore victus ait:
“ nimirum exemplum naturae derat iniquae, 15
qua fieri posset quis ratione nocens.”

XXVII. ¹⁰ volueris *plerique codd.*: cornix *Ellis (servans metrum)*.

XXVIII. ⁹ bos quem *Baehrens*: postquam *codd.*

¹⁰ vacuo (*masc.*) *nonnulli codd., Ellis*.

¹² quam ferus in domini ora *plerique codd.*: q. in d. aura ferens ora *Lachmann*: q. feriens Boreas ora *Withof*: q. in d. Boreas ora *Baehrens in not.* agat *ACEPT b*: agit *cett. codd.*

¹³ sic *codd.*: hic *Lachmann*.

¹⁶ cum *codd.*: quis *Baehrens*.

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

This fable has proved the superiority of foresight over stout efforts, as by it the crow accomplished the task she had undertaken.

XXVIII

THE FARMER AND HIS OX

There once was an ox that chafed at ropes and shirked submitting its rebellious neck to the grip of the yoke. The farmer cut its horns with a knife used slantwise and thought the frenzied animal had abated its rage. Carefully he fastened its neck to the weighty plough (for it was over-ready with horn and hoof), doubtless so that the long pole might obstruct any butting and that its cruel hoof might find it difficult to kick. But when the animal, its neck angrily struggling against the straps, worried the inoffensive earth with impotent hoof, its feet at once churned up the sand broadcast for the North wind to blow into its master's face as he followed. Then the farmer, while he shook his locks begrimed with unsightly dust, said, in deep discomfiture of heart, "Truly, I needed an instance of a vicious temper to show how anyone could contrive to do mischief."^a

^a This new instance proved how a low nature, in spite of all precautions, could work harm.

DE VIATORE ET SATYRO

Horrida congestis cum staret bruma pruinis
 cunctaque durato stringeret arva gelu,
 haesit in adversa nimborum mole viator;
 perdita nam prohibet semita ferre gradum.
 hunc nemorum custos fertur miseratus in antro
 exceptum Satyrus continuisse suo.
 quem simul adspiciens ruris miratur alumnus
 vimque homini tantam protinus esse pavet;
 nam gelidos artus vitae ut revocaret in usum,
 afflatas calido solverat ore manus.
 sed cum depulso coepisset frigore lactus
 hospitis eximia sedulitate frui,
 namque illi agrestem cupiens ostendere vitam
 silvarum referens optima quaeque dabat,
 obtulit et calido plenum cratera Lyaeo,
 laxet ut infusus frigida membra tepor.
 ille ubi ferventem labris contingere testam
 horruit, argenti rursus ab ore reflat.
 obstipuit duplici monstro perterritus hospes
 et pulsum silvis longius ire iubet:
 "nolo" ait "ut nostris umquam successerit antris,
 tam diversa duo qui simul ora ferat."

XXIX. ⁸ protinus *codd.*: pectoris *Lachmann*: providus
Froehner.

¹⁰ foverat *Lachmann*: solverat *plerique codd.*

¹¹ sed cum *codd.*: donec *Baehrens*.

¹⁸ sufflat *vel* suflat *codd.*: reflat *Schenkl*.

THE TRAVELLER AND THE SATYR

When mid-winter stood bristling with thick frost and bound every field in hardened ice, a traveller came to a halt in a heavy barrier of mist; for the losing of his path prevented his advance. They say one of the guardians of the woodland, a Satyr, felt pity and gave him welcome and shelter in his cave. This nurseling of the country^a looked upon him wondering the while, and straightway was afeared to see a mortal possess power so great. For, to bring back his chilled limbs to the tasks of life, the traveller had blown into his hands and thawed them with his warm breath. But it was different when he had banished the cold and had delightedly begun to enjoy his host's generous attentions; since, anxious to show him how they lived in the country, the Satyr kept bringing out and serving all the best that the woodland yielded; he set before him also a bowl full of warm wine so that its pervasive heat might loosen the chilliness of his limbs. The traveller, fearing to touch the glowing cup with his lips, blew this time with a cooling breath. His host was alarmed and astounded at the double miracle, and driving him from the woods bade him begone still further off. "I desire no one," he said, "ever to approach my cave who owns at the same moment two such different sorts of mouth."

^a The Satyr is called *ruris alumnus* as one of the ape-like and goat-footed demigods of the forest: cf. Ovid *Met.* I. 192-3 *sunt mihi semides, sunt rustica numina Nymphae, Faunisque Satyrique et monticolae Silvani*; ib. VI. 892-3 *ruricolae, silvarum numina, Fauni et Satyri fratres*.

XXX

DE SUE ET ILLIUS DOMINO

Vastantem segetes et pingua culta ruentem
 liquerat abscisa rusticus aure suem,
 ut memor accepti referens monumenta doloris
 ulterius teneris parceret ille satis.
 rursus in exsculpti deprensus crimine campi 5
 perdidit indultae perfidus auris onus.
 nec mora, praedictae segeti caput intulit horrens;
 poena sed insignem congeminata facit.
 tunc domini captum mensis dedit ille superbis, 10
 in varias epulas plurima frustra secans.
 sed cum consumpti dominus cor quaereret apri,
 impatiens fertur quod rapuisse cocus,
 rusticus hoc iustam verbo compescuit iram,
 affirmans stultum non habuisse suem—
 nam cur membrorum demens in damna redisset, 15
 atque uno totiens posset ab hoste capi?
 haec illos descripta monent, qui saepius ausi
 numquam peccatis abstinuere manus.

XXX. ⁵ exsculpti G: excepti *cett. codd.*: excerpti *Guiet.*
⁷ praedictae *plerique codd.*: praedator *Lachmann*: praeve-
 titae *Baehrens*.
⁸ quod O *Rawl., Pel.*²: sed *cett. codd.* indignum *codd.*:
 indictum *Cab.*: insignem *Lachmann*.

XXX

THE PIG AND ITS OWNER

A pig was ruining a farmer's corn and trampling his fertile fields; so he cut its ear off and let it go, hoping that, carrying home a reminder of the pain suffered, it would remember in future and keep off the tender crops. It was caught again in the crime of grubbing up the soil, and for its thieving lost the ear it had—the one previously spared. Immediately afterwards it thrust its mutilated ^a head into the aforementioned corn; but the twice-repeated punishment made it a marked trespasser.^b This time the farmer, having captured it, gave it for its owner's sumptuous banquet, cutting a great number of slices for the various dishes. But when they had been eating the boar and the owner asked for its heart, which the ravenous cook is said to have purloined, then the farmer soothed his reasonable anger with these words, remarking that the pig was stupid and never had a heart ^c—for why had it been mad enough to return just to lose parts of its body? why let itself be caught so many times by the same enemy?

This sketch is a warning to those who have ventured too often and never kept their hands off iniquity.

^a *Horrens* is glossed in the Trèves MS. as *truncatum*.

^b If *indignum* of the MSS. is kept, the sense is that the two previous punishments made this new trespass by the pig an outrage. Nothing, therefore, but death could meet the case.

^c The *cor* was considered the seat of understanding.

XXXI

DE MURE ET BOVE

Ingentem fertur mus quondam parvus oberrans
 ausus ab exiguo laedere dente bovem.
 verum ubi mordaci confecit vulnera rostro,
 tutus in anfractus conditur inde suos.
 ille licet vasta torvum cervice minetur,
 non tamen iratus quem petat esse videt.
 tunc indignantem mus hoc sermone fatigans
 distulit hostiles calliditate minas:
 " non quia magna tibi tribuerunt membra parentes,
 viribus effectum constituere tuis.
 disce tamen brevibus quae sit fiducia rostris,
 ut faciat quicquid parvula turba cupit."

XXXII

DE ARATORE ET BOBUS

Haerentem luteo sub gurgite rusticus axem
 liquerat et nexos ad iuga tarda boves,
 frustra depositis confidens numina votis
 ferre suis rebus, cum resideret, opem.
 cui rector summis Tirynthius infit ab astris
 (nam vocat hunc supplex in sua vota deum):

XXXI. ⁷ iusto *codd.*: mus hoc *Withof*: lusor *Ellis*.
¹¹ monstris *plerique codd.*: membris B: rostris *Froehmer*.
¹² ut *W Reg.*, *Pet.*¹: et *plerique codd.* faciat *plerique codd.*:
 facias *Pet.*¹, B *m. sec.*, *paraphr.*
 XXXII. ⁸ depositis *plerique codd.*: dispostis *PX Rawl.* b².

^a For *ab cf.* Ovid. *Met.* viii. 513, *invitis correptus ab ignibus arsit.*

XXXI

THE MOUSE AND THE OX

They tell how once upon a time a little mouse on its wanderings ventured with^a its tiny teeth to attack a mighty ox. When its nibbling mouth finished biting, it thereupon hid safely in its winding hole. Though the ox made sullen threats with his huge neck, yet for all his anger he could not see that there lived an enemy for him to attack. Then the mouse dispersed^b the foe's threats with its cleverness, bantering the enraged ox with these words: "Because your parents transmitted strong limbs to you, it does not follow that they added efficiency to your strength. Learn, however, the self-reliance that our tiny mouths possess, and learn how our pigmy band does whatever it wants."

XXXII

THE PLOUGHMAN AND HIS OXEN

A peasant had left his cart sticking in a muddy pool and his oxen fastened to a yoke that would not move. He trusted in vain that thanks to the vows he lodged the gods would assist his fortunes though he sat idle himself. From the starry heights he was addressed by the Lord of Tiryns^d (for he was one of the gods whom his entreaties invoked to further his prayers).

^b *Cf.* x. 10.

^c This represents *De aratore et bobus*, *Rawl.* Other titles are *De rustico et axe*, O, and *De pigro Tyrini(h)ium frustra orante*, C.

^d Hercules.

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“perge laborantes stimulis agitare iuencos,
 et manibus pigras disce iuvare rotas.
 tunc quoque congressum maioraque viribus ausum
 fas superos animis conciliare tuis. 10
 disce tamen pigris non flecti numina votis
 praesentesque adhibe, cum facis ipse, deos.”

XXXIII

DE ANSERE OVA AUREA PARIENTE

Anser erat cuidam pretioso germine feta,
 ovaque quae nidis aurea saepe daret.
 fixerat hanc volucris legem Natura superbae,
 ne liceat pariter munera ferre duo.
 sed dominus, cupidum sperans vanescere votum, 5
 non tulit exosas in sua lucra moras,
 grande ratus pretium volucris de morte referre,
 quae tam continuo munere dives erat.
 postquam nuda minax egit per viscera ferrum
 et vacuum solitis fetibus esse videt, 10
 ingemuit tantae deceptus crimine fraudis;
 nam poenam meritis rettulit inde suis.
 sic qui cuncta deos uno male tempore poscunt,
 iustius his etiam vota diurna negant.

¹⁰ animis *codd.* : *athlis Baehrens.*

XXXIII. ⁵ cupidus . . . *augescere Wopkens.*

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

“Go on and drive your bullocks with the goad through their difficulties, and learn to aid with your hands the sluggish wheels. After you have come to grips and used your strength for greater efforts, then it is allowable also to win the gods over to your wishes. Learn, however, that the deities are not swayed by indolent vows: bring the gods to your help by acting yourself.”

XXXIII

THE GOOSE THAT LAID THE GOLDEN EGGS

A man owned a goose teeming with precious offspring, one that often laid golden eggs in its nest. Nature had ordained this rule for the noble bird, that it should not lay more than one egg at the same time. But the owner, anticipating the disappearance of his greedy expectations,^a could not brook delays, hateful when his profits were considered; ^b he thought to win a handsome prize by killing the bird, rich as it was in such unfailing bounty. When he plunged his dread knife into its open ^c breast, and found the bird empty of the usual eggs, he groaned aloud, tricked by the iniquity of so gross a fraud; for thereupon he ascribed the punishment to his own deserts.

So to those wicked enough to ask the gods for everything at once, they refuse the more justly even the prayers of a single day.

^a The golden harvest, he feared, was too good to last.

^b He wished more than one golden egg at a time.

^c *nuda* = *nudata*. Ellis explains as “strip of feathers” to make the opening with more dexterity.

XXXIV

DE FORMICA ET CICADA

[Quisquis torpentem passus transisse iuventam
nec timuit vitae providus ante mala,
confectus senio, postquam gravis adfuit aetas,
heu frustra alterius saepe rogabit opem.]

Solibus ereptos hiemi formica labores
distulit et brevibus condidit ante cavis.
verum ubi candentes suscepit terra pruinas
arvaeque sub rigido delituere gelu,
pigra nimis tantos non aequans corpore nimbos
in laribus propriis umida grana legit.
discolor hanc precibus supplex alimenta rogabat,
quae quondam querulo ruperat arva sono :
se quoque, maturas cum tunderet area messes,
cantibus aestivos explicuisse dies.
parvula tunc ridens sic est affata cicadam
(nam vitam pariter continuare solent) :
" mi quoniam summo substantia parta labore est,
frigoribus mediis otia longa traho ;
at tibi saltandi nunc ultima tempora restant,
cantibus est quoniam vita peracta prior."

XXXIV. ^o *pigranimis* KTV : *pigra nimis plerique codd.*
tanto (= *tam parvo*) T Rawl., Pet.² : tantos GOM².
¹¹ *decolor* Am¹KPT : *discolor* Am² Ashb.

XXXIV

THE ANT AND THE GRASSHOPPER

[The man that has allowed his youth to go by in idleness and has not taken anxious precautions against the ills of life—that man, foredone with years, will in the presence of burdensome old age often ask in vain, alas, for a neighbour's help.]

An ant reserved for the winter the fruits of toil snatched during sunny hours and stored them betimes in her tiny hole. But when earth assumed its white robe of hoar frost and fields lay hid beneath unyielding ice, then, quite idle and unfit bodily to face the rain-storms, she picked out the moistened grain in her own abode. A grasshopper in her varied hues, who before had cleft the fields with plaintive note, amid prayers and supplications begged the ant for food. For her part, she said, when the threshing-floor was bruising the ripened harvest, she had worked out the summer days in song. Then with a laugh the tiny ant thus addressed the grasshopper (for their wont is to prolong their life equally)^a : " Since *my* subsistence has been secured by dint of hardest toil, I draw out long days of ease in the midst of the frost. But *you* now have your last days left for dancing, since your past life was spent in song."^b

^a *i.e.* continue their life from year to year, as neither dies in the winter.

^b The ant's ironic gibe is that, as the grasshopper has been an inveterate singer, she can conclude her days in dancing with her song as an accompaniment.

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XXXV

DE SIMIAE GEMELLIS

Fama est quod geminum profundens simia partum
 dividat in varias pignora nata vices ;
 namque unum caro genetrix educit amore,
 alteriusque odiis exsaturata tumet.
 coeperit ut fetam gravior terrere tumultus,
 dissimili natos condicione rapit :
 dilectum manibus vel pectore gestat amico,
 contemptum dorso suscipiente levat.
 sed cum lassatis nequeat consistere plantis,
 oppositum fugiens sponte remittit onus.
 alter at hirsuto circumdans brachia collo
 haeret et invita cum genetrice fugit.
 mox quoque dilecti succedit in oscula fratris,
 servatus vetulis unicus heres avis.

sic multos neglecta iuvant, atque ordine verso
 spes humiles rursus in meliora refert.

XXXVI

DE VITULO ET BOVE

Pulcher et intacta vitulus cervice resultans
 scindentem adsidue viderat arva bovem.
 " non pudet heus " inquit " longaevo vincula collo
 ferre nec haec positis otia nosse iugis ?
 cum mihi subiectas pateat discursus in herbas
 et nemorum liceat rursus opaca sequi."

XXXV. ¹¹ ad P: et *Pet.*¹: ab *cell. codd.*: at *vulgo.*

¹⁰ *fortasse* rursus spes humiles *Ellis.*

XXXVI. ⁴ haec positis *Ellis*: expositis *codd.*

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XXXV

THE MONKEY'S TWINS

The story goes that a monkey gave birth to twin
 offspring and assigned her children each to a different
 destiny. One the mother reared in fond affection,
 and she rankled with superabundant hatred for the
 other. When a perilous attack began to alarm the
 mother she hurried her young apes off, meting out
 unequal treatment. The favourite she carried in her
 paws or her tender bosom; the despised one she lifted
 up and carried on her back. But when she could not
 stand upright on her wearied feet, in mid-flight she
 gladly let go the one that burdened her in front.
 But the other, throwing his arms round his mother's
 hairy neck, clung to her and shared her escape
 against her will. Besides, he soon succeeded to the
 caresses his favoured brother had enjoyed, and
 survived to be sole heir to his ancient lineage.

Thus do many come to like what once they slighted;
 and hope, changing the order of things, carries the
 lowly back into happier fortune.

XXXVI

THE CALF AND THE OX

A fine calf, skipping to and fro and never yoked as
 yet, had seen an ox busily ploughing the fields.
 " You there," he said, " are you not ashamed to
 have your aged neck fastened, unable to throw off
 the yoke and know the leisure that is mine? For I
 am free to range at will over the low-lying pasture,
 and then again I can make for the shade of the

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at senior, nullam verbis compulsus in iram,
vertebat solitam vomere fessus humum,
donec deposita per prata liceret aratro
molliter herboso procubuisse toro.

mox vitulum sacris innexum respicit aris
admotum cultro comminus ire popae.
"hanc tibi" testis ait "dedit indulgentia mortem,
expertem nostri quae facit esse iugi.
proderit ergo graves quamvis perferre labores,
otia quam tenerum mox peritura pati."

est hominum sors ista, magis felicibus ut mors
sit cita, cum miseris vita diurna negat.

XXXVII

DE CANE ET LEONE

Pinguior exhausto canis occurrisse leoni
fertur et insertis verba dedisse iocis.
"nonne vides duplici tendantur ut ilia tergo
luxurietque toris nobile pectus?" ait.
"proximus humanis ducor post otia mensis,
communem capiens largius ore cibum."

¹¹ sertis *Cannegieler*.

¹² testis *CK Reg.*: tristis *cett. codd.*

¹³ miseris *B m. pr.*: miseros *cett. codd.* negat *B b² m. sec.*:
regat *cett. codd.*: necat *Ellis*.

^a The epimythion 17-18 is perhaps spurious, as it partly contradicts lines 15-16, which may be taken to point the moral and which advocate endurance.

^b *verba dare* has not necessarily in late Latin the classical sense of gulling: cf. ix. 20, xxxviii. 6: contrast i. 14.

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grove." But the old ox, not at all angered by the words, went on wearily turning the soil as usual with the share, till he was allowed to drop the plough and to lie at his ease on a grassy bed in the meadows. Soon afterwards he saw the calf brought by a leading-string to the sacrificial altar and coming close to the knife of the priest's attendant. As he witnessed this he said, "Such is the death given you by the forbearance that leaves you free from my yoke. So then it will be better to endure toil however burdensome than to experience when young an ease that is soon to be lost."

This is the lot of mortals; death comes swift to the happier ones, while the daily life of the unfortunate refuses them death.^a

XXXVII

THE DOG AND THE LION

A well-fed dog is said to have met an exhausted lion and to have addressed^b him with taunts in his words: "Don't you see," he said, "how my flanks dilate under my back's double ridge^c and my fine breast has handsome muscles? When resting-time has come, I am brought close up to the tables where men eat, my mouth getting in ample measure the fare my master shares with me." "But what is that

^a Heinsius explained *duplici tergo* as *lato tergo*, like Virgil's *duplex agitur per lumbos spina*, *G.* III. 87 (of a horse), where Servius interprets "aut revera duplex aut lata." The depression along the back of a horse in good condition gives the appearance of a double spine. Ellis suggests that *tergo* is used of the ridge or projecting surface of the skin covering the dog's flanks, which is called "double" from inequalities produced by outstanding muscle or fat.

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" sed quod crassa malum circumdat guttura ferrum ? "
 " ne custodita fas sit abire domo.
 at tu magna diu moribundus lustra pererras,
 donec se silvis obvia praeda ferat. 10
 perge igitur nostris tua subdere colla catenis,
 dum liceat faciles promeruisse dapes."
 protinus ille gravem gemuit collectus in iram
 atque ferox animi nobile murmur agit.
 " vade " ait " et meritis nodum cervicibus infer, 15
 compensentque tuam vincula dura famem ;
 at mea cum vacuis libertas redditur antris,
 quamvis ieiunus quae libet arva peto.
 has illis epulas potius laudare memento,
 qui libertatem postposuere gulae." 20

XXXVIII

DE PISCE ET PHYCIDE

Dulcibus e stagnis fluvio torrente coactus
 aequoreas praiceps piscis obibat aquas.
 illic squamigerum despectans improbus agmen
 eximium sese nobilitate refert.
 non tulit expulsum patrio sub gurgite phycis 5
 verbaque cum salibus asperiora dedit :
 " vana laboratis aufer mendacia dictis,
 quaeque refutari te quoque teste queant.

XXXVII. ⁷⁻⁸ hos versus post 10 collocavit Cannegieter, post
 12 Schenkl et Baehrens, post 14 Barth.

⁷ quo Cannegieter : quod codd.

¹³ gemitu codd. : gemuit Baehrens.

¹⁶ comescant BX Pet.¹ Pet.²

XXXVIII. ⁵ phycis Cannegieter : phoecis CK : phocas
 GLOT Rawl. Pet.²

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

villainous bit of iron round your brawny throat? "
 " That's to prevent my leaving the house I have been
 guarding. But you for a long time wander through
 the wilds dying of hunger, until your victim meets
 you in the jungle. Proceed, therefore, to bow your
 neck to the chains I wear, till you can earn an easy-
 won feast." At once the lion with a growl worked
 himself into a violent rage and in haughty spirit
 uttered a lordly roar. " Begone," he said, " set
 bonds on your neck as it deserves, and may the
 galling chains take the place of hunger in your case ;
 but when I am restored still free to my solitary den,
 famished though I be, I make for any field I please.
 Mind you commend such junketing more especially
 to those who have sacrificed independence for
 gluttony."

XXXVIII

THE FISH AND THE LAMPREY

Driven by the rush of a river out of its fresh pools,
 a fish darted headlong to the waters of the sea.
 There it arrogantly looked down on the ranks of
 scaly fish and averred that its high birth gave it
 distinction. A lamprey in its ancestral depths could
 not endure the *émigré*, and spoke ^a to it sharply in
 satiric vein. " Away with empty falsehoods from
 your affected language! away with what can be
 disproved even on your own evidence! For I will

^a Cf. note on *verba dedisse*, xxxvii. 2.

⁶ salibus codd. *fers omnes contra metrum* : sociis G : salsis
 Lachmann : ? sannis Ellis : probris asperiora *vel* salibus liberiora
 Withof.

MINOR LATIN POETS

nam quis eat potior populo spectante probabo,
 si pariter captos umida lina trahant. 10
 tunc me nobilior magno mercabitur emptor,
 te simul aere brevi debile vulgus emet."

XXXIX

DE MILITE ARMA CREMANTE

Voverat attritus quondam per proelia miles
 omnia suppositis ignibus arma dare,
 vel quae victori moriens sibi turba dedisset
 vel quicquid profugo posset ab hoste capi.
 interea votis fors adfuit, et memor arma
 coeperat accenso singula ferre rogo. 5
 tunc lituus rauco deflectens murmure culpam
 immeritum flammis se docet isse pyrae.
 "nulla tuos" inquit "petierunt tela lacertos,
 viribus affirmes quae tamen acta meis; 10
 sed tantum ventis et cantibus arma coegi,
 hoc quoque submisso (testor et astra) sono."
 ille resultantem flammis crepitantibus addens
 "nunc te maior" ait "poena dolorque rapit;

⁹ erit *codd.*: eat *Baehrens.*

XXXIX. ⁸ esse prius *codd.*: piis *Canneq.*: cibum *Withof*:
 in flammis se d. esse pyrae *Froehner*: isse pyrae *Ellis.*

¹⁰ resultantem *codd.*: reluctantem *ed. vetus.*

¹⁴ dolorque *plerique codd.*: colorque *B.*: calorque *Ellis.*

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

prove to you who passes for better in the eyes of the
 people, should a dripping net catch and land us both
 at the same time. In that case a purchaser of high
 rank will pay a lot for me, while the feeble rabble will
 give but a brass farthing for you."

XXXIX

THE SOLDIER WHO BURNED THE WEAPONS

Once upon a time a soldier worn out in the wars
 had vowed to light a fire and devote to it all his arms,
 both those yielded to him in his hour of victory by
 numbers of dying combatants and aught that could
 be taken from the foe in flight. Time passed and
 chance favoured his hopes; so, mindful of his vow,
 he kindled a pyre and began bringing his weapons
 to it one by one. At that moment a trumpet with a
 harsh blare, deprecating all guilt, declared that it went
 innocent to the flaming pyre. "Neyer," it said, "were
 your brawny arms struck by missiles which you could,
 by way of plea, assert were hurled by strength of
 mine. No, I only mustered the weapons of war with
 wind and note, and that only (the stars be my wit-
 ness) in a sound subdued." The soldier added the
 trumpet to the crackling flames and made it bounce,
 saying, "Now a severer punishment^a and pain hurries

^a "A severer punishment" (*Ellis* says "an extra severity
 of punishment") befalls the trumpet; for, whereas the
 weapons only suffer the burning, it suffers first the violence
 of being thrown against the weapons and is then destroyed
 by fire. This supports *resultantem* rather than *reluctantem*,
 which otherwise is a good suggestion.

MINOR LATIN POETS

nam licet ipse nihil possis temptare nec ausis,
saevior hoc, alios quod facis esse malos."

16

XL

DE PARDO ET VULPE

Distinctus maculis et pulchro pectore pardus
inter consimiles ibat in ora feras;
sed quia nulla graves variarent terga leones,
protinus his miserum credidit esse genus.
cetera sordenti damnans animalia vultu
solus in exemplum nobilitatis erat.
hunc arguta novo gaudentem vulpis amictu
corripit et vanas approbat esse notas:
"vade" ait "et pictae nimium confide iuventae,
dum mihi consilium pulchrius esse queat,
miremurque magis quos munera mentis adornant,
quam qui corporeis enituere bonis."

5

10

XLI

DE IMBRE ET TESTA

Impulsus ventis et pressa nube coactus
ruperat hibernis se gravis imber aquis;
cumque per effusas stagnaret turbine terras,
expositum campis fictile pressit opus:
mobile namque lutum tepidus prius instruit aer.
discat ut admoto rectius igne coqui.

6

XL. ^a inira CK: in ira A *m. pr.*: mira P: inire GLT
Rawl., Reg.: in arva A *m. sec.* V *m. sec.* BX *Petrenses*: in ora
Ellis: abnuit ire *Lachmann.*

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

you off. For, though you cannot yourself attack at
all or venture on anything, you are a more cruel foe
in that you make others dangerous."

XL

THE LEOPARD AND THE FOX

A fine-breasted leopard in his dappled glory went
to parade himself among the beasts which were his
compeers. But because the surly lions had no varied
hues upon their back, he straightway formed the
belief that theirs was a sorry tribe. Condemning all
the other animals as mean-looking, he took himself
for the one pattern of noble breed. As he was
rejoicing in the garb of youth, a wily vixen chid him
and showed the uselessness of his markings. "Go,"
said she, "keep your excessive confidence in your
gorgeous youthfulness, so long as I can surpass you in
fine counsel, and so long as we can admire those
adorned by gifts of intellect more than those who
shine in bodily charms."

XLI

THE SHOWER AND THE JAR

Impelled by the winds, a heavy rain-storm had
gathered with the pressure of cloud upon cloud and
burst in wintry torrents. And as its whirling deluge
made a lake over the widespread lands, it struck some
potter's work set outside in the fields; for warm air
shapes the plastic clay beforehand, to train it for
being baked more perfectly when fire is applied.

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tunc nimbus fragilis perquirat nomina testae.
 immemor illa sui "Amphora dicor" ait;
 "nunc me docta manus rapiente volumina gyro
 molliter obliquum iussit habere latus." 10
 "hactenus hac" inquit "liceat constare figura:
 nam te subiectam diluet imber aquis."
 et simul accepto violentius amne fatiscens
 promior in tenues victa cucurrit aquas.
 infelix, quae magna sibi cognomina sumens 15
 ausa pharetratis nubibus ista loqui!

haec poterunt miseros posthac exempla monere,
 subdita nobilibus ne sua fata gemant.

XLII

DE LUPO ET HAEDO

Forte lupum melior cursu deluserat haedus,
 proxima vicinis dum petit arva casis;
 inde fugam recto tendens in moenia cursu
 inter lanigeros adstitit ille greges.
 impiger hunc raptor mediamque secutus in urbem 5
 temptat compositis sollicitare dolis:
 "nonne vides" inquit, "cunctis ut victima templis
 immitem regemens morte cruentet humum?
 quod nisi securo valeas te reddere campo,
 ei mihi, vittata tu quoque fronte cades." 10

XLII. ⁹ nunc *codd.*: nam *edd.*

¹⁰ pharetratis *codd.*: foret tantis *Cab.*, *Baehrens*: foret
 atris *Wopkens*: fortasse erat iratis *Ellis*.

¹⁰ ne B: ut *cett. codd.*

^a *i.e.* conceitedly elated by its beauty as described in 9-10,
 it forgets what a frail thing it is.

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

Then the rain-cloud asked the name of the brittle
 jar, which, forgetting itself,^a said, "My name is
 Amphora. As you see me now, a craftsman's hand,
 by means of the wheel's swift revolutions, has
 ordained the gentle slope of my side." "Till now,
 but no more," said the other, "think yourself per-
 mitted to bear this shape, for rain is about to overwhelm
 you in its waters and wash you away." And there-
 upon, taking in the wild rush of the flood, and crack-
 ing open, the jar yielded and dashed headlong into
 the flowing waters. Ill-fated one, to take a proud
 name to itself and venture to speak thus to clouds
 which have their quivers in readiness!

This example will serve in future to warn the
 wretched not to lament their destiny when it is under
 the control of the great.

XLII

THE WOLF AND THE KID

It happened that a kid, while making for the fields
 which lay nearest to some neighbouring huts, had
 baffled a wolf by faster running. Then, directing
 his flight straight for the city walls, he came to a halt
 among flocks of wool-clad sheep. The beast of prey
 was unwearied and, pursuing the kid into the heart
 of the town, tried to lure him with studied wiles.
 "Do you not see," he said, "how in all the temples
 a victim amid repeated groans stains the pitiless
 ground with its life-blood?"^b But if you are not able
 to return to the safety of the meadow, ah me, you
 too will die with the sacrificial fillet round your brow."

^b The fable, *Ellis* points out, belongs to a time when
 sacrifices in heathen temples might still take place: *cf.* the
 pagan atmosphere of XXIII and XXXVI (see also *Introd.*).

MINOR LATIN POETS

ille refert: "modo quam metuis, precor, exue curam
et tecum viles, improbe, tolle minas;
nam sat erit sacrum divis fudisse cruorem
quam rabido fauces exsaturare lupo."

sic quotiens duplici subeuntur tristia casu,
expedit insignem promeruisse necem.

XLII. ¹³ sat erit *plerique codd.*: satius *Withof.*

THE FABLES OF AVIANUS

The kid replied, "Just drop, I pray you, the anxiety which is your dread, and take yourself off and your trumpery threats too, you rogue. I shall be content to pour out my blood in a sacrifice to the gods rather than gorge the throat of a ravenous wolf."

So every time we face disaster of twofold hazard, it is the noble death which it is expedient to achieve.

RUTILIUS NAMATIANS

INTRODUCTION

TO RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS

THE last of the classical Latin poets, Claudius Rutilius Namatianus, or (as is quite possibly the correct order for his name) Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, belonged to a Gallo-Roman family^a and was born late in the fourth century, most likely at Toulouse. His father, almost certainly the Lachanius of his poem, and more or less plausibly identified with different official Claudii of the period, passed through a distinguished public career and had been honoured with a statue at Pisa, a visit to which is described with filial pride.^b Rutilius held high appointments under the emperor Honorius, who reigned A.D. 395-423. We must, however, beware of being misled by distinctions spuriously thrust upon him in the title of the Bologna edition; he was not a *vir consularis*, though he was a *vir clarissimus*; he had been neither a *tribunus militum* nor a *praefectus praetorii*, but he had attained to the influential positions of *magister officiorum*^c and *praefectus urbis*.^d It can be shown that he held the former office in A.D. 412 and that he immediately

^a I. 20.

^b I. 575-596.

^c I. 563.

^d I. 157-160 and 427.

preceded his friend Albinus^a as prefect of the city for part of the year A.D. 414.

Educated on the lines of the ancient learning, Rutilius, as his poem indicates, was a man of literary knowledge and taste, an adherent of paganism, and influenced by Stoic philosophy. The times in which he lived had brought devastation again and again into Italy at the hands of northern barbarians. In A.D. 410, six years before he undertook the journey back to his native Gaul which makes the subject of his poem *De Reditu Suo*,^b Rome had witnessed in a three days' sack the culmination of the third siege of the city by Alaric, King of the Visigoths.

That same year men had seen the burial of the Gothic chief under the diverted waters of the Busento; and in 412 Ataulf, the successor of Alaric, had withdrawn his Goths from Italy into Gaul, whence he had been forced across the Pyrenees into Spain to meet his death by assassination in 415. Soon afterwards, under their King Wallia, the Visigoths concluded peace with Rome; but years of merciless ravage had left in Italy and Gaul scenes of depressing desolation which are reflected in our author's realistic allusions.^c The misery of it all touched him closely as he was planning his route in 416 from the one devastated country to the other, and so he decided to coast northwards from the mouth of the Tiber rather than face the dangerous roads and broken bridges of Italy. The motive for his journey has been questioned: it is at least more likely that he

^a I. 466-474.

^b A slightly more satisfactory title than the alternative *Itinerarium*.

^c I. 21, 39-42.

may have wished to inspect some property of his own in Gaul than that his paganism had somehow lost him favour in Rome.^a

It was autumn when he started from the city, and in the extant portion of the poem we can read an entertaining elegiac journal for two months from September 22nd to November 21st, A.D. 416,^b when his second book breaks off at the 68th line after the arrival at Luna. This was something more elaborate as a travel-poem than Horace's journey to Brundisium or Ovid's sketch of his voyage in the *Tristia* or Statius' send-off to his patron bound for Egypt.^c We may guess that the composition of the poem followed not long after the time of the journey; but our knowledge of the author and of his fortunes stops short with the interruption of his work. Only half-a-dozen lines before the end, as we now have it, the author had contemplated the continuance of his narrative. Is the conclusion lost or was it never written?

A brief summary will enable us to follow him on his voyage so far as his poetic record runs. A long exordium (1-164) is largely a rhetorical eulogy on

^a H. Schenkl, *Rh. Mus.* 66 (1911), pp. 393 *sqq.*, argues that Rutilius' attacks on Christian monks do not prove his pagan creed, and it is true that some Christians have censured monasticism severely. But this is not the whole case. Rutilius' tone elsewhere seems inconsistent with Christian belief. Labriolle quite reasonably distinguishes it from that of a professing Christian like Ausonius, *Rev. des études latines*, 6 (1928), pp. 30 *sqq.*

^b Carcopino, *Rev. des études lat.*, 6, 180 *sqq.*, 1928, argues for 16th Oct. 417 as the date of the departure from Rome. Both Helm and Fréchauc agree in their editions.

^c Hor. *Sat.* I. v (partly suggested by Lucilius' *Iter Siculum*); Ovid, *Trist.* I. x; Stat. *Silv.* III. ii.

the majestic greatness of Rome and her gift of unifying nations. After the start from the city (165) Rutilius was weather-bound for fifteen days at Ostia in the harbour of Claudius and Trajan. When his sailors had once found a fair wind, the coasting and mainly daylight voyage began, and, as related in Book I, lasted six days (or, according to Vessereau, seven). The first day (217-276) brings them to Centumcellae, where they spend the night. On the second day (277-312) they sail at dawn, pass off the mouth of the Munio and the pinewoods of Graviscae, sighting Cosa before putting into Portus Herculis at nightfall. On the third day (313-348), sailing still earlier, before sunrise, they coast along Monte Argentario, pass the island of Igilium (recently a refuge for fugitives from the Goths), touch, without staying, at the Umbro mouth, and are forced, when overtaken by night, to bivouac ashore. The fourth day (349-428) finds them compelled to take to oars in the morning: and after sighting Ilva (Elba), whose mines suggest to the poet the praises of iron, they land in a state of fatigue before midday at Faleria, where they chance upon an Osiris fête in progress. Their most unpleasant experiences with an extortionate landlord, a Jew, lead to an outburst against Judaism. Subsequent rowing brings them to Populonia, where they are rejoiced to get news from Rome. With the fifth day (429-510) we have the distant view of Corsica chronicled, and when Capraria rises in sight, the opportunity is seized for an onslaught on the monasticism of its inhabitants. The travellers later reach Volaterrana Vada. A visit is paid to the villa of a good friend, Albinus, and the processes

of the neighbouring salt-pans are described. The welcome meeting with Victorinus, a friend from Toulouse, compensates for the delay caused by a gale. During the early part of the sixth day^a (511-540) they find themselves off the dangerous rocks of Gorgon island, the home of a hermit whom Rutilius regards as one of a group of misguided fanatics, more bewitched, he thinks, than the victims of Circe's enchantments. They next arrive at the villa Triturrita, built on an artificial causeway near a harbour protected by a curious barrier of seaweed. Here, in spite of the inducement to proceed with the voyage in fair weather, an interruption is made, as Rutilius cannot resist the temptation to visit his friend Protadius in the neighbouring town: so Protadius' merits, Pisa itself and the statue erected there to his own father are in turn touched upon. This voluntary delay (541-614) is followed by a compulsory one (615-644); for on coming back to Triturrita, the travellers being storm-stayed have to occupy their time in a boar-hunt: and for the moment horn and song appear to be echoed in one of Rutilius' couplets.^b A long stay is made in this district, Book I ending in a description of violent and continued storm.

Book II in its 68 lines narrates only the voyage from Portus Pisanus to Luna, but it also contains a description of Italy, a furious invective against the dead general Stilicho, and an account of the marble quarries in the Luna district.

^a Vessereau makes this the seventh day, as he estimates that the distance from Populonia to Vada and the visit to Albinus would need more than a single day. The sixth day may therefore have been spent at the villa; but the poem does not clearly indicate this.

^b 629-630.

INTRODUCTION TO

His poem, in some ways the better for those digressions which make it more than a journal of travel, exhibits Rutilius as a man with an eye for the scenery of the Italian coast, interested in the affairs of the places touched at during his voyage northwards, and stirred by warm affection for friends^a no less than by frankly expressed dislike for Jews, Christian monks and Stilicho. It is pleasant to note his joy at meeting friends and his regret at parting: it is an equally human trait that he is a good hater. His tender Stoic melancholy, coloured rather than seared by the memory of Rome's recent capture by the Goths, does not prevent him from cherishing an optimistic confidence in her recovery, even as in long-past history she had recovered after the Allia and Cannae. And so in his encomium upon the imperial city, sincere enough in feeling and yet in phrasing more rhetorical than poetic, Rutilius has uttered the swan-song of Rome.

Nor is it a song unworthy of the classical tradition. His Latin has a prevailing lucidity which befits his theme; and, despite the influence of Virgil and Ovid, his work, thanks to concentration upon his own experiences, which are narrated in a vivid and realistic style, bears a definitely individual mark. But it is rare for this individual note of his to show itself in mere linguistic usage such as *decessis* (if that be the true reading at I. 313) or the archaistic *propudiosa* (I. 388). As to metre, it is true that *amphitheatrum* is not a Virgilian ending for a hexameter, nor *sollicitudinibus* an Ovidian ending for a pentameter.^b It is true also that Rutilius is too free

^a See notes on the translation.

^b There are some sixteen exceptions in Rutilius to the dissyllabic close of a pentameter.

RUTILIUS NAMATIANS

in his employment of spondees. There is, further, little *enjambement* between hexameter and pentameter, so that his lines tend to be monotonously self-contained.^a Yet, on the whole his versification must be called graceful,^b and at times his elegiac couplets gain greatly in strength by a kind of Propeertian force which Rutilius succeeds in conferring upon the pentameter.

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^a Usually hexameter and pentameter constitute a unity, as in I. 65-66, or the second line takes up and completes the first, as in I. 91-92, 331-332. Only occasionally does a sentence run into more than one distich, as in I. 403-408, 519-522.

^b The elisions are 61 in 712 lines. There are no elisions of a long vowel before a short, nor of a monosyllable, nor at the caesura, nor in the second half of a pentameter.

INTRODUCTION TO

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SIGLA

- V = Codex Vindobonensis 277 (olim 387), qui, post membranas vetustas Ovidii Halieutica et Grattii Cynegetica continentes, foliis 84^a-93^b saeculi xvi nostrum carmen habet.
 [f = the symbol accompanying some of the marginal corrections in the Vienna MS.: it has been variously interpreted as *fortasse* (L. Mueller, Baehrens), *fiat* (Hosius), or *fuit* (Purser).]
 B = editio princeps, Bononiae anno 1520 emissa.
 R = Codex Romanus: saec. xvi, Romae anno 1891 repertus.

On these three sources of the text, two MSS. and the editio princeps, a few notes are desirable. Baehrens in his edition of 1883 based his text upon the Vienna manuscript (now denoted by V, the collation of which by Huemer was called c by Baehrens) and upon Mau's collation of the editio princeps published by Battista Pio at Bologna in 1520 (here denoted by B but in Baehrens by b). Since Baehrens' time a second manuscript, denoted by R, has become available: it was discovered in the library

of the Duke of Sermoneta at Rome in 1891. V and R, both written in the sixteenth century, are indirectly and independently derived from an archetype found at Bobbio in 1494 or 1493. This archetype may be conjectured to have been written in Lombardic characters in the eighth or ninth century; but it has been lost since its removal from Bobbio in 1706. In 1495 Inghiramius, surnamed Phaedrus of Volaterra, afterwards librarian at the Vatican, made a copy of it at Bobbio and took it to Rome before 1506. About that time the poet Sannazaro had brought with him from France to Italy the newly-discovered *Halieutica* of Ovid and *Cynegetica* of Grattius and of Nemesianus; and in his enthusiasm for new works he either acquired or transcribed Phaedrus' copy of the manuscript. According to Baehrens and to Vessereau, V is Sannazaro's copy, though, according to Hosius, the descent of V is traceable back through Sannazaro and then through Phaedrus to the codex Bobiensis. The Vienna MS. is on paper, of the sixteenth century, bound up at the end of a volume immediately after Ovid's *Halieutica*, also on paper and preceded by seven older manuscripts on vellum of smaller dimensions than the paper MSS. Among these vellum MSS. certain lines of Eucheria and another copy of the *Halieutica*, with Sidonius Apollinaris and Grattius, have been identified with the actual poems which Sannazaro brought from France.

The editio princeps published by Battista Pio at Bologna in 1520 has a value for determining the text, as it represents Phaedrus' copy according to Hosius, and thus offers a testimony earlier than Sannazaro's copy and its derivative V.

R is dated by Vessereau a quarter of a century after V, *i.e.* in 1530, as he holds V to be Sannazaro's copy. Hosius, who collated R in *Rh. Mus.* (1896), vol. li, inferred that it was written within 30 or 40 years of the discovery of Rutilius' poem in 1493.^a The corruptions shared by V and R prove their common descent, but R cannot have come from Phaedrus' copy (represented in the editio princeps B), because R sometimes preserves the true reading in contrast with V and B. On the other hand, a consensus of V and R virtually establishes a reading in the lost codex Bobiensis of the eighth century.

^a The comparative value of V and R is hard to estimate. Keene points out that while R has the advantage in I. 178 *tenet*, 211 *curae*, 235 *largo*, 265 *lymphas*, 461 *algam*, 552 *utramque*, V has the superiority in I. 22 *miseranda*, 232 *Inui*, 317 *ternis*, 573 *Elide*, II. 62 *propositum*. R certainly has serious disfigurements due to one or other of its three hands. Recently L. Bartoli (*Athenaeum* ix. 3, 1931), writing on the two codices, has awarded the palm to the Vienna manuscript.

Bibliographical addendum (1932)

- Rutilius, *De reditu* (with Italian translation and commentary), ed. E. Castrina, Florence 1967.
 Rutilius, *De reditu*, ed. E. Doblhofer, Heidelberg: I (introduction, text, German translation, index verborum) 1972; II (commentary) 1977.

RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS

DE REDITU SUO

LIBER PRIMUS

VELOCEM potius reditum mirabere, lector,
tam cito Romuleis posse carere bonis.
quid longum toto Romam venerantibus aevo?
nil umquam longum est quod sine fine placet.
o quantum et quotiens possum numerare beatos
nasci felici qui meruere solo!
qui Romanorum procerum generosa propago
ingenitum cumulant urbis honore decus!
semina virtutum demissa et tradita caelo
non potuere aliis dignius esse locis.
felices etiam qui proxima munera primis
sortiti Latias obtinuerunt domos!
religiosa patet peregrinae Curia laudi,
nec putat externos quos decet esse suos;
ordinis imperio collegarumque fruuntur
et partem Genii quem venerantur habent:

⁶ quater *Heinsius, Mueller, Baehrens.*

^a *Potius* supports the view that the opening of the poem is lost.

^b The poet is to praise Rome at length (3-164). He claims that nothing can be tedious in the eulogy of a city which every age has held in honour—the *urbs aeterna* calls for eternal veneration.

RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS

A VOYAGE HOME TO GAUL

BOOK I

RATHER ^a will you marvel, reader, that my quick return journey (to Gaul) can so soon renounce the blessings of the city of Romulus. What is too long for men who spend all time in venerating Rome? ^b Nothing is ever too long that never fails to please. How greatly and how often can I count those blest who have deserved birth in that happy soil! Those highborn scions of Roman nobility crown their honourable birth with the lustre of the Capital! On no other land could the seeds of virtues have been more worthily let fall by heaven's assignment. Happy they too who, winning meeds next to the first, have enjoyed Latin homes! ^c The Senate-house, though fenced with awe, yet stands open to foreign merit, nor deems those strangers who are fittingly its own. They share the power of their colleagues in the senatorial order, and possess part of the sacred Genius ^d which they revere, even

^c *i.e.* though not born in Rome, like those in 5-6.

^d The *Genius* is the indwelling spirit of the Roman People, shared by such provincials as were admitted into the senate. Their union is compared with the heavenly council under the presidency of the supreme god (Jupiter is not named).

MINOR LATIN POETS

quale per aetherios mundani verticis axes
concilium summi credimus esse dei.

at mea dilectis fortuna revellitur oris,
indigenamque suum Gallica rura vocant.
illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis,
sed quam grata minus, tam miseranda magis.
securos levius crimen contemnere cives:
privatam repetunt publica damna fidem.
praesentes lacrimas tectis debemus avertis:
prodest admonitus saepe dolore labor.
nec fas ulterius longas nescire ruinas
quas mora suspensae multiplicavit opis:
iam tempus laceris post saeva incendia fundis
vel pastorales aedificare casas.
ipsi quin etiam fontes si mittere vocem
ipsaque si possent arbuta nostra loqui,
cessantem iustis poterant urgere querelis
et desiderii addere vela meis.
iam iam laxatis carae complexibus urbis
vincimur et serum vix toleramus iter.

electum pelagus, quoniam terrena viarum
plana madent fluvii, cautibus alta rigent.
postquam Tuscus ager postquamque Aurelius agger,
perpessus Geticas ense vel igne manus,
non silvas domibus, non flumina ponte coercet,
incerto satius credere vela mari.

¹⁷ aetherias . . . arces *Baehrens*.

²² veneranda R: miseranda VB.

³⁴ verba *vir doctus apud Wernsdorf: accepit Baehrens*.

³⁷ vetabant *Baehrens*.

RUTILIUS NAMATIUS

as from ethereal pole to pole of the celestial vault
we believe there abideth the council of the Deity
Supreme.

But 'tis my fortune that is plucked back from the
well-loved land; the fields of Gaul summon home
their native.^a Disfigured they are by wars im-
measurably long, yet the less their charm, the more
they earn pity. 'Tis a lighter crime to neglect our
countrymen when at their ease: our common
losses call for each man's loyalty. Our presence
and our tears are what we owe to the ancestral
home: service which grief has prompted oftentimes
helps. 'Tis sin further to overlook the tedious tale
of disasters which the delay of halting aid has multi-
plied: now is the time after cruel fires on ravaged
farms to rebuild, if it be but shepherds' huts. Nay,
if only the very springs could utter words, if only our
very trees^b could speak, they well might spur my
laggard pace with just complaints and give sails to my
yearning wishes. Now that the dear city slackens
her embrace, my homeland wins, and I can scarce
feel patient with a journey deferred so late.

I have chosen the sea, since roads by land, if on
the level, are flooded by rivers; if on higher ground,
are beset with rocks. Since Tuscany and since the
Aurelian highway,^c after suffering the outrages of
Goths with fire or sword, can no longer control
forest with homestead or river with bridge, it is
better to entrust my sails to the wayward sea.

^a Rutilius feels the call of his ravaged estates in Gaul: see Introduction.

^b *arbuta* is not used here in the restricted sense of *arbutus*.

^c The *Via Aurelia* was the road by the coast of Etruria to the Italian Riviera. Cf. sense of *agger* in *medio in aggere*, Avianus, xvii. 15.

MINOR LATIN POETS

crebra relinquendis infigimus oscula portis :
 inviti superant limina sacra pedes.
 oramus veniam lacrimis et laude litamus,
 in quantum fletus currere verba sinit :

“ exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi,
 inter sidereos Roma recepta polos,
 exaudi, genetrix hominum genetrixque deorum,
 non procul a caelo per tua templa sumus :
 te canimus semperque, sinent dum fata, canemus :
 sospes nemo potest immemor esse tui.
 obruerint citius scelerata oblivia solem,
 quam tuus ex nostro corde recedat honos.
 nam solis radiis aequalia munera tendis,
 qua circumfusus fluctuat Oceanus.
 volvitur ipse tibi, qui continet omnia, Phoebus
 eque tuis ortos in tua condit equos.
 te non flammigeris Libye tardavit harenis,
 non armata suo reppulit Ursa gelu :
 quantum vitalis natura tetendit in axes,
 tantum virtuti pervia terra tuae.
 fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam :
 profuit iniustis te dominante capi.
 dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris,
 urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat.

“ auctores generis Venerem Martemque fatemur,
 Aeneadum matrem Romulidumque patrem :

⁶⁷ sospes VRB : hospes *Cuperus, Baehrens.*

⁶⁸ ortus VB : ortas R : ortos *Castalio.*

⁶⁹ iniustis VB : inustis R : invitis *Juretus, Damm, Mueller,*
Baehrens : invictis Castalio : infestis Schrader.

* Baehrens' alteration to *nutrix* is purely arbitrary, even
 in the light of *altricem* in 146.

RUTILIUS NAMATIUS

Repeated kisses I imprint on the gates I have to
 leave : unwillingly my feet cross the honoured thresh-
 hold. In tears I beseech pardon (for my departure)
 and offer a sacrifice of praise, so far as weeping allows
 the words to run :

“ Listen, O fairest queen of thy world, Rome,
 welcomed amid the starry skies, listen, thou mother ^a
 of men and mother of gods, thanks to thy temples
 we are not far from heaven : thee do we chant, and
 shall, while destiny allows, for ever chant. None
 can be safe if forgetful of thee. Sooner shall guilty
 oblivion whelm the sun than the honour due to thee
 quit my heart ; for thy benefits extend as far as the
 sun's rays, where the circling Ocean-flood bounds
 the world. For thee the very Sun-God who holdeth
 all together ^b doth revolve : his steeds that rise in
 thy domains he puts in thy domains to rest. Thee
 Africa hath not stayed with scorching sands, nor
 hath the Bear, armed with its native cold, repulsed
 thee. As far as living nature hath stretched towards
 the poles, so far hath earth opened a path for thy
 valour. For nations far apart thou hast made a
 single fatherland ; under thy dominion captivity hath
 meant profit even for those who knew not justice : ^c
 and by offering to the vanquished a share in thine
 own justice, thou hast made a city of what was
 erstwhile a world.

“ As authors of our race we acknowledge Venus
 and Mars—mother of the sons of Aeneas, father of

^b Cf. *Einsied. Ecl.* I. 29-31 and note b, p. 329 *supra*.

^c *iniustis* has its point in relation to *iuris*, l. 65.

mitigat armatas victrix clementia vires,
 convenit in mores nomen utrumque tuos :
 hinc tibi certandi bona parcendique voluptas :
 quos timuit superat, quos superavit amat.
 inventrix oleae colitur vinique repertor
 et qui primus humo pressit aratra puer ;
 aras Paeoniam meruit medicina per artem,
 factus et Alcides nobilitate deus :
 tu quoque, legiferis mundum complexa triumphis,
 foedere communi vivere cuncta facis.
 te, dea, te celebrat Romanus ubique recessus
 pacificoque gerit libera colla iugo.
 omnia perpetuo quae servant sidera motu,
 nullum viderunt pulchrius imperium.
 quid simile Assyriis conectere contigit armis ?
 Medi finitimos condomuere suos ;
 magni Parthorum reges Macetumque tyranni
 mutua per varias iura dedere vices.
 nec tibi nascenti plures animaeque manusque,
 sed plus consilii iudiciiue fuit.
 iustis bellorum causis nec pace superba
 nobilis ad summas gloria venit opes.
 quod regnas minus est quam quod regnare mereris :
 excedis factis grandia fata tuis.

⁷⁰ numen *Barth*, *Baehrens*.

⁷⁸ fretus VRB (*in marg.* factus · f · V) : factus *multi editores* :
 cretus *Canneg.* : fertur *Baehrens* : fretus it *Barth*.

⁸¹ perpetuos . . . motus VRB : *corr.* *Baehrens*.

⁸⁴ condomuere *Mueller* : cum domuere VRB.

^a *i.e.* of the two divinities Venus and Mars.

^b The three alluded to are Athene (Minerva), Bacchus, and Triptolemus.

the scions of Romulus : clemency in victory tempers
 armed strength : both names ^a befit thy character :
 hence thy noble pleasure in war and in mercy :
 it vanquishes the dreaded foe and cherishes the
 vanquished. The goddess who found the olive-
 tree is worshipped, the deity too who discovered
 wine, and the youth who first drove the ploughshare
 in the soil ; ^b the healing art through the skill of
 the god Paeon ^c won altars : Hercules by his re-
 nown was made divine : thou, too, who hast em-
 braced the world in triumphs fraught with law,
 dost make all things live under a common covenant.
 Thee, O goddess, thee every nook of the Roman
 dominion celebrates, beneath a peaceful yoke hold-
 ing necks unenslaved. The stars, which watch all
 things in their unceasing motion, never looked on a
 fairer empire. What like unto thy power did it
 fall to Assyrian arms to link in one ? The Persians
 only subdued neighbours of their own. The mighty
 Parthian kings and Macedonian monarchs ^d im-
 posed laws on each other through varying changes.
 It was not that at thy birth thou hadst more souls
 and hands : but more prudence and more judgement
 were thine. By wars for justifiable cause and by
 peace imposed without arrogance thy renowned
 glory reached highest wealth. That thou reignest
 is less than that thou deservest to reign : thy deeds
 surpass thine exalted destiny. To review thy high

^a *Paeoniam* : the Greek adjective is *παεονιος*. Rutilius
 is not, however, unclassical here ; for Ingram (*Hermathena*
 ix. 407) illustrates the use of *Paeonius* in Virgil, Ovid, and
 other poets : *cf.* Avianus vi. 7, *Paeonio magistro*.

^d The Seleucid kings of Syria, who succeeded to part of the
 empire won by Alexander of Macedon, and whose wars with
 Parthia brought sometimes victory, sometimes defeat.

percensere labor densis decora alta tropaeis
 ut si quis stellas pernumerare velit;
 confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus: 95
 ipsos crediderim sic habitare deos.
 quid loquar aereo pendentis fornice rivos,
 qua vix imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas?
 hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes;
 tale giganteum Graecia laudet opus. 100
 intercepta tuis conduntur flumina muris;
 consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.
 nec minus et propriis celebrantur roscida venis
 totaque nativo moenia fonte sonant.
 frigidus aestivas hinc temperat halitus auras,
 innocuamque levat purior unda sitim. 105
 nempe tibi subitus calidarum gurges aquarum
 rupit Tarpeias hoste premente vias.
 si foret aeternus, casum fortasse putarem:
 auxilio fluxit, qui rediturus erat. 110
 quid loquar inclusas inter laquearia silvas,
 vernula qua vario carmine ludit avis?
 vere tuo numquam mulceri desinit annus;
 deliciasque tuas victa tuetur hiemps.

⁹⁵ credideris hic *Burman*.

¹⁰⁰ externus R.

¹¹¹ inter VRB: subter *Baehrens*.

¹¹² quae VR: qua *Castalio*. ludat VRB: ludit *Panv.*:
 laudat *Baehrens*.

^a The aqueducts of Rome, massive enough to be called "Cyclopean" (*giganteum opus*, 100), like the masonry at Tiryns or of the Lion Gateway at Mycenae. In the time of Frontinus, who was *curator aquarum* A.D. 97-106, there were nine aqueducts; later, this number was increased.

^b The hyperbole means that hardly any rainbow in the sky could reach the same height as the span of the arches of the aqueducts. *Burman* suggested that *quo* might be clearer than *qua*.

honours amid crowded trophies were a task like
 endeavouring to reckon up the stars. The glittering
 temples dazzle the wandering eyes: I could well
 believe such are the dwelling-places of the very gods.
 What shall I say of streams suspended on airy
 arches,^a where scarce the Rainbow-Goddess could
 raise her showery waters?^b You might rather call
 them mountains grown up to the sky: such a
 structure Greece would praise, as giant-wrought.
 Rivers^c diverted are lost sight of within thy walls:
 the lofty baths consume whole lakes.^d No less are
 thy dewy meads filled also with their own rivulets,
 and all thy walls are a-babble with springs from the
 soil. Hence a breath of coolness tempers the summer
 air, and the crystal well relieves a harmless thirst.
 Nay, once a sudden torrent of waters seething hot
 broke forth, when thine enemy^e trod the roads by
 the Capitol: had it lasted for ever, mayhap I had
 deemed this mere chance; but it was to save thee
 that it flowed; for it came only to vanish. Why
 speak of woods enclosed amid thy panelled palaces,^f
 where native birds sport with varied song? In the
 spring that is thine never does the year fail in its
 mildness: baffled winter respects thy charms.

^c e.g. water from the Anio supplied the aqueducts called
Anio Vetus and *Anio Novus*.

^d *celsa* refers to the imposing loftiness of the public baths;
lacus to such lakes as *Alsietinus*, *Sabatinus* (Lago di Bracciano)
 and *Subiacensis* (near Subiaco), from which water was brought
 into Rome by aqueducts and stored in large cisterns.

^e Legend had it that when *Titus Tatius* and his *Sabines*
 reached the gate of *Janus* under the Capitol, the god sent out
 boiling water from the earth and discomfited the enemy.

^f The reference is to gardens enclosed within colonnades
 which had panelled ceilings.

MINOR LATIN POETS

115 "erige crinales lauros seniumque sacrati
 verticis in virides, Roma, refinge comas.
 aurea turrigero radiant diademata cono,
 perpetuosque ignes aureus umbo vomat!
 abscondat tristem deleta iniuria casum:
 contemptus solidet vulnera clausa dolor.
 120 adversis sollenne tuis sperare secunda:
 exemplo caeli ditia damna subis.
 astrorum flammae renovant occasibus ortus;
 lunam finiri cernis, ut incipiat.
 victoris Brenni non distulit Allia poenam;
 125 Samnis servitio foedera saeva luit;
 post multas Pyrrhum clades superata fugasti;
 flevit successus Hannibal ipse suos:
 quae mergi nequeunt nisu maiore resurgunt
 exsiliuntque imis altius acta vadis;
 130 utque novas vires fax inclinata resumit,
 clarior ex humili sorte superna petis.
 porrige victuras Romana in saecula leges,
 solaque fatales non vereare colos,
 quamvis sedecies denis et mille peractis
 135 annus praeterea iam tibi nonus eat.
 quae restant nullis obnoxia tempora metis,
 dum stabunt terrae, dum polus astra feret!
 illud te reparat quod cetera regna resolvit:
 140 ordo renascendi est crescere posse malis.

¹¹⁶ recingo VRB, *Vessereau*: refinge *Heinsius* et *fere omnes*.

¹³⁷ *maestis Baehrens*.

^a Cf. Lucan I. 185-190, where Roma, wearing a mural crown, appears to Caesar at the Rubicon, *turrigero canos effundens vertice crines*.

^b Four examples of recovery are cited: (1) the defeat of Rome at the Allia in 390 B.C. was soon avenged by the death of Brennus, the Gallic leader; (2) the subjection of the Samnites compensated for the severe terms imposed by them

RUTILIUS NAMATIUS

"Raise, O Rome, the triumphal laurels which
 wreath thy locks, and refashion the hoary old of thy
 hallowed head to tresses fresh and fair. Golden let
 the diadem flash on thy tower-crowned helmet^a; let
 the golden buckler belch forth perpetual fires! Let
 120 the golden forgetfulness of thy wrongs bury the sadness of mis-
 fortune; let pain disregarded close and heal thy
 wounds. Amidst failure it is thy way to hope for
 prosperity: after the pattern of the heavens losses
 undergone enrich thee. For flaming stars set only
 125 to renew their rising; thou seest the moon wane to
 wax afresh. The Allia did not hinder Brennus'
 penalty; the Samnite paid for a cruel treaty by
 slavery; after many disasters, though defeated,
 thou didst put Pyrrhus to flight; Hannibal himself
 130 was the mourner of his own successes.^b Things
 which cannot be sunk rise again with greater energy,
 sped higher in their rebound from lowest depths;
 and, as the torch held downward regains fresh
 strength, so from lowly fortune thou dost soar more
 135 radiant aloft. Spread forth the laws that are to last
 throughout the ages of Rome: alone thou needst
 not dread the distaffs of the Fates, though with a
 thousand years and sixteen decades o'erpast, thou
 hast besides a ninth year in its course.^c The span
 which doth remain is subject to no bounds, so long
 as earth shall stand firm and heaven uphold the
 stars! That same thing builds thee up which wrecks
 all other realms: the law of thy new birth is the
 power to thrive upon thine ills.

on the Romans at the Caudine Forks, 321 B.C.; (3) King Pyrrhus' successes in his invasion changed to disaster at Beneventum, 275 B.C.; (4) Hannibal's victories in the Second Punic War ended in defeat.

^c The year 1169 of Rome gives the date A.D. 416.

"ergo age, sacrilegae tandem cadat hostia gentis :
 submittant trepidi perfida colla Getae.
 ditia pacatae dent vectigalia terrae :
 impleat augustos barbara praeda sinus.
 aeternum tibi Rhenus aret, tibi Nilus inundet, 145
 altricemque suam fertilis orbis alat.
 quin et fecundas tibi conferat Africa messes,
 sole suo dives, sed magis imbre tuo.
 interea et Latiis consurgant horrea sulcis,
 pinguiaque Hesperio nectare prela fluant. 150
 ipse triumphali redimitus harundine Thybris
 Romuleis famulas usibus aptet aquas ;
 atque opulenta tibi placidis commercia ripis
 devehat hinc ruris, subvehat inde maris.

"pande, precor, gemino placatum Castore pontum ; 155
 temperet aequoream dux Cytherea viam,
 si non displicui, regerem cum iura Quirini,
 si colui sanctos consulique patres ;
 nam quod nulla meum strinxerunt crimina ferrum,
 non sit praefecti gloria, sed populi. 160
 sive datur patriis vitam componere terris,
 sive oculis umquam restituere meis,
 fortunatus agam votoque beatior omni,
 semper digneris si meminisse mei."

^a For the ancient idea that the north wind brought to Africa rain-clouds gathered in Italy cf. Stat. *Theb.* VIII. 411 ; Lucan, III. 68-70 ; IX. 420-423.

^b The prayer is that traffic and trade may revive, now that Alaric has withdrawn.

^c The name of either of the twin Dioscuri may do duty for the other : cf. Hor. *Od.* III. xxix. 64, *geminusque Pollux* ; in Catull. iv. 27 both are invoked, but only one named, *gemelle*

"Come, then, let an impious race fall in sacrifice at last : let the Goths in panic abase their forsworn necks. Let lands reduced to peace pay rich tribute and barbarian booty fill thy majestic lap. Evermore let the Rhineland plough for thee, for thee the Nile o'erflow ; and let a teeming world give nurture to its nurse. Yea, let Africa proffer to thee her fertile harvests, rich in her own sun, but richer for thy showers.^a Meanwhile may granaries too arise to house the furrow-crops of Latium, and with the nectar of the West may sleek wine-presses flow. Let Tiber's self, garlanded with triumphal reed, apply his waters to serve the needs of Romulus' race, and 'twixt his peaceful banks bear for thee down-stream the wealthy cargoes of the fields and up-stream those of the sea.^b

"Outstretch, I pray, the level main lulled to rest 'neath Castor and his twin brother ;^c be our Lady of Cythera the guide to smooth my watery path, if I found favour when I administered Quirinus' laws,^d if to the venerable senators I showed respect and from them asked advice ; for that ne'er a crime unsheathed my magisterial sword must be the people's, not the prefect's, boast.^e Whether 'tis granted to lay my life to rest in ancestral soil or whether thou shalt one day be restored to my eyes, blest shall my life be, lucky beyond all aspiration, if thou deign always to remember me."

Castor et gemelle Castoris. There was a temple of Castor and Pollux at Ostia, and one of Venus on the island at the Tiber-mouth ; hence the allusion to *Cythera*.

^a Rutilius had been *praefectus urbis* in A.D. 414 ; cf. I. 423-428 ; 467-468.

^c The absence of capital punishment during Rutilius' prefecture was a credit to the Roman people.

his dictis iter arripimus : comitantur amici : 165
 dicere non possunt lumina sicca "vale."
 iamque aliis Romam redeuntibus haeret eunti
 Rufus, Albini gloria viva patris ;
 qui Volusi antiquo derivat stemmate nomen
 et reges Rutulos teste Marone refert. 170
 huius facundae commissa palatia linguae :
 primaevus meruit principis ore loqui.
 rexerat ante puer populos pro consule Poenos ;
 aequalis Tyriis terror amorque fuit.
 sedula promisit summos instantia fasces : 175
 si fas est meritis fidere, consul erit.
 invitum tristis tandem remeare coegi :
 corpore divisos mens tamen una tenet.

tum demum ad naves gradior, qua fronte bicorni
 dividuus Tiberis dexteriora secat. 180
 laevus inaccessis fluvius vitatur harenis ;
 hospitis Aeneae gloria sola manet.

¹⁶⁶ non possum sicca dicere luce vale *nonnulli editores.*

¹⁷⁵ imitantia V : imitatio RB (*sic etiam in marg. V, sed expunctum*) : instantia *Mueller.*

¹⁷⁸ ter et (*in marg. tenet · f ·*) V : tenet R.

¹⁸⁰ secat V : petit R.

^a Ceionius Rufius Volusianus belonged to an official family of ancient pedigree. He had been proconsul of Africa with his headquarters at Carthage (I. 173), and as a youthful imperial quaestor had performed the duty of reading before the senate communications from the Emperor (I. 171). Rutilius expresses his delight over the news of his friend's appointment to the city prefecture (I. 415-428).

^b Rufius Albinus, prefect of the city in A.D. 390, should be distinguished from the Albinus of I. 466.

With these words we take the road: our friends attend. Eyes cannot tearless say "good-bye." And now while others wend their way back to Rome, Rufus,^a the living glory of his father Albinus,^b clings close to me on my way. He draws his name from the ancient pedigree of Volusus, citing Rutilian princes on the witness of Virgil.^c To his power of eloquence was entrusted the imperial palace: in youth he was the fitting spokesman of the emperor. Still earlier, a mere stripling, he had governed as pro-consul the Carthaginian peoples and among the Tyrian folk inspired dread and love alike. His zealous energy gave promise of highest office: if it is permitted to trust desert, a consul he will be. In the end I sadly forced him to go back reluctant: yet, though in body severed, one mind keeps us linked. Then at length I proceed to the ships,^d where with twy-horned brow the branching Tiber cleaves his way to the right.^e The channel on the left is avoided for its unapproachable sands: its one remaining boast is to have welcomed Aeneas.^f And now the

^a The family claimed descent from the Volusus addressed by Turnus, prince of the Rutuli, in *Aeneid* XI. 463.

^d There were several boats (*cymbae* I. 219) used by Rutilius' company on their coasting voyage northwards: *cf.* I. 559, *puppibus ergo meis.*

^e About eighteen miles from Rome and some miles from the sea the Tiber branches so as to form the Isola Sacra (*cf.* *Aeneid* VIII. 727, *Rhenusque bicornis*, referring to the two mouths of the Rhine: the "horn" idea is associated with the bull-like force of rivers in flood). At the mouth of the left branch was Ostia, the ancient port of Rome, which in time became blocked up with silt and sand. On the right branch harbour-works were undertaken by the Emperor Claudius and improved by Trajan.

^f For Aeneas' landing see *Aeneid* VII. 29 *sqq.*

et iam nocturnis spatium laxaverat horis
 Phoebus Chelarum pallidiore polo.
 cunctamur temptare salum portuque sedemus, 185
 nec piget oppositis otia ferre moris,
 occidua infido dum saevit gurgite Plias
 dumque procellosi temporis ira calet.
 respectare iuvat vicinam saepius urbem
 et montes visu deficiente sequi, 190
 quaque duces oculi grata regione fruuntur,
 dum se, quod cupiunt, cernere posse putant.
 nec locus ille mihi cognoscitur indice fumo,
 qui dominas arces et caput orbis habet
 (quamquam signa levis fumi commendat Homerus, 195
 dilecto quotiens surgit in astra solo);
 sed caeli plaga candidior tractusque serenus
 signat septenis culmina clara iugis.
 illic perpetui soles atque ipse videtur
 quem sibi Roma facit purior esse dies. 200
 saepius attonitae resonant Circensibus aures;
 nuntiat accensus plena theatra favor:
 pulsato notae redduntur ab aethere voces,
 vel quia perveniunt vel quia fingit amor.

¹⁸⁸ cadit VRB: calet *Mueller*: cadet *Ussani*.
¹⁹¹ feruntur *Baehrens*.

^a The Scorpion is next to Libra among the signs of the Zodiac: the sun enters Libra at the autumnal Equinox. Poets use either *Chelae* (claws) or *Libra* (balance) in reference to this season.

sun in the paler sky of the Scorpion's Claws had lengthened the space of the night-watches.^a We hesitate to make trial of the sea; we tarry in the haven, reluctant to endure idleness amid the delays which bar our voyage, so long as the setting Pleiad storms upon the treacherous main, and the anger of the squally season is hot.^b It is a joy to look back many a time at the city still near, and with scarce availing sight to trace its hills, and look where the guiding eyes^c feast on that dear scene, fancying they can see what they desire to see. Nor is yonder place, which holds the imperial citadels and the world's capital, recognised by me in virtue of the smoke which marks it out (and yet 'tis the signs of light smoke which Homer^d praises whensoever it rises starward from a well-loved land); nay rather a fairer tract of sky and a serene expanse marks the clear summits of the Seven Hills. There 'tis lasting sunshine: the very daylight which Rome makes for herself seems purer than all else. Time and again our spell-bound ears ring with the noise of the Circus games;^e a blaze of cheers proclaims the crowded theatre: familiar shouts are sent back by the echoing air, whether it is that they really reach us or that affection fancies so.

^b If *cadit*, 188, is kept in the sense of "subsides," it involves taking *dum* as "while" in 187 and as "until" in 188 (unless *cadit* can here mean "descends" or "swoops" upon the sea). *Calet* is accepted from L. *Mueller*.

^c Cf. *oculique duces rem credere cogunt, Aetna* 189. He can just make out the hills of Rome, and part of the city he can see in imagination only, his eyes directing him to where it should be.

^d Cf. *Odyss.* I. 57-59; X. 29-30.

^e The *Ludi Romani* began in Rutilius' time on Sept. 21 and so fit into the autumnal setting of his voyage.

explorata fides pelagi ter quinque diebus,
 dum melior lunae se daret aura novae.
 tum discessurus studiis urbique remitto
 Palladium, generis spemque decusque mei.
 facundus iuvenis Gallorum nuper ab arvis
 missus Romani discere iura Fori.
 ille meae secum dulcissima vincula curae,
 filius affectu, stirpe propinquus, habet:
 cuius Aremoricas pater Exuperantius oras
 nunc postliminium pacis amare docet;
 leges restituit libertatemque reducit
 et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.

solvimus Aurorae dubio, quo tempore primum
 agnosci patitur redditus arva color.
 progredimur parvis per litora proxima cymbis,
 quorum perfugio crebra pateret humus.
 aestivos penetrent oneraria carbasa fluctus:
 tutior autumnus mobilitate fugae.
 Alsia praelegitur tellus, Pyrgique recedunt—
 nunc villae grandes, oppida parva prius.
 iam Caeretanos demonstrat navita fines:
 aevo deposuit nomen Agylla vetus.
 stringimus <hinc effractum> et fluctu et tempore
 Castrum:
 index semirutu porta vetusta loci.

²⁰⁵ explorata VRB: expectata *Schrader*.

²⁰⁶ fideret VRB: se daret *Heinsius*: alii alia (e.g. sideret, funderet).

²¹¹ cunę V: curę R.

²²⁷ lacunam alii aliter suppleverunt: hinc exesum *Barth*: hinc effractum *Keene in not.*: expugnatum *Baehrens*.

^a Palladius, the last of Rutilius' circle to take leave of him before his voyage, was a young relative of his who had come

205 Thrice five days we watched the trust to be placed
 in the sea, until a new moon's more favourable breeze
 should present itself. Then on the eve of going
 I send back to his studies and the city Palladius,
 210 the hope and honour of my race.^a That eloquent
 youth had been sent of late from the lands of the
 Gauls to learn the laws of the Roman courts. My
 son in affection and kinsman by blood, he holds the
 fondest ties of my regard. Even now his father
 Exuperantius trains the Armoric sea-board to love
 215 the recovery of peace; he re-establishes the laws,
 brings freedom back and suffers not the inhabitants
 to be their servants' slaves.^b

In the half-dawn we weigh anchor, at the hour of
 day when colour is first restored and lets the fields
 220 grow visible. In little boats we make way along the
 nearest shores, so that a beach might always lie
 open as refuge for them. Let cargo-ships 'neath
 canvas plough through the summer waves: safer
 is autumn if we have quickness to escape. The
 Alsiian land is skirted, and Pyrgi fades into the
 225 distance^c—to-day large country-houses, in earlier
 days small towns. Now the sailor points out the
 bounds of Caere: the ancient Agylla has lost its
 name through time.^d Next we coast by Castrum,
 shattered both by wave and time: an age-worn
 gateway marks the half-ruined place. O'er it
 from Gaul to study law in Rome. His father, Exuperantius,
 had restored order to the Armorican regions in Gaul, which
 had followed the example of revolt from the empire set by
 Britain in A.D. 407.

^b The reference is most probably to a servile insurrection which Exuperantius checked.

^c Alsiium, now Palo, was an ancient Etrurian town. Pyrgi, now Santa Severa, was a seaport for Caere.

^d Caere, now Cervetri, had Agylla as its Greek name.

praesidet, exigui formatus imagine saxi,
 qui pastorali cornua fronte gerit: 230
 multa licet priscum nomen deleverit aetas,
 hoc Inui castrum fama fuisse putat,
 seu Pan Tyrrhenis mutavit Maenala silvis
 sive sinus patrios incola Faunus init;
 dum renovat largo mortalia semina fetu, 235
 fingitur in venerem prouior esse deus.

ad Centumcellas forti defleximus Austro:
 tranquilla puppes in statione sedent.
 molibus aequoreum concluditur amphitheatrum,
 angustosque aditus insula facta tegit; 240
 attollit geminas turres bifidoque meatu
 faucibus artatis pandit utrumque latus.
 nec posuisse satis laxo navalia portu;
 ne vaga vel tutas ventilet aura rates,
 interior medias sinus invitatus in aedes 245
 instabilem fixis aera nescit aquis;
 qualis in Euboicis captiva natatibus unda
 sustinet alterno bracchia lenta sinu.

nosse iuvat tauri dictas de nomine thermas;
 nec mora difficilis milibus ire tribus. 250

²²⁹⁻²³⁰ *distichon post 232 posuit Damm.*

²³² Inui VB: Iani R.

²³⁵ dumve novat *Baehrens.* longo V: largo RB. semina
 VRB: saecula *Mueller.*

²⁵⁰ difficilis VRB: distantis (sc. thermas) *Baehrens.*

^a Rutilius confuses Castrum Novum in Etruria with Castrum Inui in Latium: cf. *Aen.* VI. 775. *Init* in 234 is an attempt to explain the name Inuus, here identified with the Greek Pan or the Latin Faunus.

^b For *dum* causal, assigning a reason, cf. *Plaut. Trin.* 1149-50 *dum vereor sermonem interrumpere, solus sto*; and *Cic. Ad Att.*

stands guard, fashioned as a little statue in stone, the figure of one with horns upon his shepherd's brow: although long years have blotted out the earliest name, legend considers this was once "Castrum Inui,"^a whether it be that Pan exchanged Maenalus for Tuscan woods or that Faunus comes in to haunt his native dells: since^b he reneweth the offspring of mankind with plenteous births, the god is represented over-prone to venery.

To Centumcellae^c we changed our tack before a strong South wind: our ships find mooring in the calm roadstead. An amphitheatre of water is there enclosed by piers, and an artificial island shelters the narrow entrances; it rears twin towers and extends in both directions so as to leave a double approach with narrow channels. Nor was it enough to construct docks of wide harbourage; to keep the vagrant breeze from rocking the craft even when safe in port, an inner basin has been coaxed into the very midst of the buildings, and so, with its surface at rest, it knows naught of the wayward wind, like the water imprisoned in Cumae's baths^d which buoys up the unhurried arms plied by the swimmer in alternate sweep.

We pay a pleasant visit to the hot springs named after a bull:^e the distance of three miles seems no

I. xvi. 2 *qui (sc. Hortensius) dum veritus est . . . non vidit illud. . . .* Rutilius I. 443 may also be a parallel.

^c Now Civita Vecchia. The port was constructed under Trajan: see the description in *Plin. Ep.* VI. xxxi. 15-17.

^d Cumae, on the bay of Naples, was partly settled by Euboeans: cf. *Virg. Aen.* VI. 2: *Euboicis Cumarum allabitur oris.*

^e *Aquae* or *Thermae Taurianae*, three miles N. of Civita Vecchia.

non illic gustu latices vitiantur amaro
 lymphave fumifico sulphure tincta calet :
 purus odor mollisque sapor dubitare lavantem
 cogit qua melius parte petantur aquae.
 credere si dignum fama, flagrantia taurus 255
 investigato fonte lavacra dedit,
 ut solet excussis pugnam praecludere glaebis,
 stipite cum rigido cornua prona terit :
 sive deus, faciem mentitus et ora iuveni,
 noluit ardentis dona latere soli ; 260
 qualis Agenorei rapturus gaudia furti
 per freta virgineum sollicitavit onus.
 ardua non solos deceant miracula Graios !
 auctorem pecudem fons Heliconis habet : 265
 elicitas simili credamus origine lymphas,
 Musarum <ut> latices ungula fodit equi.
 haec quoque Pieriis spiracula comparat antris
 carmine Messallae nobilitatus ager ;
 intransantemque capit discedentemque moratur 270
 postibus affixum dulce poema sacris.
 hic est qui primo seriem de consule ducit,
 usque ad Publicolas si redeamus avos ;

²⁵⁵ labantem VB, corr. Simler : molisque . . . labentem R.

²⁶¹ tecti Baehrens.

²⁶³ solos . . . Graios V : solum . . . Graios R.

²⁶⁵ en medicas Baehrens. nymphas V et pler. edd. vetl. :

lymphas corr. Castalio et sic legitur in R.

²⁶⁶ ut addidit Damm.

^a i.e. whether for drinking or bathing.

^b The bull that unearths the hot wells may have been a disguised god, just as, according to the myth, the bull that carried off to Crete Europa, the daughter of the Phoenician king Agenor, was really Jupiter.

^c The fountain Hippocrene on Mount Helicon in Boeotia,

troublesome delay. There the wells are not spoiled
 by a brackish flavour, nor is the water coloured and
 hot with fuming sulphur : the pure smell and delicate
 taste make the bather hesitate for what purpose
 the waters should better be used.^a If the legend
 deserves credit, it was a bull that first revealed
 these hot baths by tracking out the source, when,
 tossing aloft the sods, as is a bull's way to prelude
 a fight, he grazed his downbent horns upon a hard
 tree-stump : or else a god, counterfeiting an ox-like
 shape and visage, would not permit the gift of the
 warm soil to lurk unseen ; like the god who, bent
 on snatching stolen joys from his theft of Agenor's
 daughter, bore across the seas the terror-stricken
 maid.^b Not Greeks alone must have the glory of
 marvels which o'ertop belief ! The fount of Helicon
 has for its begetter an animal : ^c let us believe that
 through like origin these waters were drawn forth,
 as the steed's hoof dug out the Muses' well. The
 land also, blazoned in Messalla's poetry,^d has these
 outlets to vie with the Pierian grotts : and his sweet
 lines, affixed to the hallowed portals, capture the
 eye of him who enters, and makes him linger as he
 leaves. This is the man who traces his descent
 from the first consul, if we go back as far as his
 ancestors the Publicolae : he too with his nod as

sacred to the Muses, was fabled to have been produced by a stroke of the hoof of the winged horse Pegasus.

^d Valerius Messalla, praetorian prefect in A.D. 396, is often mentioned in the Code of Theodosius. He claimed descent from Valerius Publicola, who became colleague to Junius Brutus on the retirement of Tarquinius Collatinus ; so that "primo de consule," 271, is not literally accurate. Symmachus (VII. 81-92) addresses letters to him, and Sidonius Apollinaris admired his intellectual qualities (*Carm.* 9, 302).

hic et praefecti nutu praetoria rexit.
 sed menti et linguae gloria maior inest.
 hic docuit qualem poscat facundia sedem : 275
 ut bonus esse velit, quisque disertus erit.

roscida puniceo fulsere crepuscula caelo :
 pandimus obliquo lintea flexa sinu.
 paulisper litus fugimus Munione vadosum :
 suspecto trepidant ostia parva salo. 280
 inde Graviscarum fastigia rara videmus,
 quas premit aestivae saepe paludis odor ;
 sed nemorosa viret densis vicinia lucis,
 pineaque extremis fluctuat umbra fretis.
 cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas 285
 et desolatae moenia foeda Cosae.
 ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam
 promere, sed risum dissimulare piget.
 dicuntur cives quondam migrare coacti
 muribus infestos deseruisse Lares ! 290
 credere maluerim Pygmaeae damna cohortis
 et coniuratos in sua bella grues.
 haud procul hinc petitur signatus ab Hercule portus :
 vergentem sequitur molliora aura diem.

²⁷⁷ fulsere VB : luxere R.

^a Quintilian repeatedly insists on character as indispensable in an orator : I. *proem.* 9-10 (*qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest*) ; II. ii. (the whole section) ; II. xv. 1 ; XII. i. 1 (*is qui a M. Catone finitur, vir bonus dicendi peritus*) : cf. Cic. *de Orat.* II. 85.

prefect held praetorian control. Yet greater glory dwells in his mind and tongue. He has shown what kind of dwelling-place eloquence demands: each man's power in oratory will depend on his desire to be good.^a

The half-light of dewy morn gleamed from a purple sky; we spread our sails bent in curves slantwise; and for a time give a wide berth to the shore which the Munio^b blocks with shoals: the narrow river-mouth heaves restlessly with treacherous surf. Thereafter we sight the scattered house-tops of Graviscæ,^c plagued often with a marshy smell in summer-time; and yet the wooded neighbourhood is green with close-grown groves, and pine-tree shadows wave o'er the margin of the sea. Then we descry, all unguarded now, desolate Cosa's ancient ruins and unsightly walls.^d 'Tis with a qualm that I adduce mid serious things the comic reason for its downfall; but I am loath to suppress a laugh. The story runs that once upon a time the townsfolk were forced to migrate and left their homes behind because rats infested them! I'd sooner believe in losses suffered by the Pygmies' infantry^e and in cranes leagued solemnly to fight their wars. Not far from here we make the port which the name of Hercules distinguishes: a softer breeze follows

^b Now the Mignone.

^c Graviscæ, the port of Tarquinii, being in the Maremma, had unhealthy air. Like its pine-groves, this small place has disappeared.

^d Cosa is now Ansedonia: its harbour was the Portus Herculis, now Porto Ercole.

^e The first mention of Milton's "small infantry warred on by cranes" is in Homer, *Iliad* III. 3-6.

inter castrorum vestigia sermo retextit 205
 Sardoam Lepido praecipitante fugam;
 litore namque Cosae cognatos depulit hostes
 virtutem Catuli Roma secuta ducis.
 ille tamen Lepidus peior civilibus armis
 qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus, 300
 qui libertatem Mutinensi Marte receptam
 obruit auxiliis urbe pavente novis.
 insidias paci moliri tertius ausus
 tristibus exceptit congrua fata reis.
 quartus, Caesareo dum vult irrepere regno, 305
 incesti poenam solvit adulterii.
 nunc quoque—sed melius de nostris fama queretur:
 iudex posteritas semina dira notet.
 nominibus certos credam decurrere mores?
 moribus an potius nomina certa dari? 310
 quicquid id est, mirus Latiis annalibus ordo,
 quod Lepidum totiens reccidit ense malum.
 necdum discussis pelago permittimur umbris:
 natus vicino vertice ventus adest.

³⁰² pavente V: gemente R: favente B.

³¹⁰ decessis VRB: discussis *Almeloveen*: detersis *Heinsius*.
 permittitur VRB: permittimur *Castalio*.

^a Four Lepidi are here alluded to: (1) M. Aemilius Lepidus, declared a public enemy by the Senate in 77 B.C., was after his defeat at the Mulvian Bridge pursued by Catulus into Etruria. He eventually fled from Portus Herculis to Sardinia. (2) His son, M. Aemilius Lepidus, who had long wavered

declining day. Amid the traces of his camp our conversation weaves again the tale of Lepidus in headlong flight to Sardinia;^a for 'twas from Cosa's shore that Rome, following the lead of valiant Catulus, drove off the foes of her own blood. Yet was that Lepidus more a villain, who mid civil strife, in a confederacy of three, waged impious warfare; whose reinforcements—to the city's dread—crushed the freedom recovered in battle at Mutina. A third of the name ventured to contrive a plot against the peace and met a fate that fits luckless defendants. A fourth, aiming at a stealthy inroad on imperial power, paid the penalty of foul adultery. To-day also—but of the Lepidi of our day fame will draw up a better indictment: let posterity be the judge to brand the ill-omened stock. Am I to believe that definite characters descend from names or rather that definite names are given to characters? However that be, it is a strange routine in the chronicles of Latium that misfortune has so often recurred through the sword of the Lepidi.^b

The shades of night as yet are undispeled when we entrust ourselves to the sea. Born of the neighbouring hill-crest, a breeze befriends us. Mount

between Mark Antony and the Senate, joined forces with Antony after the battle of Mutina in 44 B.C. The allusion in l. 300 is to his membership of the triumvirate with Antony and Octavian. (3) The triumvir's son plotted in 30 B.C. to murder Octavian, but was arrested and sent to Octavian, then in the East, where he was put to death. (4) M. Aemilius Lepidus was the second husband of Drusilla, Caligula's sister. He conspired against his imperial brother-in-law, and had illicit relations with Agrippina and Livilla, two other sisters of the emperor. He was executed in A.D. 39.

^b *Lepidum*: genit. plur. rather than adjectivally with *malum*.

tenditur in medias mons Argentarius undas 315
 ancipitique iugo caerulea curva premit;
 transversos colles bis ternis milibus artat;
 circuito ponti ter duodena patet:
 qualis per geminos fluctus Ephyreius Isthmos
 Ionias bimari litore findit aquas. 320
 vix circumvehimur sparsae dispendia rupis,
 nec sinuosa gravi cura labore caret:
 mutantur totiens vario spiramina flexu:
 quae modo profuerant vela repente nocent.
 eminus Igilii silvosa cacumina miror, 325
 quam fraudare nefas laudis honore suae.
 haec proprios nuper tutata est insula saltus,
 sive loci ingenio seu domini genio,
 gurgite cum modico victricibus obstitit armis
 tamquam longinquo dissociata mari: 330
 haec multos lacera suscepit ab urbe fugatos,
 hic fessis posito certa timore salus.
 plurima terreno populaverat aequora bello
 contra naturam classe timendus eques:

³¹⁷ ternis VB: denis R.

³²² cura VRB: terra *Abmeloveen*, *Bachrens*.

^a Monte Argentario, a rugged peninsular promontory over 20 miles in circuit, has two peaks (*ancipiti iugo*)—the southern one above Porto Ercole, and the northern one above Porto S. Stefano.

^b The promontory of Monte Argentario is likened to the isthmus of Corinth (= *Ephyre*, frequently in the poets from Homer onwards). In strict accuracy, the Ionian sea lies on one side only of the isthmus, the Aegean being on the other side.

^c Igilium, now Giglio, was, as an island, reasonably safe from invasion by the Goths (l. 329), whether in A.D. 408

Argentarius juts out amidst the waves and with two-
 fold ridge^a confines the blue waters of its bays,
 shortening the road across the hills to twice three
 miles, while its extent round by sea is three times
 twelve, even as the Corinthian isthmus betwixt twin
 floods cleaves the Ionian deep with shores which two
 seas wash.^b We just succeed in doubling that long
 round of scattered crags, nor are the helmsman's
 anxious détours without heavy toil—so often puffs
 of wind change with each varying tack: the sails
 which helped a moment since are suddenly a drag.
 Far off I marvel at Igilium's^c forest heights: 'twere
 sinful to cheat the island^d of the homage which its
 fame deserves. Of late this isle defended its own
 glades, whether by natural position or by the
 emperor's supernatural powers,^e when, though
 severed only by a moderate channel, it bade defiance
 to triumphant arms as if isolated by the far-dividing
 sea. It welcomed many refugees from mangled
 Rome: here might the weary drop their fear and
 find sure safety. A cavalry, which against nature's
 law spelt terror on shipboard, had harried many a
 sea with warfare suited to the land. It is a miracle

when Alaric advanced to his first siege of Rome or in the following years. It offered refuge to fugitives from Rome when the city was sacked by Alaric in A.D. 410 (see l. 331).

^a *quam*: sc. *insulam*, though its name Igilium is neuter.
^b The alternatives (emphasized by a play on words) are that the island may have been protected either by the *ingenium* (= *natura*) *loci* or by the indwelling *Genius* of Honorius, which is viewed as a presiding *Fortuna* guarding the island against attack.

^c The Gothic cavalry was reinforced by that of the Huns under Alaric's brother-in-law Ataulf. They sailed from island to island on marauding expeditions.

unum mira fides vario discrimine portum 335
 tam prope Romanis, tam procul esse Getis.
 tangimus Umbronem; non est ignobile flumen,
 quod tuto trepidas excipit ore rates:
 tam facilis pronis semper patet alveus undis, 340
 in pontum quotiens saeva procella ruit.
 hic ego tranquillae volui succedere ripae;
 sed nautas avidos longius ire sequor.
 sic festinantem ventusque diesque reliquit:
 nec proferre pedem nec revocare licet. 345
 litorea noctis requiem metamur harena:
 dat vespertinos myrtea silva focos:
 parvula subiectis facimus tentoria remis:
 transversus subito culmine contus erat.

lux aderat: tonsis progressi stare videmur,
 sed cursum prorae terra relicta probat. 350
 occurrit Chalybum memorabilis Ilva metallis,
 qua nihil uberius Norica glæba tulit;
 non Biturix largo potior strictura camino,
 nec quae Sardonico caespite massa fluit.
 plus confert populis ferri fecunda creatrix 355
 quam Tartessiaci glærea fulva Tagi.

³³⁹ pronis *om.* R.

³⁴³ festinantem VRB: festinantes *Schrader, Baehrens.*

³⁵² qua nihil . . . glæba V: qua mihi . . . terra R.

^a *i.e.* at the time of the sack of Rome and of the Gothic sea-raids.

^b *metari* is the regular verb for laying out a camp.

^c Lit. "mines of the Chalybes." The Χάλυβες of Pontus were renowned for their working of steel (χάλυψ).

^d Noricum, between the Danube and the Alps, corresponded to a great part of Styria and Carinthia and included the district round Salzburg. Its steel was famed: *cf.* Hor. *Od.* I. xvi. 9-10, *Noricus ensis.*

to believe that a single haven at crises different ^a should be so near the Romans, and for the Goths so far. We touch at Umbro's mouth: no inconsiderable stream, it welcomes panic-stricken barques at a safe entrance: such easy approach does the river-bed with its descending current ever offer, as often as a cruel tempest bursts upon the deep. Here I was minded to land upon the peaceful shore; but, as the mariners were greedy for further progress, I e'en follow: so, speeding on, I find that with daylight the breeze has failed: neither forward nor backward can we make way. So on the sand of the beach we mark out ^b our resting-place for the night: a myrtle wood provides our evening fires. We raise our little tents with oars as props: a pole set crosswise helped to form a hastily fashioned roof.

Day came: though pushing on with oars, we seem to be at a standstill, and yet the receding land proves the movement of the bow. Across our course lies Elba, famous for its iron mines: ^c than it Norican ^d soil has produced no richer yield; nor is the wrought metal of the Bituriges preferable, though smelted in great furnaces; ^e nor the molten mass which pours from the Sardinian ore. ^f More good is done to the world by teeming earth which gives birth to iron than by the golden gravel washed down by the Tagus in the distant West; ^g for deadly gold is the

^a The Bituriges of Gallia Aquitania have left their name in Bourges. *Strictura*, wrought metal, implied smelting which could be carried out where firewood was abundant. Ore from Ilva (the modern Elba), which was short of fuel, had to be taken to furnaces on the mainland.

^f *caespes*, lit. the clod or lump containing ore: *cf.* *glæba*, 352.

^g From Tartessus in Spain *Tartessiacus* gets its meaning of "Western."

materies vitiis aurum letale parandis :
 auri caecus amor ducit in omne nefas :
 aurea legitimas expugnant munera taedas,
 virgineosque sinus aureus imber emit : 380
 auro victa fides munitas decipit urbes :
 auri flagitiis ambitus ipse furit.
 at contra ferro squalentia rura coluntur ;
 ferro vivendi prima reperta via est :
 saecula semideum, ferrati nescia Martis,
 ferro crudeles sustinuerunt feras : 385
 humanis manibus non sufficit usus inermis,
 si non sint aliae ferrea tela manus.
 his mecum pigri solabar taedia venti,
 dum resonat variis vile celeuma modis. 370

lassatum cohibet vicina Faleria cursum,
 quamquam vix medium Phoebus haberet iter.
 et tum forte hilares per compita rustica pagi
 mulcebant sacris pectora fessa iocis :
 illo quippe die tandem revocatus Osiris 375
 excitat in fruges germina laeta novas.
 egressi villam petimus lucoque vagamur :
 stagna placent septo deliciosa vado.

³⁵⁷ fatale *Burman* : ferale *Baehrens*.

³⁷¹ laxatum *Castalio* : lassantem *Baehrens*.

³⁷⁸ fagi VRB : pagi *Castalio*.

³⁷⁷ lucoque vagamur V : lutoque vagamus (*contra metrum*)
 R : petimusque luthoque vagamur B : ludoque vacamus
Wernsdorf.

^a The allusion in l. 360 is to the myth of Danaë and in l. 361 to the bribery employed by Philip of Macedon to capture cities. Cf. the attack on gold by Tiberianus, pp. 560-563 *supra*.

substance that makes vice : blind lust of gold leads
 into every crime : golden gifts carry by storm the
 troth of wedded brides : a golden shower can buy
 the maid's embraces :^a loyalty sapped by gold
 betrays the well-walled town : by scandalous mis-
 use of gold ambition itself pursues its wild career.
 But not so iron : it is with iron that neglected fields
 are tilled ; by iron was the first way of living found.
 Races of demigods, who knew not iron-harnessed
 Mars, by iron faced the charge of savage beasts.
 For human hands their unarmed use is not enough,
 if iron weapons lent not other hands. Such thoughts
 of mine beguiled the weariness of a laggard wind,
 and all the time in varied notes the boatswain's
 trumpetry refrain rang out.

The neighbouring Faleria^b checks our weary
 course, though Phoebus scarce had reached his mid
 career. That day it happened merry village-bands
 along the country cross-roads soothed their jaded
 hearts with festal observances ; it was in truth the
 day when, after long time restored, Osiris wakes
 the happy seeds to yield fresh produce.^c Landing,
 we seek lodging,^d and stroll within a wood ; we like
 the ponds which charm with their shallow enclosed

^b It is now Falese, or Porto di Faliesi.

^c The worship of Osiris, introduced from Egypt in republican times, passed through vicissitudes of favour and disfavour, but spread widely through the Roman Empire. A vegetation-deity and patron of agriculture, Osiris was also a suffering hero and became god of the dead. The priests of his sister-wife Isis mourned his death or joyfully celebrated his periodic resuscitation. Here he gives a fertilizing stimulus to autumnal sowings.

^d *Villam* here seems to mean an "inn" : cf. *villicus* or *villicus* as "innkeeper," I. 623.

ludere lascivos intra vivaria pisces
 gurgitis inclusi laxior unda sinit. 380
 sed male pensavit requiem stationis amoenae
 hospite conductor durior Antiphate!
 namque loci querulus curam Iudaeus agebat,
 humanis animal dissociale cibus:
 vexatos frutices, pulsatas imputat algas, 385
 damnaque libatae grandia clamat aquae.
 reddimus obscaenae convicia debita genti
 quae genitale caput propudiosa metit:
 radix stultitiae, cui frigida sabbata cordi,
 sed cor frigidius religione sua. 390
 septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno,
 tamquam lassati mollis imago dei.
 cetera mendacis deliramenta catastae
 nec puerum in somnis credere posse reor.
 atque utinam numquam Iudaea subacta fuisset 395
 Pompeii bellis imperiisque Titi!
 latius excisae pestis contagia serpunt,
 victioresque suos natio victa premit.

 adversus surgit Boreas; sed nos quoque remis
 surgere certamus, dum tegit astra dies. 400
 proxima securum reserat Populonia litus,
 qua naturalem ducit in arva sinum.

³⁷⁹ inter VRB: intra *Schrader*.

³⁸² dirior *Drakenborch*: erudior *Mueller*.

³⁹⁴ pueros omnes VB: puer ones R: pueros parvos *vel teneros coniec. Baehrens*: pueros et anus *Keene in not.*: puerum in somnis *A. M. Duff*.

³⁹⁵ Iudaea capta R.

³⁹⁶ imperioque B, *Baehrens*.

^a The savage king of the Laestrygones devoured one of Ulysses' men and sank all his ships except that on which Ulysses sailed (*Odys.* X. 114-132).

basin. The spacious waters of the imprisoned flood
 permit the playful fish to sport inside these pre-
 serves. But we were made to pay dear for the
 repose of this delightful halting-place by a lessee
 who was harsher than Antiphates as host!^a For a
 crabbed Jew was in charge of the spot—a creature
 that quarrels with sound human food.^b He charges
 in our bill for damaging his bushes and hitting the sea-
 weed, and bawls about his enormous loss in water
 we had sipped. We pay the abuse due to the filthy
 race that infamously practises circumcision: a root
 of silliness they are: chill Sabbaths are after their
 own heart, yet their heart is chillier than their creed.
 Each seventh day is condemned to ignoble sloth,
 as 'twere an effeminate picture of a god fatigued.^c
 The other wild ravings from their lying bazaar
 methinks not even a child in his sleep could believe.
 And would that Judaea had never been subdued by
 Pompey's wars and Titus' military power.^d The
 infection of this plague, though excised, still creeps
 abroad the more: and 'tis their own conquerors
 that a conquered race keeps down.^e

Against us rises a North wind; but we too strive
 with oars to rise, while daylight shrouds the stars.
 Close at hand Populonia opens up her safe coast,
 where she draws her natural bay well inland. No

^b The taboo of the pig as unclean was unintelligible to Romans, whose cuisine included fifty different ways of serving swine's flesh.

^c The reference is to the teaching of the Hebrew scriptures: e.g. *Genesis* ii. 2-3; *Exodus* xx. 9-11, xxxiv. 21.

^d The Maccabean monarchy fell after Pompey's three months' siege of Jerusalem, 63 B.C. Titus captured Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

^e Cf. *Hor. Epist.* II. i. 156, *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*.

non illic positas extollit in aethera moles
 lumine nocturno conspicienda Pharos ;
 405 sed speculam validae rupis sortita vetustas,
 qua fluctus domitos arduus urget apex,
 castellum geminos hominum fundavit in usus,
 praesidium terris indiciumque fretis.
 agnoscī nequeunt aevi monumenta prioris :
 410 grandia consumpsit moenia tempus edax.
 sola manent interceptis vestigia muris :
 ruderibus latis tecta sepulta iacent.
 non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi :
 cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

laetior hic nostras crebescit fama per aures :
 415 consilium Romam paene redire fuit.
 hic praefecturam sacrae cognoscimus urbis
 delatam meritis, dulcis amice, tuis.
 optarem verum complecti carmine nomen,
 sed quosdam refugit regula dura pedes.
 420 cognomen versu † <veniet>, carissime Rufi :
 illo te dudum pagina nostra canit.
 festa dies pridemque meos dignata Penates
 poste coronato vota secunda colat :

⁴²¹ cogn. versu veneris VB: cognomen venens (om. versu contra metrum) R: Veneri (vocativus) Pith., Burman: cognomen serva, Veneri Barth, Schrader: c. versus servet Damm: c. versu dederis Mueller: c. versu capitur Bachrens: c. versu veniet Vessereau: c. v. veneror Helm: c. v. vehēris Préchac.

^a At Populonia, an ancient Etruscan town, there was an old castle instead of a lighthouse like the famous one on the island of Pharos off Alexandria.

^b Cf. in Sulpicius' letter of consolation to Cicero, *Ad Fam.* IV. v., *nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit . . .*

Pharos,^a conspicuous with nightly light, has piers built there which rise into the sky; but men long ago, finding a mighty cliff to serve as a look-out where the towering hill-crest overhangs the conquered waves, laid the foundations of a castle for twin services to man—a defence on land and signal-post for sea. The memorials of an earlier age cannot be recognised; devouring time has wasted its mighty battlements away. Traces only remain now that the walls are lost: under a wide stretch of rubble lie the buried homes. Let us not chafe that human frames dissolve: from precedents we discern that towns can die.^b

Here a joyful piece of news spreads as we listen: it was almost my decision to go back to Rome. Here do we learn that the prefecture of the Sacred City has been bestowed upon your merits, beloved friend. I'd fain include your true name in my poem; but the strict law of metre avoids certain feet.^c Your cognomen will come in a line,^d dearest Rufus: by that name but recently my page has sung your praise.^e Let a day of festivity, such as years ago honoured my own home with garlands on the door, now show respect to hopes fulfilled:† let green

quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera iacent?

^c Rufius' full name, Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, is inadmissible in elegiacs.

^d The vexed line, 421, whether *Veneri* is read as dative of *Venus* or as vocative of *Venerius*, offers no sure foundation for the addition of *Venerius* to the name of Rufus. Taking *Veneri* as vocative, some editors have thought Rutilius dedicated his poem to "Venerius" Rufus.

^e *Supra*, lines 167-178.

† Rufius' elevation brings back to Rutilius' mind his own prefecture: cf. I. 157-160.

exornent virides communia gaudia rami :
 provecta est animae portio magna meae.
 sic mihi, sic potius, placeat geminata potestas :
 per quem malueram, rursus honore fruor.

currere curamus velis Aquilone reverso,
 cum primum roseo fulsit Eous equo.
 incipit obscuros ostendere Corsica montes,
 rubiferumque caput concolor umbra levat :
 sic dubitanda solet gracili vanescere cornu
 defessisque oculis luna reperta latet.

haec ponti brevitatis auxilium mendacia fama :
 armentale ferunt quippe natasse pecus,
 tempore Cynnaeas quo primum venit in oras
 forte secuta vagum femina Corsica bovem.

processu pelagi iam se Capraria tollit ;
 squallet lucifugis insula plena viris.
 ipsi se monachos Graeco cognomine dicunt,
 quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.
 munera Fortunae metuunt, dum damna verentur :
 quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse queat ?
 quaenam perversi rabies tam stulta cerebri,
 dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati ?

^a Cf. I. 493, *nostrae pars maxima mentis*, and Hor. *Od.* I. iii. 8, *animae dimidium meae*.

^b *dubitanda* = to be puzzled over, an object of uncertainty: cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 454, *aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam*.

^c Cynos (Κύνος), or Corsica, lies about 55 miles off the mainland. Itasius Lemniacus denies that it could be seen

426 boughs be the decoration for the joy we share: a great part of mine own life ^a has been advanced to high place. Thus, aye thus to me let this renewal of office bring pleasure: once again I enjoy dignity through the one for whom I wished it more.

430 When the North wind veered, we took pains to run with sails before the breeze, as soon as the Morning-star gleamed on his rosy steed. Corsica begins to show her dim mountains, and, matched in colour, the mass of shadow makes the cloud-capped crest look higher still: so 'tis the moon's way with slender horn to fade leaving us puzzled,^b and e'en though found she yet lies hid for straining eyes. The short sea-passage here has given support to a lying legend; for folk say a herd of cattle swam across at the time when first it happened that a woman called Corsa in quest of a stray ox reached the shores of Cynos.^c

440 As we advance at sea, Capraria now rears itself— an ill-kept isle full of men who shun the light. Their own name ^d for themselves is a Greek one, "monachoi" (monks), because they wish to dwell alone with none to see. They fear Fortune's boons, as they dread her outrages: would anyone, to escape misery, live of his own choice in misery? What silly fanaticism of a distorted brain is it to be unable to endure even ^e blessings because of your terror of from Populonia. The story ran that a herdsman noticed an ox used to swim the sea and return fatter. This suggested that there was a fertile island not far away.

^d *Cognomen* is the equivalent of *nomen* in several Virgilian passages: *Aen.* III. 163; VIII. 48. It is loosely used, *supra* I. 421.

^e *Nec* has the force of *ne . . . quidem*, as in *nec puerum*, I. 304.

sive suas repetunt factorum ergastula poenas,
 tristia seu nigro viscera felle tument,
 sic nimiae bilis morbum adsignavit Homerus
 Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus :
 nam iuveni offenso saevi post tela doloris
 dicitur humanum displicuisse genus.

450

in Volaterranum, vero Vada nomine, tractum
 ingressus dubii tramitis alta lego :
 despectat prorae custos clavumque sequentem
 dirigit et puppim voce monente regit.
 incertae gemina discriminat arbore fauces
 defixasque offert limes uterque sudes :
 illis proceras mos est adnectere lauros
 conspicuas ramis et fruticante coma,
 ut praebebente algam densi symplegade limi
 servet inoffensas semita clara notas.
 illic me rapidus consistere Corus adegit,
 qualis silvarum frangere lustra solet.
 vix tuti domibus saevos toleravimus imbres :
 Albini patuit proxima villa mei.

455

460

465

⁴⁴⁷ factorum (*in marg.* factorum · f ·) V.

⁴⁵⁶ derigit *Baehrens*.

⁴⁵⁸ limus *Baehrens*.

⁴⁶¹ algam RB: viam V, *Baehrens*: ulvam *Kalinka*,
Préchat.

⁴⁶⁸ rabidus *Mueller*, *Baehrens*.

^a *Ergastula*, "prisons for slaves," prob. by metonymy here
 for the inmates.

ills? Whether they are like prisoners ^a who demand
 the appropriate penalties for their deeds, or whether
 their melancholy hearts are swollen with black bile,
 it was even so that Homer assigned the ailment of
 excessive bile as cause of Bellerophon's troubled
 soul; ^b for it was after the wounds of a cruel sorrow
 that men say the stricken youth conceived his loathing
 for human kind.

Entering on the region of Volaterra, appropriately
 called "The Shallows," ^c I thread my way through
 the deep part of the treacherous channel. At the
 bow the look-out watches the water beneath and
 gives directions to the helm behind, guiding the stern
 with warning shouts. A boundary on each side
 marks the puzzling narrows by a pair of trees, and
 presents a line of piles hammered in there: to
 these it is the custom to fix tall laurels easy to see
 because of their branches and bushy foliage, so
 that, although the shifting bank ^d of thick mud shows
 its mass of sea-weed, a clear passage may keep the
 guiding-signs unstruck. There I was driven to
 make a halt by a tearing North-wester of the sort
 that is wont to shatter the depths of the woods.
 Scarce safe beneath a roof did we endure the
 pitiless rains: the neighbouring country-seat of my
 own Albinus was placed at my disposal. For my

^b Homer in reality does not explain Bellerophon's mis-
 anthropy as due to black bile (*μελαγχολία*), though he
 describes him as "eating out his heart" (*ὄν θυμὸν κατέδωκεν*
Il. VI. 202). The true reason for his grief was the loss of
 his three children.

^c The name is preserved in Torre di Vada.

^d The shifting mud-bank is compared with the fabled
Symplegades of the Euxine, the floating rocks which used
 to clash together and rebound.

namque meus, quem Roma meo subiunxit honori,
 per quem iura meae continuata togae.
 non expectatos pensavit laudibus annos;
 vitae flore puer, sed gravitate senex. 470
 mutua germanos iunxit reverentia mores,
 et favor alternis crevit amicitiiis.
 praetulit ille meas, cum vincere posset, habenas;
 at decessoris maior amore fuit.

subiectas villae vacat adspectare salinas; 475
 namque hoc censetur nomine salsa palus,
 qua mare terrenis declive canalibus intrat
 multifidosque lacus parvula fossa rigat.
 ast ubi fragrantis admovit Sirius ignes,
 cum pallent herbae, cum sitit omnis ager, 480
 tum cataractarum claustris excluditur aequor,
 ut fixos latices torrida duret humus.
 concipiunt acrem nativa coagula Phoebum,
 et gravis aestivo crusta calore coit;
 haud aliter quam cum glacie riget horridus Hister 485
 grandiaque adstricto flumine plaustra vehit.
 rimetur solitus naturae expendere causas
 inque pari dispar fomite quaerat opus:
 vincta fluenta gelu concepto sole liquescunt,
 et rursus liquidae concele gelantur aquae. 490

⁴⁷¹ amores *Baehrens*.

⁴⁸⁷ solitas natura VRB: solitus naturae *Castalio*: solitus naturam *Baehrens*.

⁴⁸⁹ concepto VRB *et vulgo*: concepto *Baehrens* (cf. 483).

^a Albinus succeeded Rutilius as Prefect of the city in A.D. 414.

^b *i.e.* Albinus had been appointed to high office at a singularly early age; but, if he fell short of the usual number of years, he made up for this by his merits.

own he was whom Rome linked to me as successor in office,^a in whose person my civil jurisdiction was continued. His merit outweighed years which had not been waited for:^b a lad in the bloom of youth, he had the worth of age. Mutual respect joined our kindred characters, and regard grew from the friendship of one for the other. He preferred that I should hold the reins of power, although he might have surpassed me: yet his affection for his predecessor has made him a greater man.

We find time to inspect the salt-pans lying near the mansion: it is on this score that value is set upon the salt marsh, where the sea-water, running down through channels in the land, makes entry, and a little trench floods the many-parted ponds. But after the Dog-star has advanced his blazing fires, when grass turns pale, when all the land is athirst, then the sea is shut out by the barrier-slucies, so that the parched ground may solidify the imprisoned waters. The natural incrustations catch the penetrating sun, and in the summer heat the heavy crust of salt cakes, just as when the wild Danube stiffens with ice and carries huge wains upon its frost-bound stream. Let him who is given to weigh natural causes examine and investigate the different effect worked in the same material:^c frost-bound streams melt on catching the sun, and on the other hand liquid waters can be hardened^d in the sun.

^c *fomes* "touchwood" is here "matter," "material," or "element"; and virtually "cause" in relation to *opus* = "working," "effect." (Cf. note on *opus* in *Aetna*, 337, *supra* p. 391.)

^d *i.e.* by evaporation salt can be secured from brine. Compare Lucretius' lines on the baking and the thawing action of heat, VI. 962-969.

o, quam saepe malis generatur origo bonorum!
 tempestas dulcem fecit amara moram;
 Victorinus enim, nostrae pars maxima mentis,
 congressu explevit mutua vota suo.
 errantem Tuscis considerare compulsi agris
 et colere externos capta Tolosa Lares.
 nec tantum duris nituit sapientia rebus:
 pectore non alio prosperiora tulit.
 conscius Oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule
 et quaecumque ferrox arva Britannus arat,
 qua praeceptorum vicibus frenata potestas
 perpetuum magni faenus amoris habet.
 extremum pars illa quidem discedit in orbem,
 sed tamquam media rector in urbe fuit.
 plus palmae est illos inter voluisse placere,
 inter quos minor est displicuisse pudor.
 illustris nuper sacrae Comes additus aulae
 contempsit summos ruris amore gradus.
 hunc ego complexus ventorum adversa fefelli,
 dum videor patriae iam mihi parte frui.
 lutea protulerat sudos Aurora iugales:
 antemnas tendi litoris aura iubet.

⁴⁹³ laus (*vel spes*) *Baehrens.* gentis *Burman.*

⁵⁰³ discessit VRB: discedit *Baehrens.*

⁵⁰⁴ medio . . . orbe VRB: media . . . urbe *Mueller,*
Baehrens.

^a Like Shakespeare's "There is some soul of goodness in things evil" (*King Henry V.* Act IV. Sc. i. l. 4).

^b Victorinus, a Gaul like Rutilius (l. 510), had lost his home in Toulouse owing to its capture by Ataulf, King of the

How oft the fount of blessings springs from ills!^a
 The hateful weather produced an enjoyable delay;
 for Victorinus,^b more than half my soul, by meeting
 me fulfilled our mutual hopes. The capture of
 Tolosa had forced him, a wanderer in the lands of
 Etruria, to settle there and dwell in a foreign home.
 It was not only amid distress that his wisdom shone:
 with heart unaltered he could face prosperity.
 Well did the Ocean know his merits, well did the
 Far North know them, and all the lands the untamed
 Briton ploughs, where his self-restrained authority
 as a Prefect's deputy^c has earned him the lasting
 interest paid by strong regard. That region is
 parted from us far as earth's most distant bound,
 but he was its ruler as it might have been in the heart
 of Rome. A greater prize it is to have aimed at
 popularity with those among whom it is less dis-
 credited to be unpopular. Though attached of late
 to our revered Court as Right Honourable Count,^d
 yet in his passion for country-life he disdained the
 highest grades of advancement. Embracing him I
 mocked the contrary winds, while I enjoyed already,
 methought, a part of my own native land.

Saffron Aurora had brought forward her fair-
 weather team: the breeze offshore tells us to haul

Visigoths, in A.D. 413 (l. 496). He had been *Vicarius* for the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul and as such had exercised authority in Britain. Though he held the distinction of *Comes Illustris*, he preferred country-life in Etruria to attendance at court.

^c Victorinus had been *Vicarius Britanniarum*: see preceding note.

^d The three classes of *Comites Illustris* were: (1) *in actu positi*, holding office; (2) *vacantes*, on the list for appointment; (3) *honorarii*, merely titular. Victorinus belonged to the third class.

inconcussa vehit tranquillus aplustria flatus;
 mollia securo vela rudente tremunt.
 adsurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon
 inter Pisanum Cyrnaicumque latus. 515
 aversor scopulos, damni monumenta recentis;
 perditus hic vivo funere civis erat.
 noster enim nuper iuvenis maioribus amplis,
 nec censu inferior coniugiove minor, 520
 impulsus furis homines terrasque reliquit
 et turpem latebram credulus exsul adit.
 infelix putat illuvie caelestia pasci
 seque premit laesis saevior ipse deis.
 num, rogo, deterior Circaeis secta venenis? 525
 tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.

inde Triturritam petimus: sic villa vocatur,
 quae iacet expulsis insula paene fretis.
 namque manu iunctis procedit in aequora saxis,
 quique domum posuit condidit ante solum. 530
 contiguum stupui portum, quem fama frequentat
 Pisanum emporio divitiisque maris.
 mira loci facies: pelago pulsantur aperto
 inque omnes ventos litora nuda patent;
 non ullus tegitur per bracchia tuta recessus, 535
 Aeolias possit qui prohibere minas;

⁵¹⁵ conditus *Baehrens*.

⁵²² agit VRB: adit *Burman*: amat *Wernsdorf*.

⁵²⁵ num VB: nuc (*sic*) R: non *Barth*.

⁵²⁸ latet VRB: iacet *Heinsius*: patet *Burman*: latere *Keene*:
 late *Mueller*, *Baehrens*.

⁵³³ pulsatur VRB: pulsantur *Barth*, *Baehrens*.

^a This island, now Gorgona, lies about 22 miles S.W. of
 Leghorn. It was long occupied by monks.

^b Homer, *Odys.* X. 135-405.

the sail-yards up. The gentle breath of the wind
 carries the stern-fittings on without vibration;
 softly flap the sails on rigging free from any strain.
 There rises in the midst of the sea the wave-girt
 Gorgon^a with Pisa and Corsica on either side. I
 shun the cliffs, which are memorials of recent
 disaster; here a fellow-countryman met his doom in
 a living death. For lately one of our youths of high
 descent, with wealth to match, and marriage-
 alliance equal to his birth, was impelled by madness
 to forsake mankind and the world, and made his
 way, a superstitious exile, to a dishonourable hiding-
 place. Fancying, poor wretch, that the divine can
 be nurtured in unwashed filth, he was himself to his
 own body a crueller tyrant than the offended deities.
 Surely, I ask, this sect is not less powerful than the
 drugs of Circe?^b In her days men's bodies were
 transformed, now 'tis their minds.

From there we make for Triturrita:^c that is the
 name of a residence, a peninsula lying in the wash
 of baffled waves. For it juts out into the sea on
 stones which man's hand has put together, and he
 who built the house had first to make sure building
 ground. I was astonished at the haven close by,
 which by report is thronged with Pisa's merchandise
 and sea-borne wealth. The place has a marvellous
 appearance. Its shores are buffeted by the open
 sea and lie exposed to all the winds: here there are
 not sheltering piers to protect any inner harbour-
 basin capable of defying the threats of Aeolus.^d

^c The Villa Triturrita is conjecturally placed with the
 neighbouring Portus Pisanus (I. 531, II. 12) between Leghorn
 and the mouth of the Arno, but the coast has been greatly
 altered owing to alluvial deposits.

^d Cf. Virg. *Aen.* I. 50-91, the Cavern of the Winds.

sed procera suo praetexitur alga profundo
 molliter offensae non nocitura rati,
 et tamen insanas cedendo interligat undas
 nec sinit ex alto grande volumen agi. 540

tempora navigii clarus reparaverat Eurus;
 sed mihi Protadium visere cura fuit:
 quem qui forte velit certis cognoscere signis,
 virtutis specimen corde videre putet:
 nec magis efficiet similem pictura colore 545
 quam quae de meritis mixta figura venit.
 adspicienda procul certo prudentia vultu,
 formaque iustitiae suspicienda micat.
 sit fortasse minus, si laudet Gallia civem:
 testis Roma sui praesulis esse potest. 550
 substituit patriis mediocres Umbria sedes:
 virtus fortunam fecit utramque parem.
 mens invicta viri pro magnis parva tuetur,
 pro parvis animo magna fuerè suo.
 exiguis regum victores caespes habebat, 555
 et Cincinnatos iugera pauca dabant.
 haec etiam nobis non inferiora feruntur
 vomere Serrani Fabriciique foco.

⁵³⁹ caedendo V, *Baehrens*: cedendo B: credendo . . .
 unda R. interrigit VRB: interligat *Castalio*: internicat
Baehrens.

⁵⁴⁴ speciem VRB: specimen *Castalio*, vidente VRB:
 vidente petat *Baehrens*: petat VB: putat R: viderè putet
Heinsius.

⁵⁵² utraque V: utrâque R.

⁵⁵⁵ rectores VRB: victores *Baehrens*.

^a Protadius corresponded with Symmachus, from whose letters we learn that he came from Trèves (cf. 549-551). A

But, fringing its own deep-water domain, the tall sea-weed is like to do no damage to a ship that strikes it without shock; and yet in giving way it entangles the furious waves and lets no huge roller surge in from the deep.

A clear South-east wind had brought again the moment for sailing; but I was eager to pay a visit to Protadius:^a whoever perchance may wish to recognise him by sure signs should think in his heart that he is looking upon a model of goodness: no painting will ever give a truer portrait of him in colour than will the image that comes from his blended excellences. His prudence marked by steady look is evident even to a distant eye; the expression of fair-mindedness shines out, commanding respect. This tribute might perhaps be lessened were it merely that Gaul was praising a fellow-countryman; but Rome can bear witness to her former prefect. Umbria^b replaced his ancestral home with but a humble abode: his virtue took either lot as equal. The man's unvanquished mind regards small things as great; for to his spirit great things once had been but small. A petty farm used to contain the conquerors of kings, and a few acres yielded men like Cincinnatus.^c Such contentment in our view is deemed to fall not short of Serranus' plough and Fabricius' hearth.^d

learned official, he was the son of an eminent rhetorician praised by Ausonius for his lectures in Constantinople, Rome and Bordeaux.

^b Either Protadius had some property in Umbria proper, or "Umbria" here includes the part of Etruria round Pisa.

^c For the story see Val. Max. IV. iv. 7.

^d Rutilius here echoes Virg. *Aen.* VI. 844.

puppibus ergo meis fida in statione locatis
 ipse vehor Pisas qua solet ire pedes. 560
 praebet equos, offert etiam carpenta tribunus,
 ex commilitio carus et ipse mihi,
 officiis regerem cum regia tecta magister
 armigerasque pii principis excubias.
 Alpheae veterem contemplor originis urbem, 565
 quam cingunt geminis Arnus et Ausur gird;
 conum pyramidis coeuntia flumina ducunt:
 intratur modico frons patefacta solo;
 sed proprium retinet communi in gurgite nomen,
 et pontum solus scilicet Arnus adit. 570
 ante diu quam Troiugenas fortuna Penates
 Laurentinorum regibus insereret,
 Elide deductas suscepit Etruria Pisas,
 nominis indicio testificata genus.
 hic oblata mihi sancti genitoris imago, 575
 Pisani proprio quam posuere foro.
 laudibus amissi cogor lacrimare parentis:
 fluxerunt madidis gaudia maesta genis.
 namque pater quondam Tyrrhenis praefuit arvis,
 fascibus et senis credita iura dedit. 580

⁵⁶⁹ fida VB: tuta R.

⁵⁷³ Elide VB: Aulide R.

^a The other route would have been by sea to the mouth of the Arno and then up the river.

^b The tribune had served in the *Scholares* or Imperial Guard, who were under the control of Rutilius when *Magister Officiorum* at the palace.

^c Pisa was reputed to have been founded from the Pisa in Elis, near the river Alpheus (cf. 573-574).

So then I moor my ships in the safe anchorage, and myself drive to Pisa by the road the wayfarer goes afoot.^a I get horses and the offer of carriages too from a tribune personally endeared to me through former comradeship,^b when as Master of Household Duties I was controller of the palace and of the pious emperor's armed guard. I scan the ancient city of Alphean origin,^c which the Arno and the Ausur gird with their twin waters; at their junction the rivers form the cone of a pyramid: the opening front offers access on a narrow tongue of land;^d but 'tis the Arno that retains its own name in the united stream, and in truth the Arno alone arrives at the sea. Long time ere fortune could enrol the house of Trojan birth among Laurentum's royal line,^e Etruria welcomed Pisa as a colony from Elis, witnessing its origin by the evidence of its name. Here was shown to me the statue of my revered father,^f erected by the Pisans in their market-place. The honour done to my lost parent made me weep: tears of a saddened joy wet my cheeks with their flow. For my father once was governor of the land of Tuscany and administered the jurisdiction assigned to the six fasces.^g After he had passed

^a Those coming up-stream would face the apex of the triangle formed by the union of the two rivers, and by this tongue of land those going inland would enter on the opening "frons," the narrow strip gradually expanding into a broad front.

^b The claim implies that Pisa was founded before Aeneas arrived in Italy.

^f The name of Rutilius' father was Lachanius, I. 595.

^g The *arva* are identical with the *provincia* of I. 597. Six fasces were the insignia of the office of *Consularis Tusciae et Umbriae*. A consul in Rome had twelve fasces: cf. *Laus Pisonis*, 70 (*supra*, p. 300).

narrabat, memini, multos emensus honores
 Tuscorum regimen plus placuisse sibi;
 nam neque opum curam, quamvis sit magna, sacrarum
 nec ius quaesturae grata fuisse magis;
 ipsam, si fas est, postponere praefecturam 585
 prouior in Tuscos non dubitabat amor.
 nec fallebatur, tam carus et ipse probatis:
 aeternas grates mutua cura canit;
 constantemque sibi pariter mitemque fuisse 590
 insinuant natis qui meminere senes.
 ipsum me gradibus non degenerasse parentis
 gaudent, et duplici sedulitate fovent.
 haec eadem, cum Flaminiae regionibus irem,
 splendoris patrii saepe reperta fides:
 famam Lachanii veneratur numinis instar 595
 inter terrigenas Lydia tota suos.
 grata bonis priscos retinet provincia mores
 dignaque rectores semper habere bonos,
 qualis nunc Decius, Lucilli nobile pignus,
 per Coryti populos arua beata regit. 600
 nec mirum, magni si redditus indole nati
 felix tam simili posteritate pater.

^a Rutilius' father had been Count of the Sacred Largesses, Quaestor, and City Prefect.

^b The *praefectura* here is that of the City Prefect, not of the Praetorian Prefect. Rutilius is apologetic (*si fas est*) over the idea of preferring any dignity to the prefecture of the august city of Rome.

^c *Canit* here implies laudatory lines on the base of the statue rather than actual song.

^d The regions in mind were Umbrian and Tuscan districts lying not far off the line of the great northern road from Rome.

^e *Lydia* here means Etruria, which according to one ancient account was settled from Lydia in Asia Minor.

through many offices,^a he used to tell, I can recall, that his governorship of Tuscany had been more to his liking than any: for neither the management of the Sacred Largesses, important though it be, nor the authority of a quaestor had brought him more pleasure. His affection, inclining more towards the Tuscans, did not hesitate to give an inferior place, if piety lets it be said, even to his prefecture in Rome.^b Nor was he mistaken, being an equal favourite with those whom he esteemed: their mutual regard inscribes in verse undying gratitude,^c and old men who can remember him make known to their sons how firm of purpose he was and at the same time how kindly. They are glad that I myself have not fallen off from my parent's honours, and eagerly give me a warm welcome for his sake and for my own. Often as I traversed the lands near the Flaminian Way^d I have found the same proof of my father's renown; the whole of Lydia^e worships Lachanius'^f fame like some divinity among the natives of her soil. A favourite with the good, this province keeps its old-world ways and deserves always to have good governors, like Decius, the noble offspring of Lucillus,^g who among the peoples of Corytus^h rules o'er these happy lands. Small wonder it is that the sire, reproduced in the character of his great son, feels blest in a descendant so like

^f The fact that the name *Lachanius* does not occur elsewhere is not enough to justify Burman's substitution of *Laecanius*.

^g Rutilius is our sole source of information about Decius, who was *Consularis Tusciae et Umbriae* in A.D. 416, and about his father, whose satiric powers are compared to those of Juvenal and Turnus.

^h *Corytus* or *Corythus* (now Cortona) is here used for Etruria, as being one of its ancient towns.

huius vulnificis satira ludente Camenis
 nec Turnus potior nec Iuvenalis erit.
 restituit veterem censoria lima pudorem; 605
 dumque malos carpit, praecipit esse bonos.
 non olim sacri iustissimus arbiter auri
 circumstantes reppulit Harpyias?—
 Harpyias, quarum discerpit unguibus orbis,
 quae pede glutineo quod tetigere trahunt, 610
 quae luscum faciunt Argum, quae Lyncea caecum,
 inter custodes publica furta volant;
 sed non Lucillum Briareia praeda fefellit,
 totque simul manibus restitit una manus.

iamque Triturritam Pisaea ex urbe reversus 615
 aptabam nitido pendula vela Noto,
 cum subitis tectus nimbis insorduit aether;
 sparserunt radios nubila rupta vagos.
 substitimus. quis enim sub tempestate maligna
 insanituris audeat ire fretis? 620
 otia vicinis terimus navalia silvis,
 sectandisque iuvat membra movere feris.
 instrumenta parat venandi villicus hospes
 atque olidum doctas nosse cubile canes.
 funditur insidiis et rara fraude plagarum 625
 terribilisque cadit fulmine dentis aper,

⁶⁰³ *livente Baehrens.*

⁶¹² *custodes VRB (custodum · f · in marg. V). volant VRB: vorant Baehrens.*

^a *Huius* applies to Lucillus, not to his son. Turnus, though a satirist, succeeded in surviving under Domitian (*vel. schol.* on Juvenal I. 20; Martial XI. x, *contulit ad saturas ingentia pectora Turnus*). Juvenal belonged to the next generation. Two lines of Turnus (one unintelligible) are given in Morel, *Fragm. Poet. Lat.* p. 134.

himself. His satire, sportive in its mordant poetry, neither Turnus nor Juvenal^a shall surpass. The censorious file has restored old-fashioned modesty: in attacking the bad, it teaches to be good. Did not that most upright dispenser of the Sacred Largess repel in his day the Harpies who gathered round it?^b —Harpies, whose claws rend asunder the world, their sticky talons dragging off whatever they touch; creatures who make Argus one-eyed and Lynceus blind;^c public thieves,^d they flit among the guardians; but their hundred-handed pillaging did not escape Lucillus, whose single hand checkmated all their hands together.

And now returning from Pisa's city to Triturrita, I was setting the hanging sails to a clear Southern wind, when the sky turned foul under a sudden pall of rain-clouds; the cloven rack scattered its vagrant lightnings. We stopped; who 'neath a spiteful storm would dare to go on seas which threatened madness? The respite from our voyage we spend in the neighbouring forests, delighted to exercise our limbs in the pursuit of game. Our innkeeper supplies the implements for the chase, and hounds trained to discover a strongly scented lair. By means of an ambush and the snare of wide-meshed nets a boar, though terrifying in the flash of his tusks, is overthrown and falls—such a one as

^b *i.e.* as *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, Lucillus balked the greedy "Harpies" in their designs upon public money.

^c Their peculations are so smart that Argus of the hundred eyes would seem to have only one eye to watch them with, while the keen-eyed Lynceus would seem to be blind.

^d *publica furta*, abstract for concrete, means the plundering Harpies: *custodes* means the *Comites Sacrarum Largitionum*.

quem Meleagrei vereantur adire lacerti,
 qui laxet nodos Amphitryoniadae.
 tum responsuros persultat bucina colles,
 fitque reportando carmine praeda levis. 630

interea madidis non desinit Africus alis
 continuos picea nube negare dies.
 iam matutinis Hyades occasibus udae :
 iam latet hiberno conditus imbre Lepus,
 exiguum radiis sed magnis fluctibus astrum, 635

quo madidam nullus navita linquit humum ;
 namque procelloso subiungitur Oarioni
 aestiferumque Canem roscida praeda fugit.
 vidimus excitis pontum flavescere harenis
 atque eructato vertice rura tegi ; 640

qualiter Oceanus mediis infunditur agris,
 destituenda vago cum premit arva salo,
 sive alio refluus nostro colliditur orbe
 sive corusca suis sidera pascit aquis.

⁶³⁰ reportando V : reportanda RB : reportanti *Castalio* :
 reportantum *Heinsius, Baehrens.*

⁶³² diem *Baehrens.*

⁶⁴² alto *Baehrens.*

Meleager ^a of the strong shoulders might dread to approach, such a one as would slacken the joints of Hercules. Then mid the echoing hills leap the notes of the bugle-horn, and singing makes the booty light in carrying back.

Meanwhile the South-west wind on dripping wings fails not by means of pitch-black clouds to deny us day after day. 'Tis now the season ^b when the watery Hyades are at their morning setting, and now the Hare is buried and hidden by the winter's rain—a constellation of scanty beams but cause of mighty waves: no sailor puts out from the land which it has soaked; for it is closely linked to stormy Orion, and the dew-drenched prey flees from the heat-fraught Dog-star. We saw the sea yellowing with the disturbance of the sands and pastures covered with the scum it has belched forth, even as the Ocean pours into the midst of fields, when under errant brine it whelms the lands from which it must ebb; whether the truth be that back-flowing from another world ^c it dashes against this world of ours, or that with its own waters it feeds the twinkling stars.

^a Meleager, son of Oeneus and Althaea (see II. 53), took part in the famous Calydonian boar-hunt.

^b A wet and stormy period of the year coincides with the setting of the Hyades in morning twilight (late November) and with the setting of the Hare (early November). The Hare is near the left foot of Orion, and flees as a "dew-drenched prey" (638) before the burning Dog-star, Sirius.

^c *Alio orbe* means the moon. Of the two theories here suggested regarding the cause of tides, the second refers to an ancient belief that sun and stars were fed on the waters of the ocean.

LIBER SECUNDUS

Nondum longus erat nec multa volumina passus,
 iure suo poterat longior esse liber :
 taedia continuo timui incessura labori,
 sumere ne lector iuge paveret opus.
 saepe cibis affert serus fastidia finis, 5
 gratior est modicis haustibus unda siti :
 intervalla viae fessis praestare videtur
 qui notat inscriptus milia crebra lapis.
 partimur trepidum per opuscula bina ruborem,
 quem satius fuerat sustinuisse semel. 10

tandem nimbose maris obsidione solutis
 Pisano portu contigit alta sequi.
 aridet placidum radiis crispantibus aequor.
 et sulcata levi murmurat unda sono.
 incipiunt Appennini devexa videri, 15
 qua fremit acrio monte repulsa Thetis.

Italiam rerum dominam qui cingere visu
 et totam pariter cernere mente velit,
 inveniet quernae similem procedere frondi,
 artatam laterum conveniente sinu. 20

³ *timuit cessura VR (censura Mueller: sessura i.e. haesura Baehrens in not.): timui incessura Purser, Keene.*

^a *i.e. the parchment had not been rolled to a great extent round its stick.*

^b *One long book might prove too wearisome: hence the author thinks it advisable to begin a second book. The tone suggests that Book II either was actually or was intended to be much longer than it now is.*

BOOK II

My book had not yet grown too long nor undergone many windings of its scroll;^a in its own right it might have been longer: but I feared weariness would come upon continuous toil—feared lest my reader should shrink from handling an undivided work.^b Ofttimes the late-delayed end of a feast brings distaste for viands: water in moderate draughts is the more welcome to thirst: the stone that by its lettering marks the many miles seems to afford the tired wayfarer some breaks upon the road. Between two booklets I divide my nervous modesty^c which it had been better to have faced once only.

Freed at last from the stormy blockade of the sea, we had the fortune to make for the deep from Pisa's harbour. Calm smiles the surface of the waters as the sunbeams glitter: the furrowed wave whispers with gentle splash. The Apennine slopes heave in sight where Thetis^d chafes at her repulse by a wind-swept promontory.

He who would embrace in his view Italy, the queen of the world, and form at once a mental picture of the whole land, will find that she extends in shape like an oak leaf,^e contracted by the converging indentation of her sides. In length the distance

^c *i.e. the blushing diffidence of a modest author is spread over two books instead of one. He ought, he feels, to have boldly met his qualms of modesty and concentrated on a single book: he now has to meet them over again.*

^d *Thetis, as a sea-goddess, is a metonymy for the sea. Beyond Pisa spurs of the Apennines run out into a lofty headland.*

^e *Cf. Plin. N.H. III. 43, referring to Italy as folio maxime querno adsimilata.*

milia per longum deciens centena teruntur
 a Ligurum terris ad freta Sicaniae;
 in latum variis damnosa anfractibus intrat
 Tyrrheni rabies Hadriacique sali.
 qua tamen est iuncti maris angustissima tellus, 25
 triginta et centum milia sola patet.
 diversa medius mons obliquatur in undas,
 qua fert atque refert Phoebus uterque diem:
 urget Dalmaticos eoo vertice fluctus
 caeruleaque occiduis frangit Etrusca iugis. 30
 si factum certa mundum ratione fatemur
 consiliumque dei machina tanta fuit,
 excubiis Latiis praetexit Appenninum
 claustraque montanis vix adeunda viis.
 invidiam timuit Natura parumque putavit 35
 Arctois Alpes opposuisse minis,
 sicut vallavit multis vitalia membris
 nec semel inclusit quae pretiosa tulit:
 iam tum multiplici meruit munimine cingi
 sollicitosque habuit Roma futura deos. 40

 quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,
 proditor arcani quod fuit imperii.

³⁴ feris *Schrader*: suis *Baehrens*: viis VRB.

⁴² quod VRB: qui *vulgo*.

^a A Roman mile was 143 yards less than an English mile, so that 1000 Roman miles are approximately equal to 918 English miles. This estimate of Italy's length is virtually that of Pliny, *loc. cit.* (1020 miles). But the length in a straight line from the Simplon to Cape Lucca is about 700 miles. Rutilius, as the phrase *milia teruntur* shows (*cf. terere viam*), is calculating, like Pliny, by the roads usually travelled.

^b In Calabria, which is, however, merely the "toe" of Italy, the peninsula is only about 20 miles wide; but Rutilius follows

by road is one of a thousand miles ^a from the Ligurian territories to the Sicilian straits: on her breadth the destructive fury of the Tuscan and of the Adriatic main makes entry in varied winding curves; but where the land is narrowest between the neighbouring seas it stretches merely one hundred and thirty miles.^b The central mountain-chain slopes towards the sun-dered billows where the rising and the setting Sun-god brings and withdraws the day: its eastern peaks beset the Dalmatian waves, and its western spurs cleave the blue Tuscan waters. If we acknowledge that the world was made on a definite plan and if this great fabric was a god's design, then as a protective fringe for our Latin outposts he wove the Apennines, barriers scarce approachable by mountain paths. Nature feared men's jealousy (of Italy) and thought it scant defence to put the Alps in Northern invaders' way, just as she has fenced with many limbs our vital parts and placed more than one covering around the precious works she has produced. Even then the Rome that was to be deserved her encirclement of manifold bulwarks and had gods who thought anxiously for her. Wherefore more bitter is the crime of cursed Stilicho ^c in that he was betrayer of the Empire's

Pliny's estimate of 136 miles from the Adriatic across country to Ostia (*N.H.* III. 44).

^c For the career of Stilicho, ending with his disgrace and death in A.D. 408, see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* and Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders*. His victories over Alaric at Pollentia in 403 and over Radagaisus in 405 did not save him from charges of treasonable collusion with the barbarians. His ambition incurred relentless enmity. While the prose-writers Zosimus and Orosius take, like Rutilius, an unfavourable view of his character, Claudian is emphatic in his praises.

Romano generi dum ntitur esse superstes,
 crudelis summis miscuit ima furor;
 dumque timet quicquid se fecerat ipse timeri, 45
 immisit Latiae barbara tela neci:
 visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem,
 illatae † cladis liberiore dolo.
 ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat
 et captiva prius quam caperetur erat. 50
 nec tantum Geticis grassatus proditor armis:
 ante Sibyllinae fata cremavit opis.
 odimus Althaeam consumpti funere torris;
 Nisaeum crinem flere putatur avis.
 at Stilicho aeterni fatalia pignora regni 55
 et plenas voluit praecipitare colos.
 omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis;
 consumat Stygias tristior umbra faces.
 hic immortalem, mortalem percudit ille;
 hic mundi matrem percudit, ille suam. 60

⁴⁸ illato *Baehrens*: Iliacae cladis deteriore d. *J. S. Reid*.

^a By letting Alaric enter Italy (II. 46), Stilicho had revealed the "secret" that the barbarians could invade the empire with immunity.

^b The motive suggested for Stilicho's treachery is that he intended, by the ruin of the Roman race, to further his own interests: he counted on outliving the devastation of Italy.

^c The implication is that, though he had made himself feared through his influence with the Goths, he is now afraid of them.

^d The phrasing is difficult. If accepted, it seems to mean that it was safer for Stilicho to employ against Italy a secret pact with the Goths than a military invasion. But if the ablat. of comparison usually supplied with *liberiore* is dispensed with, the sense might be "with the over-bold fraud of ruin inflicted."

Ovid and Claudian apply "pellitus" to the Goths.

secret.^a As he strove to live longer than the Roman race,^b his cruel frenzy turned the world upside down, and, while fearing that wherein he had made himself formidable,^c he let loose the arms of the barbarians to the death of Latium: he plunged an armed foe in the naked vitals of the land, his craft being freer from risk than that of openly inflicted disaster.^d Even Rome lay exposed to his skin-clad menials^e—captive ere she could be captured. Nor was it only through Gothic arms that the traitor made his attack: ere this he burned the fateful books which brought the Sibyl's aid.^f We hate Althaea for the death which came of the brand she gave to the flames;^g birds, so the fancy runs, weep for Nisus' lock.^h But it was Stilicho's will to hurl to ruin the eternal empire's fate-fraught pledges and distaffs still charged with destinies. Let every torment of Nero in Tartarus now halt; let an even more miserable ghost consume the Stygian torches.ⁱ Stilicho's victim was immortal, Nero's was mortal; the one destroyed the world's mother, the other his own.

^f Rutilius is the sole authority for the allegation that Stilicho burned the Sibylline books which the Romans consulted in times of crisis. Their destruction thus preceded the fall of Rome by only a few years.

^g Althaea caused the death of her son Meleager by burning the magical firebrand on which his life depended: cf. note on Pentadius I. (*De Fortuna*) 21-22, *supra* p. 545.

^h Scylla caused the death of her father Nisus by depriving him of the purple lock on which his life depended: see the *Ciris* in the *Appendix Vergiliana*: cf. *crinem Nisi*, *Nemes. Cyn.* 44.

ⁱ i.e. Stilicho should suffer under the torches of the Furies even more horrible punishment than that inflicted upon the matricide Nero in Tartarus.

MINOR LATIN POETS

sed deverticulo fuimus fortasse loquaces :
carmine propositum iam repetamus iter.
advehimur celeri candentia moenia lapsu :
nominis est auctor Sole corusca soror.
indigenis superat ridentia lilia saxis,
et levi radiat picta nitore silex.
dives marmoribus tellus, quae luce coloris
provocat intactas luxuriosa nives.

65

⁶² propositum V : preposito R : proposito B.

RUTILIUS NAMATIUS

But in this digression we have perhaps been garrulous: let us now resume in verse the voyage we had set ourselves. On swiftly gliding course we bear towards white glittering walls: the sister who draws her radiance from the Sun is the bestower of the city's name.^a In the colour of its native rocks it surpasses smiling lilies, and the stone flashes bedecked in polished radiance. Rich in marble, it is a land which, revelling in its white light, challenges the virgin snows.

^a With this allusion to the town of Luna and the brief glance at its marble quarries, the poem, as we have it, ends abruptly.

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