

HYPERBOREUS

STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσι δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰών κεν εὐροις
ἐς Ἑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

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STUDIA critica et exegetica

Donum natalicium
CAROLO MARTINO LUCARINI
ab amicis oblatum



CAROLO LUCARINI QUINQUAGENARIO

sunt qui, Carole, poculis abunde
natalem genium tibi foventes
dicant ex animo fideque certa
tantum te sibi, nostra lux, amari,
quantum se studium tuum vereri –
quidni? prodigium es, nec, hercle, plura
ipsam basia Lesbiam Catullo
quisquam crediderit dedisse posse,
quam, doctissime, fama te vagatur
emendasse locos tot atque tantis
inspectis vigili labore libris,
Flacco ut surripiam locutionem,
sermones utriusque docte linguae –
sed fas esse negent honore tali
πεντηκονταετην frui: moretur
annorum spatium decem, priusquam
chartas accipiat sibi dicatas.
cur non arbitrium sequamur horum,
paucis, hanc veniam peto, docebo,
ne quid forte tibi ruboris addat
haec nos ante diem tulisse dona.
numquid par Agamemnoni dolosa
gressum ferre per ostra non timenti
iras tu, bone, concites deorum
propter munera nostra permodesta,
nec multorum hominum, nec ore magno?
immo caelicolis, amice, gratus
fastidire soles tumorem inanem
regalique superbia carere,
etsi nomine regio vocaris.
sed iam pagina deficit. quid ultra?
laudari patiare te bique
nostrarumque velis benignus esse
lector, Carole, lucubrationum.

D. K.

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P. J. Finglass

POEM-DIVISION IN SAPPHO'S PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS*

The primary organisational principle of the ancient edition of Sappho was metre.¹ Each of Books 1, 2, and 3 is in the same metre. Book 4 is in two metres (conceivably more),² and poems of the same metre seem to be grouped together. Book 5 has several metres represented; we may presume that Books 6–9 were similarly polymetric. By contrast, metre was not used to organise the ancient edition of the other Lesbian poet, Alcaeus.³

As a consequence, in Sappho's papyrus fragments it is harder to determine where poems begin and end. Sometimes the left-hand margin survives, in which case the presence or absence of a *corônis* usually determines the matter. But when that margin is missing, metre is not normally available in Sappho's case (whereas it is in Alcaeus') as a criterion for distinguishing individual poems. The problem is particularly acute because Books 1 and 4 of Sappho are by far the most strongly attested in the papyrological record, with

* Whether or not he agrees with all, or any, of the proposals made in this paper, I offer it in honour of my friend and constant inspiration in matters of textual criticism and much more, Carlo Martino Lucarini.

I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for funding the research which led to this article via the award of a Major Research Fellowship. Each text, translation, and critical apparatus are from my edition, Finglass forthcoming 1, the result of collation of the relevant manuscripts, either from digital images or *in situ*. The numeration, though, is that of the most recent previous edition, Neri 2021, which is almost always identical to that of the previous one, Voigt 1971.

¹ For the ancient edition of Sappho see Prauscello 2021, Finglass forthcoming 1.

² Here I differ from Prauscello 2016, who queries the evidence for two metres in this book; see Finglass forthcoming 1.

³ For his ancient edition see Liberman 1999, 1 xl–lxi; Ford 2025.

eight and four papyri respectively; and as just noted, there is no metrical variation in the former, and probably just one such point of variation in the latter.

In such cases we must rely on sense alone. Since we are dealing with fragmentary manuscripts, and since the criterion of sense is potentially subjective, this is often difficult or even impossible. Nevertheless, two factors assist our search. First, the secondary principle of organisation for the edition was alphabetical order of first letter, rather than topic; hence language indicative of the same topic is more likely to indicate text that comes from the same poem than if the secondary organisatory principle had been based on content.⁴ Second, Sappho's poems were relatively short. Very approximately fifty-nine poems took up Book 1, for example,⁵ which means very approximately 59 transition points from one poem to another; across a book of 1320 lines, that works out at a transition – again, very approximately – once every 23 lines. So this is no rare phenomenon, but rather one that will constantly occur in our fragments, whether or not it can be discerned.

Below I cite six instances where current editions present a piece of papyrus (or parchment) as a single poetic fragment when, in my view, we should mark a division. The first two are from Book 1, the next three from Book 4, the final one from Book 5. A conclusion reflects on the significance of this analysis, both for Sappho studies and for editorial technique.

⁴ For alphabetical organisation in the ancient world see Finglass 2025, 232 with nn. 2–4. A tertiary organisational principle may have been at work, whereby poems in the same metre and beginning with the same letter were then ordered by content or function: Finglass forthcoming 1. But such a principle, if it existed at all, would only be tertiary; the randomising effect of alphabetical order of first letter would have had a stronger influence, and so the point made above would still hold.

⁵ Finglass 2022, 6, as modified by Finglass 2026, n. 5.

...	
... and glory/sheen ...	2/3
... with good fortune	
... to control the harbour	5
... of the black earth ...	6/7
... sailors	
... great blasts	
... and on dry land	10/11
... let ... sail from	
... cargoes ... yield/at random	
... when ...	14/15
... many things ...	
...	
...	18/19
... deeds	
... dry land	
...	22/23
...	

This text comes from a second-century Oxyrhynchus papyrus roll. Most of it was published as *P.Oxy.* 1231 fr. 9 by Hunt 1914, 26–29, 42; to this text Lobel 1951, 122 added a smaller piece from the same roll, which he designated *P.Oxy.* 2166(a) fr. 4 A. So despite the different *P.Oxy.* numbers for the two fragments, they both come from the same ancient manuscript.

No *paragaphoi* or *corônides* survive. But we do have language that consistently describes or suits a sea voyage (5, 6/7, 8, 9, 10/11, 12, 13, 21), beginning in the stanza that starts at 4, and ending in the stanza that ends at 22/23. These five stanzas can therefore be confidently assigned to the same poem, as Milne proposes.⁷ He further

⁷ Milne 1933, 177–178.

argues that the poem in question consists of those five stanzas alone, with poem-beginning at 4 and poem-end at 22/23. His proposal concerning poem-beginning is securely founded, for the following reasons:

First, γάνος 'sheen, pride' in 2/3 is inconsistent with the language of a sea voyage. The noun can denote liquids, but never the salt sea.

Second, 4 can easily be supplemented *exempli gratia* to produce the opening to a poem: e.g. Λίτσομαι Νήρευ σε τ]ύχαι σὺν ἔσλαι | [ἄμμ' ἀκινδύτως λί]μενος κρέτηςαι 'I beseech you, Nereus, that we should safely take possession of the harbour with good fortune'.⁸ How the line could be connected with the preceding text is far less clear.

Third, if the attractive restoration of 1 ἐπιθεε μά[καιρα 'put on / impose, blessed one' is adopted (and no other proposal has been made), that rules out the possibility of poem-beginning in that line, since there must be a previous name to which the vocative μά[καιρα 'blessed one' would refer (cf. fr. 1. 13). If we do not have poem-beginning at 4, we therefore end up with a poem of at least seven stanzas, the rarest length attested for this book.⁹ More importantly, this scenario would delay the reference to arrival in harbour until (at least) the third stanza, when it would most naturally appear the beginning or the end of a description of seafaring.¹⁰

As for Milne's proposal concerning poem-end, repetition of χέρσῳ 'dry land' in 21, after a previous instance in 10/11, might suggest a return to an earlier topic at a poem's conclusion. Poem-end at 22/23 would also yield a five-stanza poem, the most common poem-length in this book. But these considerations are insufficient to establish poem-end to a high degree of probability. Accordingly, this latter proposal should remain in the critical apparatus.

⁸ The first line is owed to Milne 1933, 178; the second is mine.

⁹ Finglass 2022, 4.

¹⁰ Cf. Hor. C. 1. 14. 2–3 *fortiter occupa | portum* 'bravely make for | the harbour!' Sappho fr. 15. 7/8 τύχαι λίμενος, from a penultimate stanza, is no counterexample, since it brings a section concerned with seafaring to a close.

2. Fr. 27
strophae sapphicae

] . αι . [] . [] . [] γος[— ∪ ∪ —]αι·	2/3
—————]	
— ∪] . και γὰρ δὴ cὺ πάϊς ποτ[? — —	
—]ι . ης μέλπεςθ' — ἄγι ταῦτα [— —	5
—] ζάλεξαι, κάμμ' ἀπὺ τῶδεκ[— × ἄ]δρα χάριςσαι·	6/7
—————]	
c]τείχομεν γὰρ ἐς γάμον· εὖ δε[— —	
κα]ἰ cὺ τοῦτ', ἀλλ' ὅττι τάχιτα [— —	
πα]ρ[θ]ένοικ ἄπ[π]εμπε, θεοὶ [δ(ἐ) (∪) — × —]εν ἔχοιεν[.	10/11
—————]	
— ∪ —] ὄδος μ[έ]γαν εἰς Ὀλ[υμπον	
— ∪ ἄ]νθρώ[π- — ∪ (∪)]αίκ . [∪ — —	

1]κ vel]λ . π[vel γ[**2/3** ι . **4** Μῖκ]α Benelli: ἀλλ]ὰ Di Benedetto αἰ [ἦcθα Voigt **5** κάφ]ίλης Di Benedetto **5–6/7** θύμωι | cὼι Benelli **6/7** Hunt ξαι· τῶδε κ[άδουc Benelli **8** Hunt ον· δ' ἐ[πίcτηι fere Snell: [δέρκηι Di Benedetto **9** Edmonds υτ· παίcαιc Diehl: τῦδε fere Theander **10/11** Hunt ἀπ Hunt πε· (ex ηε· factum) Edmonds ἄτιμον μηδ]έν Di Benedetto **12** Οὐδάμωc Snell: Ἀcτίβηc Benelli post Diehl Lobel **13** πάμπαν vel παῖcιν Diehl Hunt: ἄ]νθρώ[πωι Snell: -οιc Edmonds

...
 ...

2/3

... for you [were] once a . . . child
 . . . to sing – come, consider . . . 5
 these things, and from/after this . . . grant us generous favours. 6/7

For we are going to a wedding. And well . . .
 and you . . . this . . ., but with all speed . . .
 send the maidens back, [and] may the gods have . . . 10/11

. . . road to great Olympus
 . . . for human(s) . . .

This fragment results from the combination of many individual pieces of papyrus from a single roll – the same one that provided the previous fragment. *P.Oxy.* 1231 frs. 50–54 were published by Hunt 1914, 38, who gave these fragments adjacent numbers “as having been found rather apart from the rest” (p. 43); he also proposed a join between fr. 51 and 52 (*ibid.*). Subsequently Lobel 1920–1922, 192 (cf. *id.* 1922, 120) connected them together; after that he added two further pieces from the same roll, published as *P.Oxy.* 2166(a) fr. 5 in Lobel 1951, 123.

We lack a left-hand margin, and thus *paragraphoi* and *corônides*. Poem-beginning at 4 is excluded by the καὶ γάρ phrase only three syllables in; the content of the phrase that follows rules out the possibility of an opening imperative explained by γάρ such as is found at Pindar, *Pythian* 6. 1. Poem-beginning at 8 is excluded by the γάρ-clause which opens that verse. Hence 1–10/11 are all part of the same poem, which was therefore at least three stanzas long. Poem-beginning at 12 is secure, however, for the following reasons.¹¹

First, the content in 12–13 is entirely different from what precedes.¹² 12–13 evidently contain a general statement remarking that it is difficult or impossible for mortals to reach (the top of) Olympus. By contrast, the previous stanzas are delivered by a narrator who forms part of a group on the way to a wedding, and culminate in a short prayer; a move from this to the gnomic statement as just described would be unexplained. We cannot account for the juxtaposition by saying that “on an occasion such as a wedding, where humans were at the peak of their physical desirability and their blessedness, it was appropriate to sound a note of caution, and to remind the audience that even the most exalted and godlike couple were only frail mortals”.¹³ Neither bride nor bridegroom is the focus in the two stanzas preceding the gnomic statement, nor do those stanzas contain anything that would merit a reminder about the difference between mortals and divinities. Nor does the warning μή τις ἀνθ]ρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω ‘let no-one among mortals fly to heaven’ at Alcman fr. 1. 16 *PMGF* have any relevance here, either, even though it comes from a *partheneion*

¹¹ It was first tentatively proposed by Edmonds 1928, 16; and subsequently by Snell 1944, 287 = 1966, 74, Ferrari 2007, 39 n. 1 ≈ 2010, 32 n. 1.

¹² Thus Snell, cited previous n.

¹³ Swift 2021, 212; similarly Wasdin 2018, 192.

(maiden-song);¹⁴ such a remark is as germane to Alcman’s poem, with its preceding description of violent and arrogant behaviour, as it would be irrelevant here.

Second, at least two credible supplements for the start of 12 are available that would enable this line to open a poem: Οὐδάμῳς ‘In no way is there a road . . .’ and Ἀκτίβης ‘Pathless is the road which . . .’¹⁵ By contrast, nothing has been proposed for the start of 12 that would connect it with the text that precedes; neither ἀκτίβης δ’] ‘and pathless . . .’ (*suppl.*) nor οὐ γὰρ ἔστ’] ‘for there is not . . .’ fits the space.¹⁶

Third, such a generalisation at poem-beginning is entirely in Sappho’s manner; cf. fr 16 a. 1–2 Ὀλβιον] μὲν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι | [πάμπ]αν ἄνθρωπ[ον ‘It is not possible that [a] person should be | completely [fortunate]’, which with its emphasis on mortal limitations is particularly close to the present instance, as well as the second poem represented in fr. 96 (§ 6, discussed below). Fr. 16 also begins with a generalisation, albeit of a different type, involving a priamel.

Fourth, the stanza that precedes 12 provides a fine conclusion, with its closing instruction to the addressee and brief closing prayer. By finishing here, “our poem would end right on the verge of the wedding ceremony with a final prayer to the gods”,¹⁷ a situation matched in its energetic tone by the endings of two other epithalamia by Sappho, frs. 30 and 43.

3. Fr. 71

× — ∪ ∪ — —] ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — *hag*^{2cho}
 × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ θέ]μις ἐὲ Μίκα
 × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪]ελα[ἄλ]λά σ’ ἔγωϋκ ἑάσω
 —————]
 × — ∪ ∪ — —]ϋ φιλότ[ατ’] ἦλεο Πενθιλήγα[
 × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — —]δα, κα[κό]τροπ’, ἄμμα[
 —————]

¹⁴ It is compared with our passage by Griffiths 1972, 14 n. 19.

¹⁵ *Suppl.* Snell 1944, 287 = 1966, 74 and Benelli 2017, I, 150 n. 317 respectively.

¹⁶ *Suppl.* Diehl 1935, 222 and Theander 1946, 65 respectively.

¹⁷ Kurke 2021, 105 n. 33 (without endorsing or rejecting the proposal).

× — ∪ ∪ — — ∪] μέλ[οc] τι γλύκερον . [∪ — — 5
 × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪]α μελλιχόφων[οc — —
 —————]
 × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —]δει, λίγυραι δ' ἄη[ται
 × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — —] δροc[ό]εcca [— —

1 οὐδὲ] Treu Treu μί 2 γ]έλα[v Ferrari Hunt
 άc' άcω 3 παιδω]v Hunt λό Hunt]ή ήā
 4 παῖ]δα Finglass κα[- Hunt οπ' Hunt: οπ Π άμμα[ic
 vel άμμα[v Ferrari 5 μέ Hunt λύ 6]ā Hunt
 7 άει]δει Hunt εἰ· ραῖδ' άη Lobel 8 Hunt [']

. . . it is (not) right that you, Mika,
 . . . but I will not allow you

. . . you chose the friendship of the Penthilids
 . . . our . . . , malignant person!

. . . some sweet song 5
 . . . gentle-voiced

. . . , and clear-sounding winds
 . . . dewy . . .

The source of this poem is another papyrus roll from Oxyrhynchus, dating to the late second or early third century. The larger piece was published as *P. Oxy.* 1787 fr. 6. 1–4 by Hunt 1922, 32–33, 43; a further fragment of the same roll was added by Lobel 1951, 135 and given the name *P. Oxy.* 2166(*d*) fr. 6.

No left-hand margin survives, no *paragraphoi*, no *corónides*. But second-person references are prominent in both the first couplet (1 cέ, 2 c') and the second (3 ἤλεο, 4 vocative κα[κό]τροπ'). Both these couplets present an oppositional stance between speaker and addressee: 'I will not allow you' (2) and the probable phrase 'it is not right that you' (1) in the first couplet; 'malignant person!' (4) and 'you chose the friendship of the Penthilids' (3), implying rejection of friendship with the speaker's party (probably denoted by άμμα['us / our' in 4) in the second. These four lines clearly belong to the same poem.

Then the tone changes. We move from 'malignant person!' (4) to 'some sweet song' (5); and that focus on pleasant sound is repeated

This text comes from the same papyrus as the previous fragment. Its major part was published as *P.Oxy.* 1787 fr. 11 by Hunt 1922, 34–35, 44; a separate piece of the same manuscript was then published (though not numbered) by Lobel 1925, 34–35, who pointed out that it came from not long after the original fragment. There is no left-hand margin, and so no *corōnis* or *paragraphoi*.

Sense, however, establishes that 3–9 come from the same poem. After the reference in the nominative or vocative to Aphrodite (3) and the Erôtes (4), ἔχοις (6) would be an obviously suitable predicate of a goddess,¹⁹ as would θαασ[ε — (7), whether as θαάσ[σει ‘you sit’ or θαάσ[σει ‘she sits’];²⁰ and a reference to ‘dew’ (9) in a context both numinous and erotic is paralleled at fr. 96.12 ἐέρσα κάλα.²¹ Moreover, it is extremely likely that a new poem begins in 3. The mere mention of Aphrodite in the nominative or vocative is insufficient to establish this, since Sappho need not have introduced the goddess at the start of a work. Rather, it is the elaborate nature of that mention, accompanied by the Erôtes in the same case in the following verse, which makes the hypothesis probable; the goddess’s name will have had an epithet just as the Erôtes do, and it is not convincing that such a substantial introduction could have appeared anywhere other than at the opening of a poem. The presence of two terms in the following stanza suitable for a grand description of deity, involving multiple predicates, clinches the argument.

5. Fr. 86

1–2: × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —	<i>hag</i> ^{2cho}
3: × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —	<i>hag</i> ^{cho}

] . ακάλα . [
 —————]

¹⁹ For this verb predicated of a deity in a hymn or prayer cf. Pind. *O.* 4. 6; Ar. *Nub.* 264, 273, *Thesm.* 316, and for a participle predicated of a god in the same context cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 134, *Cho.* 948–949, Norden 1913, 167 n. 1, Barrett 1964 on Eur. *Hipp.* 525–526.

²⁰ Cf. fr. 1. 1 Ποικιλόθρον’ ἄθανάτα ∪ Ἀφρόδιτα ‘Ornately throned, immortal, Aphrodite’.

²¹ For that poem see below. κάλα]α is credibly supplemented in our passage by Diehl 1923, 362.

× — ∪ ∪ —] αἰγίοχῳ . — [∪ ∪ — ∪ — —
 × — ∪ ∪ — —] Κυθήρη' εὐχομ[ένα- ∪ — —
 × — ∪ ∪ — —] ὄν ἔχοια θυμο[ν
 —————]
 × — ∪ ∪ — κλ]υθί μ' ἄραc αἶ π[οτα κάτέρωτ- — 5
 × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —] ac προλίποια κ[— —
 × — ∪ ∪ — —] πεδ' ἔμαν ἰώ[αν
 —————]
 × — ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — —] ν χαλέπαι [∪ — —

1 ἄκά ν[? **2** λ [vel γ [vel π [**3** εὐχομ[έναιc
 ἄκουcον West : εὐχομ[έναι μ' ἄρηξον Ferrari **4** ἴλλα]ον
 Diehl νέ θυ Fraenkel **5** Fraenkel ὕθιμ'ά αί
 Lobel Fraenkel **6** ἐράνν]ac . . . Κ[ύπρω Diehl **7**]c vel]ε
 ἐδέ ἰώ Gallavotti **8** λέπᾱ μ[εριμναί Fraenkel

. . . peaceful/beautiful . . .

. . . of aegis-bearing . . .

. . . Cytherea, . . . praying . . .

. . . having a . . . spirit

. . . hear my prayer, if ev[er on another occasion too 5

. . . leaving . . .

. . . after my cry

. . . difficult . . .

This fragment comes from the same manuscript as the previous two, and was first published as *P.Oxy.* 2166(*d*) fr. 1 by Lobel 1941, 44. With no left-hand margin, we lack *corônides* and *paraphoroi*. Nevertheless, content shows that stanzas 2–4 and 5–7, which both are in the mode of a prayer, must be connected. We would not expect such an elaborately worded prayer to conclude a poem (the prayer which ends fr. 1 is a short recapitulation of the more elaborate prayer that has come before), so the following stanza (at least) will form part of the same poem too. The content of that stanza, thin though it be, is fully compatible with that hypothesis; the adjective χαλέπαι ‘difficult’ (8) would be entirely suitable to the the situation which has prompted the prayer in the first place, especially after the cry for help, ἰώ[αν (7).

Moreover, the elaboration of the prayer expressed in 2–7 makes it extremely likely that a new poem begins in 2. In that line, ‘aegis-bearing’ must refer to Zeus, which indicates that Aphrodite’s paternity is mentioned, and that her father is given an epithet. Aphrodite gets her own epithet in the following line (3), before she is asked to adopt a certain sort of spirit, presumably a positive one (4). A request comes from the narrator to hear her prayer, as in the past (5; a supplement, but a safe one), and to depart from where she currently is (6) in response to the narrator’s cry (7), whose cause appears to be described in what follows (8). Such a well defined prayer can hardly stand anywhere else than at the opening of a poem.

6. Fr. 96

— ∪ — × × — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —	^ia gl
× × — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —	gl
× × — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —	gl ia^

× × — ∪ ∪] Καρδ [∪ —
 × × πόλ]λακι τυίδε [∪]ων ἔχοικα

ὡς π [∪ —] ὠομεν, [∪ ∪ —]. ∪ . χ[—
 ce θέαι c' ἰκέλαν ἀρι-
 γνώται, cāi δὲ μάλιcτ' ἔχαιρε μόλπαι·

5

νῦν δὲ Λύδαιcιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναι-
 κεccιν ὡc ὄτ' ἀελίω
 δύντοc ἀ βροδοδάκτυλοc cελάννα

πάντα περρέχοικ' ἄcτρα· φάοc δ' ἐπί-
 cχει θάλαccαν ἐπ' ἀλμύραν
 ἴωc καὶ πολυανθέμοικ ἀρούραιc·

10

ἀ δ' ἔέρca κάλα κέχυνται, τεθά-
 λαιcι δὲ βρόδα κᾶπαλ' ἄν-
 θρυcκα καὶ μελίλωτοc ἀνθεμώδηc·

←————→

πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταιc' ἀγάνασ ἐπι-
 μνάcθειc' Ἄτθιδοc ἡμέρωι
 λέπτan ποι φρένα κ[—]ρ . ∪ . — . βόρηται·

15

. . . Sardis . . .
 . . . often setting her mind in this direction,
 that . . . we . . .
 . . . that you were like a manifest
 goddess, and it was in your song that she took especial delight. 5
 But now she is conspicuous among the women
 of Lydia, just like, when the sun
 has set, the rosy-fingered moon
 overcoming all the stars. And the light
 extends over the salt sea, 10
 I suppose, and the field rich in flowers.
 And the beautiful dew has been poured, and
 the roses have bloomed and the tender
 chervil and the flowery melilotus.
 And often, as she goes to and fro, she remembers 15
 gentle Atthis and doubtless is consumed
 in her tender mind with desire . . .
 But to go there . . . this . . . not . . .
 . . . much
 proclaims . . . middle . . . 20
 It is not easy to equal demigoddesses
 with respect to their lovely shape
 . . .
 . . .
 . . . 25
 and . . . Aphrodite
 . . . was pouring nectar from
 a golden . . .
 . . . in her hands . . . Persuasion
 . . . he/she/it wanted . . . 30
 . . .
 . . .
 . . . to the Geraestian

... friends/dear
 ... of/than nothing 35
 ... shall go

This text comes from *P.Berol.* inv. 9722, a parchment codex dating to the late sixth or early seventh century of unknown Egyptian provenance; it all comes from the same folium. The first twenty lines were published by Schubart 1902, 198–201, and then again by Schubart 1907; the next sixteen lines were published by Lobel 1925, 80. The text is all in the same metre, but as noted above, that provides no positive indication of poem-continuity, even in a polymetric book.

For much of this text the left-hand margin is preserved; several *paragraphoi* are extant, but no *corônides*. We cannot, however, rule out the possibility of poem-end in those places where a *paragraphos* survives without a *corônis*, since no instances of a *corônis* are found anywhere in this manuscript; it may therefore not have used this sign at all.

Lines 1–20 are mostly well preserved and clearly continuous in sense. The only place where poem-end might even be posited is after 2; but the sense of 2 must be continuous with 3, which itself can scarcely be by the beginning of a line, and the reference to Sardis (1) is obviously consistent with the subsequent mention of Lydia (6).

Poem-continuity is also secure between 26 and 27. The pouring of nectar from a golden vessel – an action set in the world of the gods – coheres with a mention of Aphrodite in the nominative, and Aphrodite at the end of that stanza coheres with Persuasion, her frequent companion, at the end of the next one. No further demonstrable instances of poem-continuity can be identified.

The one place where poem-end has been proposed is after 20.²² The hypothesis has received a range of reactions: endorsement,²³ cautious favour,²⁴ tepid consideration,²⁵ rejection.²⁶ The most common

²² Edmonds 1928, 21.

²³ Diehl 1935, 224–225; Hutchinson 2001, 185–186 (though he does not mark it in his text, p. 31); Tsantsanoglou 2020, 208, 219; Nicolosi 2022.

²⁴ McEvilly 1973, 276–278 ≈ 2008, 97–99; Kirkwood 1974, 118.

²⁵ Ferrari 2007, 58–59 with n. 2 ≈ 2010, 52 with n. 29.

²⁶ Körte 1939, 491; Vogliano 1942 = 2019, 112–117; Gentili 1966, 54 n. 86 ≈ 2006, 153 n. 60.

reaction, though, has been simply to ignore it; discussions of fr. 96 rarely even touch on the possibility that more than one poem is represented here. The proposal is however to be warmly welcomed, for the following reasons:

First, the sense of 21–23 does not follow on from what precedes.²⁷ After Sappho’s sombre meditations on the woman from Lesbos who now lives in Lydia (presumably Sardis), and immediately after a reference to the impossibility of going to see that woman (since much lies in between: such must be the sense of 18–20), the difficulty of equalling demigoddesses in beauty has no relevance.

Second, 21 is in asyndeton; there is no way of restoring it so as to include a connecting particle.²⁸ Such connectors are essential in Sappho (and other poetry of this period) unless specific circumstances apply, none of which is relevant here.²⁹ A maxim can be introduced in asyndeton if it is explanatory;³⁰ but as just established, 21–23 provide no explanation for what precedes.

Third, emphasising the difficulty of equalling demigoddesses would fatally undermine the earlier comparison of someone to a ‘manifest goddess’ (4–5). The specious similarity between the two statements only underlines their incompatibility – a problem that disappears if they come from different poems.

Fourth, poem-beginning at 21 is perfectly paralleled by the opening of fr. 16 a (cited above, p. 7), down to the structure: opening predicative adjective, followed by μέν, followed by the negative.³¹ As we have seen (*ibid.*), opening a poem with a generalisation about the human condition is a recognisable feature of Sappho’s poetry.

Fifth, although little text is present after 21–23, what survives tells against the hypothesis of poem-continuity. References to goddesses

²⁷ So rightly Kirkwood 1974, 118.

²⁸ So rightly Kirkwood 1974, 118.

²⁹ Calling the asyndeton “unusual” and “discouraging” for the hypothesis of poem-continuity, Hutchinson 2001, 185 nevertheless cites three supposed parallels: but fr. 1. 25 shows the resumption of a narrative mode after the close of direct speech, at fr. 94. 3 the syntax is continuous, and Alcaeus fr. 73. 7 begins with a resumptive pronoun.

³⁰ Cf. Sappho’s ‘Tithonus Poem’, line 8.

³¹ So rightly Nicolosi 2022. Hutchinson 2001, 186 had already used this passage to counter the strange view expressed by Voigt 1971, 109 that it is suspicious for οὐκ to be delayed until after the adjective.

(26, 29), one of whom appears to be predicated with the pouring of nectar from a golden vessel, point in a different direction and show a different tone from what has come before; and 'the coast of Euboea [33] is not startlingly germane to a poem about Lesbos and Lydia'.³²

Following from that point, a further hypothesis may be ventured: could 33 mark the opening of a new poem? That is, 1–20 would come from one poem, 21–32 from a second, and a third would begin at 33. Since we have only one other text by Sappho in this metre (fr. 94, where a poem at least 15 lines long can be determined on ground of sense), we cannot object that a poem beginning in 21 and ending in 32 would be too short; the data required to establish any such parameter are lacking. The reasons for positing such a division are as follows. First, Geraestus in Euboea has nothing to do with Aphrodite (Poseidon was the god worshipped there). Second, whereas 26–30 offer a third-person past-tense narrative about the gods, the only verb in 33–36 is a first-person-singular future, whose meaning, 'I will come', coheres with the expression of motion towards in 33. Third, if φίλαι (34) is vocative plural rather than dative singular, that would indicate an address by the speaker to her female friends about a trip which she is planning to take, and could suit a poem-beginning.

That evidence is insufficient, however, to establish poem-division as the likeliest option. In particular, the absence of virtually all content from the preceding stanza, 30–32, leaves open the possibility of a transition within the same poem from narrative to address. Nevertheless, it could be right, and interpreters of the text will need to take it into account.

Conclusion

Since the current numeration system was introduced by Lobel and Page (1955), Sappho scholars have generally been content to assume that the text found under each fragment number represents a single poem, without considering points that tell either in favour or against poem-continuity. There have been welcome exceptions to this tendency, as we have seen, but on the whole it has been the rule.

³² Hutchinson 2001, 186.

Crucially, none of the editions of Sappho published after Lobel–Page has examined the question afresh; so whether readers turn to Lobel–Page, to Voigt, to Campbell, to Neri, or to Bierl, they virtually always find the same texts under the same numbers.³³ As a result, poem-divisions proposed before 1955, but not adopted by Lobel–Page, have languished; and many low-hanging scholarly fruit have remained on the tree.

One might argue that without a *corónis* or change of metre or some other definitive criterion of that kind, poem-breaks might be suggested in a critical apparatus, but not marked in the text. An edition of Sappho might in theory be constructed on that basis, though how useful it would be is unclear; would supplements and emendations be dealt with on the same basis? Certainly, it is not what we have in our current editions, which tend simply to pass over the question of where poem-breaks are plausible, without mentioning them in the apparatus. These editions are moreover happy to acquiesce in cases where Lobel–Page have themselves inserted poem-break without direct papyrological evidence. Compare Sappho’s ‘Tithonus Poem’ (fr. 58), where an arbitrary poem-division printed by Lobel–Page has been retained in all subsequent editions, despite no arguments having been made in its support, and despite its falsification by a papyrus published in 2004.³⁴

There is no neutral presentation of the evidence: just as dividing fragments into poems is a choice, so too is not dividing them. Refraining from making divisions even when they are probable, indeed omitting consideration of the crucial question of continuity versus poem-break altogether, inevitably leads to readers interpreting chunks of text as a single unit when they are no such thing.³⁵ The consequences for the interpretation of individual poems, as well as of Sappho’s corpus and of the body of archaic lyric as a whole, should be obvious.

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³³ Lobel–Page 1955; Voigt 1971; Campbell 1982; Neri 2021; Bierl 2021.

³⁴ See Finglass forthcoming 3.

³⁵ See Finglass 2020, 188–189 for a discussion of editorial pusillanimity in a different context.

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This paper examines how poem-division can sometimes be determined in Sappho's papyrus fragments even when the left-hand margin of the papyrus is missing and there are therefore no *corônides* to guide us, by paying careful attention to language and style. Six instances are examined, from Books 1, 4, and 5 of Sappho's ancient edition, and a division is advocated in each case.

В статье показано, как иногда в папирусных фрагментах можно определить границу между отдельными стихами Сапфо, даже если поля с левой стороны, где стоял коронис, не сохранились, на основании языковых и стилистических критериев. Рассматривается шесть случаев из книг I, IV и V античного издания Сапфо, и в каждом случае обосновывается разделение.

Tatiana Kostyleva

EUR. IT 288: WHY NOT THE LUNGS?

Πυλάδῃ, δέδορκας τήνδε; τήνδε δ' οὐχ ὀραῖς 285
Ἄιδου δράκαιναν ὡς με βούλεται κτανεῖν
δειναῖς ἐχίδναις εἰς ἔμ' ἐστομωμένη;
†ἦδ' ἐκ χιτώνων† πῦρ πνέουσα καὶ φόνον
περοῖς ἐρέσσει

288 ἦδ' ἐκ χιτώνων **L**: ἦ 'κ γειτόνων δὲ Jackson, alii alia; post χιτώνων lac. stat. Wecklein, suppl. <νυκτὶ προσφερῶν ἰδεῖν ἐμοὶ στομωτόν> ¹

Pylades, do you see this one? Don't you see this one, the she-dragon of Hades, how she wants to kill me aggressively fringed² towards me with terrible snakes? This one breathing fire and gore †from her cloaks† is rowing with wings

The *locus desperatus* ἦδ' ἐκ χιτώνων in line 288 of the *codex unicus L* has long defeated the scholars – anything palaeographically defensible as a slip in minuscule is wanting, as the twenty-one conjectures listed in Wecklein's repertory, including his own suggestion of an interlinear lacuna, and with Markland's ἐχιδνῶν, G. Hermann's both

¹ The text comes from Kearns, and is the vulgate, while the apparatus is a composite affair with Wecklein's name restored in place of Heinisch; among the editors, no positive solution prevails; Diggle initially adopted Jackson's conjecture (1981); his revised second volume (2025) has ἦδ' ἐκ χιτώνων in *crucis*, but the only remedy mentioned in his unusually slim *apparatus* is Jackson's conjecture; Parker has ἐκ χιτώνων in *crucis*, and nothing in the *apparatus*, thus no valid solution at hand; Cropp has likewise nothing in his *apparatus*, and calls this verse “an unresolved problem”.

² Diggle 2021, s.v. στομῶω ad loc. Another possible translation is the one in Cropp ²2023, 181 ad v., ‘brandishing terrible snakes’ or ‘sharpened with terrible snakes’. Elsewhere, all translations mine.

χλιδώνων and κενώνων, A. Kirchoff's τρίτων αὔ, and A. Nauck's ἡ δ' ἐγκυτῖς νῶν among them, amply testify. J. Jackson's ἡ 'κ γειτόνων δὲ³ has found its supporter in J. Diggle, to an extent that Diggle even adopted this "brilliant" conjecture straight into his text back in 1981. His *Last Thoughts on Euripides* reveal a change of mind and a more conservative text of his 2025 revision.⁴

The "mechanics" of corruption as suggested by Jackson and initially approved by Diggle is twofold: either the mechanical γ to χ, producing χιτώνων and at a later point implicating a conscious change in the position of δὲ to rectify the metre,⁵ or originating in the unusual position of δὲ and its (largely also mechanical) transfer "to what was considered its natural place",⁶ followed by further effort on part of some corrector versed in metre.

This conjecture relies not only on the indeed plausible slipping of γειτόνων (unattested in tragedy, which already should have us wary) into χιτώνων, but also on Orestes counting the Furies, or at least spatially arranging them. It is common for Orestes to see a number of Furies,⁷ but a consecutive attack of the more conventional threesome is in no way evident here. Even if they come successively (two in τήνδε of 285 and another one in line 288), Orestes has virtually no time to tell them apart, the Fury is always ἡδε for Orestes, his pressing primary concern. He is grappling only with one, the closest, as we could also judge from οἴμοι, κτενεῖ με of 291. Moreover, if we count, there seem to be no more than two (Nauck produced the third one, κυν<ώπιδα> in line 284 from κυναγὸς ὄς, but few count it in; it is rigid also because the cowherd is quoting, and began and broke off at will).

The adverbial ἐκ γειτόνων, confined to comedy and prose, is idiomatic in the meaning 'in the neighbourhood', 'next door',⁸ but only works in Jackson's conjecture when used attributively and understood way too literally. His genius unperturbed, he sees no problem whatever, stating that "figurative in sense or not figurative... no mere

³ Jackson, 1955, 146–148.

⁴ Diggle 2025; in Diggle 2025, 147, he admits that "valid doubts" have been cast on Jackson's conjecture. He offers no alternative.

⁵ Jackson, 1955, 147.

⁶ Diggle 1981, 79.

⁷ *Or.* 238, 264–265; *IT* 931, 941, 963, 970, thus always referred to in the plural throughout the play.

⁸ See Austin 1970, 14.

colloquialism but an expression fit for the best of company”.⁹ Kearns attempts a translation ‘the one next in line’, but Parker’s commentary is decisive in this respect and her conclusion that ἡ ’κ γειτόνων means ‘the Fury from next door’, and never ‘from beside’ is the only one valid.¹⁰ Thus, this phrase is untenable in our context and should at best be consigned to *apparatus criticus*.

Orestes, on a mission with Pylades to procure the statue of Artemis, is mad again and the timing is as unpropitious for him as it is dramatically effective: discovered by the Taurian cowherds, his fitful hunt for the Furies, their savage attack, and the resulting slaughter of livestock all come narrated through the mouth of one of the Taurians. This is what Euripides loves and does best, lengthy epic narrative, with the descriptions allowing for the immediacy any staging would lack, although he did try his hand another time, in *Orestes*, at staging the fit. Orestes sees the Fury charging, and the Taurian quotes extensively. What Orestes sees can be pieced together to form a single dreadful image, the details are non-contradictory: a hellish she-dragon, facing him with snakes, breathing fire and gore, winged, and carrying in her arms the stone effigy of his mother.

While fire could issue out of any part of such a monster, it is best, since most unnatural from the human point of view, when it comes through the mouth.¹¹ Building on the participle πνέουσα, I suggest reading ἡ ’κ πλευμόνων δὲ instead of ἡδ’ ἐκ χιτώνων, thus restoring the fullness of well-attested tragic idiom (with most cases of πλεῦμον indeed in gen. pl., and the closest parallels in Eur. *Or.* 277 ἀλύω, πνεῦμ’ ἀνεῖς ἐκ πλευμόνων, *HF* 1092–1093 καὶ πνοᾶς θερμᾶς πνέω <...> πλευμόνων ἄπο and S. fr. 1135 Radt ἐκπνέουσι πλευμόνων ἄπο) without introducing any additional detail. This virtue should however have been a sure safeguard against corruption. The *ratio* is not easy to grasp, but could be due to the dissimilative influence of πνέουσα of the immediate context.

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⁹ Jackson 1955, 147.

¹⁰ Parker 2016, 120 ad loc.

¹¹ Cf. the far-fetched idea of McKay that the text is sound and χιτῶνες are lungs “in quasi-medical use”, McKay 1964, 384–385.

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 L. P. E. Parker (ed., comm.), *Euripides. Iphigenia in Tauris* (Oxford 2016).
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The author conjectures ἡ `κ πλευμόνων δὲ in Eur. *IT* 288 against the reading ἡδ`ἐκ χιτώνων of L, relying on the tragic idiom.

Автор предлагает читать ἡ `κ πλευμόνων δὲ в Eur. *IT* 288 против рукописного ἡδ`ἐκ χιτώνων, исходя из употребительности сочетания в языке трагедии.

Filippomaria Pontani

ALLUSIONS IN EURIPIDES' *ELECTRA*

Intertextuality in Euripides has been explored in a number of ways.¹ The modest ambition of this note is to draw attention to two promising instances of this phenomenon in the last scenes of *Electra*, a play that has just benefited of two new, learned and insightful commentaries.² I shall leave aside intertextual games revolving around a single word, although there may be still room for suggestions. For example, Electra wailing on her isolation in the *parodos* (*El.* 181) says δάκρυσι νυχεύω “I spend the night in tears”:³ despite the different context (grief vs. eros), this looks like a deliberate allusion to another virgin *à contre-cœur*, Antigone, and particularly to the hymn to Eros in Sophocles' play (*Ant.* 782–784):

Ἔρως, ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπ-
τεις, ὃς ἐν μαλακαῖς παρει-
αῖς νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις.

Note in particular the compound ἐννυχεύω (with a sort of military overtone “act as a guard”), and the direct correspondence between Electra's tears and the cheeks of Sophocles' νεᾶνις.

¹ See e.g. Micheline 1987; Torrance 2013.

² Avezzi 2025; Seidensticker 2025.

³ Νυχεύω, proposed by Hermann for the manuscript's χεύω (see the discussion in Distilo 2012, 96–97 and Seidensticker 2025, 144: the conjecture has been criticized, but is still the best available), is a very rare verb, labelled by the most recent commentator (Avezzi 2025, 199) as “lessico assente negli altri tragici”: it also pops up in Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 753 c and in Ps.-Eur. *Rhes.* 520 (see Fries *ad loc.*; at Eur. *Suppl.* 1136 νύχευμα is conjectural, and λόχευμα is more likely).

I

In a stern dialogue with Clytemnestra, Electra reproaches her for eliminating the “best man of Greece”, and compares her with her sister Helen (*El.* 1065–1066):

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρπασθεῖσ' ἐκοῦσ' ἀπόλετο
σὺ δ' ἄνδρ' ἄριστον Ἑλλάδος διώλεσας.

The praise of Agamemnon's excellence is later confirmed and expanded by way of a *litotes* (*El.* 1081–1082):

ἄνδρ' εἶχες οὐ κακίον' Αἰγίσθου πόσιν,
ὄν Ἑλλάς αὐτῆς εἴλετο στρατηλάτην.

This theme, in opposition to Aegisthus' baseness, is very popular since at least the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*,⁴ particularly in the frame of the comparison between Clytemnestra and Helen, another well-established *topos* since Homer.⁵ What is peculiar to Euripides' passage, however, is Electra's insistence on both sisters' pernicious beauty (*El.* 1062–1063):

τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶδος αἴνον ἄξιον φέρειν
Ἑλένης τε καὶ σοῦ, δύο δ' ἔφυτε συγγόνω.

Now, while the *topos* of Helen's beauty is of course ubiquitous throughout Euripides' oeuvre and beyond,⁶ the same move

⁴ See Hes. fr. 176 M.–W. (= 247 M.), 5–7 Κλυταιμῆστρη προλιποῦσ' Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον / Αἰγίσθω παρέλεκτο καὶ εἴλετο χεῖρον' ἀκοίτην / ὣς δ' Ἑλένη ἤσχυνε λέχος ξανθοῦ Μενελάου, and the discussion in Seidensticker 2025, 389.

⁵ λ 438–439 Ἑλένης μὲν ἀπωλόμεθ' εἵνεκα πολλοί, / σοὶ δὲ Κλυταιμῆστρη δόλον ἤρτυε τηλόθ' ἐόντι, which *inter alia* also explains in *El.* 1065–1066 the game on ὄλλυμι and its compounds, unjustly suspected by Pierson (see Distilo 2012, 534).

⁶ See e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 269 ἡ Τυνδαρις γὰρ εἶδος ἐκπρεπεστάτη (with Battezzato's note evoking Γ 156–158 as well as Eur. *Andr.* 629–630, *Hel.* 27 etc.), a particularly important passage because it invokes punishment on Helen (266: κείνη γὰρ ὤλεσέν νιν ἐς Τροίαν τ' ἄγει: the object is Achilles).

from the argument of beauty, coupled with the insistence on the betrayed husband's excellence (the shift of the superlative ἄριστον from Menelaus to Agamemnon), famously occurs in Sappho's fr. 16 Neri, ll. 6–9:

ἀ γὰρ πόλυ περσκέθοισα
 κάλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπων Ἑλένα [τ]ὸν ἄνδρα
 τὸν []ιστον
 καλλ[ίποι]σ' ἔβα 'ς Τροῖαν πλέοι[σα]

The rationale of this emphasis in the context of Sappho's poem has been hotly debated by scholars: Glenn Most's plausible explanation views excellence in beauty as the feature that lends Helen the necessary authority in judging what is κάλλιστον, and simultaneously obliterates or downplays her traditional negative stigma.⁷

That in *El.* 1065–1066 Euripides had Sappho in mind, as he did in a number of allusions detected by recent scholarship,⁸ can be suggested on the basis of both contextual and textual arguments. First of all, beauty is not only the “general heading” of Electra's speech, but it also becomes her substantial objection to Clytemnestra's behaviour – the latter's obsession with physical appearance right upon Agamemnon's departure (the combing and the mirror in *El.* 1071) becomes proof of her plan to betray her husband from the very start. Beauty is thus transformed in a vehicle of guilt rather than in a token of excellence.

Also Electra's reference to Clytemnestra's daughter can be read against the model of Sappho's evocation of Hermione. In Sappho, Hermione is left behind and “forgotten” by Helen sailing for Troy (fr. 16 Neri, ll. 9–12):

⁷ Most 1981. See also the discussion in Hutchinson 2001, 163, and in Patrick Finglass' forthcoming edition and commentary, which I was able to see by courtesy of the author.

⁸ Cavallini 1986, 38–47. See in particular on fr. 16, Scodel 1997 (echoes in *Phoenissae*, *Hypsipyle* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*) and López Cruces – García González 2012, 197–205 (echoes in *Hypsipyle*). Most conspicuous is the case of *Cycl.* 185–186 Μενέλεων, ἀνθρώπιον / λῶστον, λιποῦσα, about which see di Marco 1980.

καλλ[ίποι]σ' ἔβα ἔς Τροῖαν πλέοι[σα].
 κωὺδ[ὲ πα]ῖδος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων
 π[ά]μ[παν] ἐμνάσθ<η>, ἀλλὰ παράγαγ' αὐταν
 .] [.....]σαν.⁹

In Euripides, Iphigenia is summoned to Troy by her father and then used *a posteriori* by Clytemnestra as the σκῆψις,¹⁰ the excuse for her adultery and subsequent killing of her husband, which in reality had been planned right after his sailing for Troy (l. 1070 νέον τ' ἀπ' οἴκων ἀνδρὸς ἐξωρημένον).

In textual terms, Euripides' ἄριστον matches the universally accepted ἄριστον (be it μέγ' ἄριστον, πανάριστον, or more likely περ ἄριστον¹¹) in the lacuna of fr. 16, l. 8. More interestingly, Euripides' ἐκοῦσα might lend support to the (also widely accepted) idea that a participle describing Helen's will should be restored in fr. 16, l. 12. Since a grave accent (carried by the scrap *POxy* 2166 (a) 2, joined with the main fragment by Lobel in *POxy* vol. XXI, p. 122) appears on the (lost) first syllable of the line, earlier supplements such as Κύπρις ἔκοισαν (Pesenti) or κωὺκ ἀέκοισαν (οὐκ ἀέκοισαν Page) have become untenable. Martinelli Tempesta's οὐδὲ θέλοισαν¹² or Ferrari's κωὺδάμ' ἔκοισαν,¹³ which give the image of an unwilling Helen abducted by Aphrodite in spite of her fundamental integrity,¹⁴

⁹ Once again the Homeric prototype is at work: δ 263–264 παῖδά τ' ἐμὴν νοσφισσαμένη θάλαμόν τε πόσιν τε / οὔ τευ δευόμενον, οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτε τι εἶδος (note here εἶδος standing once again for 'beauty', and *schol.* δ 264 a on the disappointment of men postponed to rivals on the ground of physical beauty, as was the case with Paris).

¹⁰ *El.* 1067–1068 σκῆψιν προτείνουσ' ὡς ὑπὲρ τέκνου πόσιν / ἔκτεινας: The word may recall Aesch. *Agam.* 886 τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει (Clytemnestra's *excusatio* for Orestes' absence).

¹¹ τὸν περ ἄριστον was proposed by B. Marzullo on the basis of the comparison with T 95–96: see Pfeijffer 2000, 3 and n. 9, and Neri 2021, 579.

¹² Martinelli Tempesta 1999 (but is it likely that the accent should just serve to mark the distinction between θέλω and ἐθέλω, which are normally interchangeable in Aeolic poetry?).

¹³ See the discussion in Neri 2021, 579–580.

¹⁴ Contrast the image of a strongly responsible and willing Helen, the symbol of a personal choice and of self-consciousness, detected in Sappho's fragment by Marzullo 1978–1979 – this might lead to semantically opposite solutions such as e.g. κωὺδ' ἀέκοισαν (but see Neri *ad loc.*).

work very well in this frame, as it is well-known that Euripides consistently presented Helen in a negative light in the story of Paris' rape.¹⁵ At the beginning of a speech whose solemnity and frankness is underlined by the speakers themselves,¹⁶ Electra takes her cue from the association of Clytemnestra with her sister and insists on her determination not to improve at all on Helen in terms of σωφροσύνη (*El.* 1083–1085): much like Hecuba in her famous tirade in the *Trojan Women*,¹⁷ she finds a powerful starting-point in the reversal of Sappho's "iconoclastic" argument about Helen's innocence.

II

1) The links of *Electra* with the *Oresteia* are intrinsic, manifold, and largely apparent.¹⁸ One that to my knowledge has never been noticed (but may perhaps belong to the parallels too obvious to deserve a special mention¹⁹) concerns the last line of the proper action of the play – the last line, that is, before the final anapaests recited by Castor, Orestes, and Electra (*El.* 1291):

εὐδαιμονήσεις τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαχθεὶς πόνων.

The line rounds off Castor's prophecy about Orestes' future salvation from toil and from the Erinyes after the vote in Athens and an appropriate purification. The *iunctura* ἀπαλλ- πόνων (whether verbal

¹⁵ See in particular (with Cavallini 1986, 39–43) Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 781–783; *Hel.* 696–697 (with Marzullo 1978–1979); *Tro.* 373 ἐκούσης κού βία λελησμένης, where Cassandra also points out that Agamemnon ὁ σοφός (probably ironic) τὰ φίλτατ' ὄλεσ' (371) in exchange of the most hateful, i.e. Helen, ἐχθίστων ὕπερ (370).

¹⁶ Electra had preliminarily asked her mother for permission to use παρρησία (ll. 1049, 1056).

¹⁷ See Eur. *Tro.* 969–1032, particularly 988 ὁ σὸς δ' ἰδὼν νιν νοῦς ἐποίηθη Κύπρις with the quasi allegorical idea that "Aphrodite" is in fact just Helen's mind and her folly.

¹⁸ The main fieldwork was carried out by Krauss 1905, 101–113 and Aéliou 1983. On the *Agamemnon* see the discussion in Torrance 2013, 14–33, part. 31–33; there is frequent reference to Aeschylus in Michelini 1987, 181–230.

¹⁹ A category evoked by Ieranò 2006, 79–80 about Κάδμου πολῖται occurring in both Eur. *Phoen.* 1399 and Aesch. *Sept.* 1.

or nominal) is recurrent throughout Greek tragedy,²⁰ but there is little doubt that this particular line evokes directly the *Oresteia*, on the one hand Apollo's identical claim in the *Libation Bearers* (83 ὅστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων), on the other (and more closely, see the pronoun τῶνδ' and the idea of happiness): θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων (*Agam.* 1) and νῦν δ' εὐτυχὴς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων (*Agam.* 20), the beginning and the end of the first speech of the first play in Aeschylus' trilogy. If the Athenian public can be credited with some kind of *memoria incipitaria*,²¹ I find it likely that the *dénouement* of Orestes' tragedy as prospected by Castor alludes to the beginning of the poor watchman's *rhexis*. In purely literary terms, Euripides vindicates for *Electra* the role of closing the action inaugurated by the first line of the *Oresteia*, and of thus truly fulfilling the "deliverance from toil" repeatedly invoked by characters in the Aeschylean *coup d'envoi*.

2) Although the end of *Electra* is fraught with allusions to the *Agamemnon*,²² only passing attention has been devoted to the words by which Electra introduces her mother in her house – these are in fact the very last words she speaks to her, for ll. 1142–1146 are pronounced *seule en scène* after she has walked in (*El.* 1139–1141):

χώρει πένητας ἐς δόμους· φρούρει δέ μοι
μὴ σ' αἰθαλώση πολύκαπνον στέγος πέπλους.
θύσεις γὰρ οἷα χρὴ σε δαίμοσιν θύη.

The declared reason of Electra's reference to soiling πέπλοι is that Clytemnestra is going to perform rites to the gods (l. 1141), although, by a transparent irony, she is in fact going to end up as "the 'proper' sacrificial victim".²³ There can be no doubt that πολύκαπνον στέγος

²⁰ See Eur. *Med.* 333; *Heracl.* 586, 811; *Andr.* 424.

²¹ See Conte 1985.

²² See e.g. the chorus song in ll. 1147–1164, "unter dessen Klängen Klytemnestra ihrem Geschick entgegengeht, in grossen Zügen den Inhalt des Agamemnon" (so Steiger quoted by Krauss 1905, 107, who also compares ll. 1142–1146 with Aesch. *Cho.* 904–908).

²³ Cropp 2013 *ad loc.*; Torrance 2013, 32–33, rightly arguing against the idea (Hammond 1984, 381–386) that these allusions should have anything ludicrous or farcical; on l. 1141 "chargé d'un sens sinistre", see Aéliou 1983, II. 68.

evokes the chorus' prophecy in the *Agamemnon* "Justice shines in smoke-soiled dwellings";²⁴ and this is all the more relevant in a play marked by its (highly unusual) setting, namely the poor and filthy house of Electra's husband, the Peasant who plays a decisive role in the first part of the play. The inadequacy of this house is often evoked in the play,²⁵ also in opposition to the grandeur of Clytemnestra's palace and in affinity with the experience of Orestes' exile.²⁶

The first *comparandum* for this scene is the carpet scene in the *Agamemnon*,²⁷ for textual and contextual reasons:

– *El.* 1139 πένητας ἐς δόμους is a hint to Clytemnestra's denial in *Agam.* 962 πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος; and the purple tapestry laid down before the king's feet upon his arrival in the *Agamemnon* stands as a clear and memorable symbol of the wealth of the house;²⁸

– Clytemnestra entering Electra's house in her most beautiful and shining garments (*El.* 966 στολῆ λαμπρύνεται)²⁹ is about to be killed just as is Agamemnon upon entering the palace in *Agam.* 957.

Still, it has gone unnoticed that Electra's words introducing her mother into her house (*El.* 1139–1040) also imply an allusion to the topical moment of Agamemnon's arrival at Argos. Electra's recommendation to her mother about the danger of soiling her clothes by stepping into the house (μή σ' αἰθαλώση...), while perhaps alluding

²⁴ *Agam.* 774–775 Δίκη δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν / δυσκάπνοις δώμασιν: see O'Brien 1964, 35 n. 38; Torrance 2013, 33; Medda 2007, 62–63; Avezzù 2025, 404.

²⁵ Since Electra's first exchange with the Chorus, and then in her *rhesis* to the disguised Orestes in 300–322: see Medda 2007, 55–61.

²⁶ The peculiar setting also entails some "comic" moments, such as the scene (*El.* 404–419) where Electra reproaches her husband for inviting people without making sure in advance of how much food is in store – a very important moment in the definition of those who "belong" to the house and of those who do not: see Medda 2007, 60–62.

²⁷ See Zeitlin 1970, 657: "It is a brilliant entrance, reminiscent of Agamemnon's fateful entrance in Aeschylus", taken up by Micheline 1987, 222: "This moment's obvious analogy is the 'carpet scene'": but no details are given (see also Torrance 2013, 33 and Seidensticker 2025, 403).

²⁸ Cropp 2013 *ad loc.* refers to Clytemnestra's hybristic words in *Agam.* 958–962.

²⁹ On the antithetical modesty of Electra's self-woven clothes (*El.* 307, but also Clytemnestra's own words evoking Electra as ἄλουτος καὶ δυσείματος during her alleged childbirth in l. 1107) see Torrance 2013, 17–18 and Raeburn 2000, 153.

to Clytemnestra's recommendation to Agamemnon about the opportunity to step on the carpet rather than on bare earth (*Agam.* 906–907 μὴ χαμαὶ τιθεὶς / τὸν σὸν πόδ'),³⁰ matches closely Agamemnon's reluctance to walk on the carpet, a reluctance that rests on a number of reasons. He argues namely that such a honour is womanly (*Agam.* 918 γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις), that it is a “barbarian” custom (919 βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην), that it might elicit the envy of the gods (918–924, part. 921–922 ἐπίφθονον πόρον), and also – this he adds after a tense stichomythy with her wife, thus qualifying his final decision to acquiesce to Clytemnestra's invitation and to step on the tapestry barefoot (l. 957 πορφύρας πατῶν will be his last words) – that he finds it a shame (πολλὴ αἰδῶς) to soil the purple carpet, and thus to ruin the house's goods (δωματοφθορεῖν), particularly those expensive tapestries (*Agam.* 948–949):

πολλὴ γὰρ αἰδῶς δωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν
φθειρόντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς.³¹

It looks as if Euripides' *Electra* were obliquely and ironically re-enacting her father's attention to the cleanness and tidiness of the house's goods, be they garments or tapestries: by a curious game of mirrors, the sources of dirt are no longer Agamemnon's sandals soiling and contaminating Clytemnestra's tapestry, but rather *Electra*'s house soiling and contaminating Clytemnestra's robe.

In Aeschylus the purple tapestry stands for a path that will lead Agamemnon, under Clytemnestra's control, towards the δίκη of vengeance in her house (*Agam.* 910–911 εὐθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος / ἐς δῶμ' ἄελπτον ὡς ἂν ἡγήται Δίκη), leaving the soil of Argos untouched and simultaneously arousing the gods'

³⁰ Both Clytemnestra and *Electra* conclude by invoking, in a gruesomely deceitful irony, the gods' will – one that both addressees (in the former case Agamemnon, in the latter Clytemnestra) completely misunderstand: *El.* 1141 θύσεις γὰρ οἶα χρὴ σε δαίμοσιν θῆ – *Agam.* 912–913 τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὑπνω νικωμένη / θήσει δικαίως σὺν θεοῖς εἰμαρμένα.

³¹ In l. 948 all editors accept Schütz's conjecture δωματοφθορεῖν for σωματοφθορεῖν, and are happy with the repetition of φθειρόντα in l. 949 (Hermann's conjecture φύροντα is a secondary option, that has ended up in Medda's text by mistake – communication of the author).

and the citizens' φθόνος.³² Similarly, in Euripides it is Clytemnestra's turn to risk contamination and to follow with dirty garments the path leading inside her daughter's house, and to her own δίκη of vengeance. In both scenes, the women are strong enough to state almost explicitly (and with a cruel hypocrisy) the terms of this fraud, and thus to manipulate verbal communication so as to deceive their respective antagonists.³³ The interplay with the Aeschylean prototype, not least due to the transformation of the deceiving character into the victim, is thus crucial in order to appreciate Euripides' literary fabric.

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 S. Martinelli Tempesta, “Nota a Saffo, fr. 16, 12-13 V.”, *QUCC* 62 (1999) 7–14.

³² Medda 2024, I. 114–117.

³³ Aélion 1983, II. 68, rightly insists on the substantial equivalence between mother and daughter in hypocrisy and in the ability to devise a terrible deception for their victim.

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The paper discusses a couple of passages in Euripides' *Electra* that might show signs of intertextual allusion to Sappho, Sophocles, and above all to Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.

В статье рассматриваются несколько мест из "Электры" Эврипида, в которых можно заметить следы интертекстуальных аллюзий на Сапфо, Софокла и главным образом на "Агамемнона" Эсхила.

Gauthier Liberman

DE *BUCOLICORUM* THEOCRITEORUM
ET MARONIANORUM ALIQUOT LOCIS
DISPUTATUR

Carolus Martinus Lucarinus quinquagenarius, cum et artis nostrae et utriusque sermonis peritissimum tum humanissimum uirum, his humilibus, ut ita dicam, racemationibus, donare placuit, ut quae ab heu sexagenario amico *Bucolica* Theocritea Maronianaque propriae mentis oculis perlustrante selectae sint. Haec enim carmina, ut multi multa et bona, quae tamen non omnia recepta aut respecta sunt, reperturi iam excusserunt, ita nonnulla ulcera tenent quae resecanda aut indicanda restent; restant autem etiam quae explicatore, non emendatore egeant. Quod uero hic illic iusto aut solito breuius locutus sum, hoc non modo spatii angustiis sed etiam perspicuitatis causa eius factum est, qua commenta mea aut propria uirtute praelucere aut aliis et fortasse ipsi Carolo ueri inueniendi uiam praemonstrare queant.

Theocritea¹

1, 27–31:

καὶ βαθὺν κισσύβιον κεκλυσμένον ἀδεί κηρῶ,
ἀμφῶδες, νεοτευχές, ἔτι γλυφάνοιο ποτόσδον.
τῷ ποτὶ μὲν χεῖλῃ μαρύεται ὑπόθι κισσός,
κισσὸς ἐλιγρῶσφ κεκονιμένος· ἅ δὲ κατ' αὐτόν² 30
καρπῶ ἔλιξ εἰλείται ἀγαλλομένα κροκόεντι.

¹ Textum de Gowi 1950 editione quisquiliis mutatis expressi. Virorum doctorum nominum Latine reddendorum rationem Housmanni in praeclara enarratione Maniliana secutus sum.

² Audi Tournierum 1894–1902, 74 : “La fin du vers paraît avoir été bien corrigée par Sauppe : κατ' αὐτῶν (du haut des lèvres, des bords)”. Non receperunt, ut alios praetermittam, Wilamowitzus 1912 – quem Sauppianum commentum spreuisse miror –, Legrandus 1925, Gowus 1950, Gallavottius 1993, Hunterus 1999, Hopkinsonus 2015.

Solito acumine de toto loco disputavit Wilamowitzus,³ quam disputationem qui hanc meam adnotatiunculam legis excutias uelim. Incomparabilis tamen uir de uersu trigesimo aliis uerum inueniendum reliquit. Ut enim ἐλίχρυσω κεκοιμένος (nam hoc et ipse recte a codicibus PW tradi puto⁴) dicatur κισσός, me quidem iudice uix fieri potest, nec tum quidem si ἐλίχρυσος ad ipsum hederæ florem refertur.⁵ Certe χρύσω κεκοιμένος tam bene ipsum per se dici uidetur,⁶ ut ἔλα⁷ χρύσω, ‘lumine’ uel ‘splendore auri’, coniciam. Adferrem Nonnum *Dion.* 19, 130–131 τοῦ περὶ χεῖλεος ἄκρον ἐπ’ ἀμπελόεντι κορύμβῳ (καρήνῳ Laurentianus, corr. Graefius) | κισσὸς ἔλιξ, χρυσέῳ δὲ πέριξ δαιδάλλετο κόσμῳ, si textus quem representari stare posset.⁸ Lacunam uero ante κισσὸς ἔλιξ posuit Keydellus,⁹ Wilamowitzo autem adrisit emendatio Graefiana κισσὸς ἐλίχρυσοιο πέριξ δαιδάλλετο κόσμῳ.

³ Wilamowitzus (1906) 223–229, qui Maronem (*Buc.* 3, 38–40 *fagina, caelatum diuini opus Alcimedontis, | lenta quibus torno facili superaddita uitis | diffusos hedera uestit pallente corymbos*) hoc Theocriteum tale quale nos legimus legisse ipsum docuit aut docere sibi uisus est. Ceterum Maronem *torno* scripsisse me mirari fateor: non *caelatum... torno* sed *tornatum... caelo* (uide Graecum γλυφάνοιο) eum dedisse suspicor, etsi haec et talia nonnumquam ab ipsis ueteribus misceri non nescius sum (uide Libermannum 2021, 170).

⁴ Praeunte Lattio 1968, 668, quem Gowus 1950, II, 8 suo iure perstrinxit, Hunterus 1999, 79 uulgatam lectionem κεκοιμένος maluit, quod probante Lattio συμπλεγμένος ualere scholiasta (apud Wendelum 1914, 40, 11 et 16) proprio, ut puto, Marte dixit. Aduocatur a Lattio eumque sequentibus (sunt autem iusto plures) Hesychius Δ 1070 διακόνις· ἐπὶ ὕψις ἱματίου ἀνωμάλου, ὃ φαμεν κονίζειν. καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ μὴ πυκνός, quod non ita facile ad locum Theocriteum referri Beekesus 2010, 328 s. v. διακόνις recte adnotauit. Re uera κεκοιμένος idem quod κεκοιμένος ualet pertinetque ad substantiuum κόνις. Illud Hesychianum κονίζειν, quidquid id est, melius relinquitur. Porro quod Lattius ad hanc uocem inlustrandam Maronianum *diffusos hedera uestit pallente corymbos* excitat, id nihili est.

⁵ Ita Gowus 1950, II, 7 et Hopkinsonus 2015, 21 n. 8.

⁶ Quod Tournierus 1894–1902, 74 perspexit, qui ἐπὶ χρυσῶ, sc. χρυσῶ *ἐπικεκοιμένος, coniecit eumque audi: “La branche de lierre était saupoudrée d’or ou dorée, les fruits comme les feuilles”.

⁷ De hac uoce uide sis Beekesum 2010, 385 s. u. εἴλη 2. Quam facile illud ἔλα corrumpi potuerit, neminem latebit; Pindarum fr. 123, 10 a Bergko egregie emendatum adferre satis erit.

⁸ Frustra oblocuta est femina docta Gerbeau 1992, mirorque Franciscum Viannum eius adiutorem in hac falsi praelatione acquieuisse.

⁹ Keydellus 1959.

Quae si recta est, Theocriti locus iam tum cum eum Nonnus legit deprauatus fuit, quod non mirandum, si iam Maronem (*Buc.* 3, 39–40) eum talem qualem nos legimus legisse, quod Wilamowitzus putauit, uerum est.

1, 104–106:

οὐ λέγεται τὰν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος...; ἔρπε ποτ' Ἴδαν,
ἔρπε ποτ' Ἀγχίσαν· τινεὶ δρύες ἠδὲ κύπειρος, 105
αἱ δὲ καλὸν βομβεῶντι ποτὶ σμάνεσσι μέλισσαι.

Recipi solet pro eo quod traditur οὗ id quod Graefius emendauit οὐ, ita ut tacenda subaudiantur, ueluti cum Maro (3, 8–9) dixit *nouimus et qui te, transuersa tuentibus hircis*, | *et quo – sed faciles Nymphae risere – sacello* (sc. ‘pedicauit’ uel tale quid¹⁰). Verum ut tacenda ad locum Maronianum quadrant, ita uix ad Theocriteum. Quo fit ut προσλέγεται (cf. 1, 92 ποτελέξατο), ‘adloquitur’ (sc. Daphnis), coniciam mutata distinctione supra repraesentata.

2, 26:

οὕτω τοι καὶ Δέλφισ ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάρκ' ἀμαθῦνοι.

Cum ἀμαθύνω ‘in puluerem redigo’ significare uulgo perhibeatur, Delphis ipse suum corpus in puluerem redigere a Theocrito dici uidetur, quod tantum abest ut toleretur ut interpretes ipsi suo quisque sermone hanc actiuam uerbi significationem deserant, ueluti cum Gowus “so may the flesh of Delphis waste in the flame” uertit. Re uera lexicis addendum est ἀμαθύνω intransitiue acceptum,¹¹ ‘in puluerem

¹⁰ Quod expressisse Theocritum (5, 41–42 et 116–117) non puduit. Re uera quod Maro cum impudenter tum ludibunde posuit, uidelicet *transuersa tuentibus hircis*, “inuidentibus ipsis hircis pueri pedicandi cupidine feruidis”, id multo proteruius est quam Theocritea illa αἱ δὲ χίμαιραι αἶδε κατεβληχῶντο, καὶ ὁ τράγος αὐτὰς ἐτρόπη.

¹¹ Qui huius uerbi usus ipsum Fraenkelum 1906, 36 latuit, a quo tamen optima de talium uerborum ui intransitiua doceberis. Obiter moneo participium ἐκκλεάθοντα (1, 62–63 τὰν γὰρ ἀοιδάν | οὐ τί πα εἰς Αἶδαν γε τὸν ἐκκλεάθοντα φυλαξεῖς) non esse “a strong aorist participle from ἐκκληθάνω” (sic mirandum in modum Hunterus 1999, 86), quod primo obtutu accentus

redigor’, ‘pulvis fio’, quod scholiasta apud Wendelum,¹² οὕτω καὶ ὁ Δέλφις ἐν φλογὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος διαφθαρεῖ τὸ σῶμα, intellexit. Quantum ad σάρκα pertinet, nil est nisi accusatius qui respectus dicitur, quod scholiasta etiam perspexit.

2, 105–109:

φράζεό μεν τὸν ἔρωθ’ ὅθεν ἴκετο, πότνα Σελάνα – 105
 πᾶσα μὲν ἐψύχθην χιόνος πλέον, ἐκ δὲ μετώπῳ
 ἰδρώς μεν κοχύδεσκεν ἴσον νοτίαισιν ἐέρσαις,
 οὐδέ τι φωνῆσαι δυνάμαν, οὐδ’ ὅσσον ἐν ὕπνῳ
 κνυζεῦνται φωνεῦντα φίλαν ποτὶ ματέρα τέκνα·

Suspicio φωνεῦντα perseuerantis errori deberi (nam φωνῆσαι praegreditur) Theocritumque ποθέοντα (confer 17, 52 et 18, 42) dedisse, ut paruuli matrem suam desiderantes ad eam uagire dicantur. Noli subirasci Quintum Smyrnaeum adferenti 2, 578–579 μετὰ δὲ σφι κύνες ποθέοντες ἄνακτα | κνυζηθμῶ ἐφέπονται ἀνηρηῆς ἕνεκ’ ἄγρης.

4, 11, 33–34 et 37:

BA. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Κορύδων, τίνας αἰ βόες; ἢ ῥα Φιλώνδα; 1
 KO. οὐκ, ἀλλ’ Αἴγωνος· βόσκειν δέ μοι αὐτὰς ἔδωκεν. 2
 (...)
 KO. οὐκ ἄκουσας; ἄγων νιν (sc. Aegona) ἐπ’ Ἀλφεὸν
 ὄχετο Μίλων. 6
 (...)
 KO. κῶχετ’ ἔχων (sc. Aegon) σκαπάναν τε καὶ εἵκατι
 τουτόθε μῆλα.
 BA. πείσαι κα Μίλων καὶ τῶς λύκος αὐτίκα λυσοῆν. 11
 (...)
 BA. φεῦ φεῦ βασεῦνται καὶ ταὶ βόες, ὦ τάλαν Αἴγων 26
 KO. (...)
 αἰνέω τάν τε Κρότωνα – ‘Καλὰ πόλις ἄ τε Ζάκυνθος...’ – 32

dissuadet, sed, quod uir harum rerum unus omnium peritissimus Buttmannus 1825, 179 olim perspexit, praesens ex aoristo reduplicato uim causatiuam habente ductum.

¹² Dico Wendelum 1914, 276, 6–7.

καὶ τὸ ποταῖον τὸ Λακίνιον, ἄπερ ὁ πύκτας	33
Αἴγων ὀγδώκοντα μόνος κατεδαίσατο μάζας.	34
τηνεὶ καὶ τὸν ταῦρον ἀπ' ὄρειος ἄγε πιάξας	35
τᾶς ὀπλᾶς κῆδωκ' Ἀμαρυλλίδι, ταὶ δὲ γυναῖκες	36
μακρὸν ἀνάυσαν, χῶ βουκόλος ἐξεγέλασεν.	37

En ecce luculentum me quidem iudice erroris qui dicitur Wattiani exemplum tenes, quo, cum scribae duarum uocum altera iteranda esset, eam quam non debuit iterauit. Denique quod ὁ πύκτας Μίλων Theocritus nobilissimi athletae Milonis Crotoniensis memor¹³ uoluerat scripseratque, id ὁ πύκτας Αἴγων (u. 33–34) factum est. Verum inuenit Halbertsma, spreuerunt excepto Edmondso¹⁴ quotquot editores mihi innotuerunt. Ipse Legrandus ita haesit ut “uix posse Aegona iam dici τὸν πύκτην, qui oleum nondum uiderit (u. 7)” adnotaret, falsum demum praeferret. Quid quod scholiasta et uiri docti nostrates omnes, quod u. 35–36 ab Aegone factum esse praedicatur, id ipsum ab illo Milone factum esse perhiberi adnotant? Obloquenti Gowō monentique χῶ βουκόλος ἐξεγέλασεν ad Aegona pertinere necesse esse hoc habeo quod respondeam, receptam quoque Μίλων emendationem nunquam obstare quin χῶ βουκόλος ἐξεγέλασεν ad ipsum Aegona referamus. Nunc uero agendum de u. 11, πείσαι κα (κε K, emendauit Ahrensus; τοι interpolauerunt ceteri codd.) Μίλων καὶ τῶς λύκος αὐτίκα λυσοῖν, quem scholiastae et ceteri interpretes frustra explicare conati sunt. Index autem falsae lectionis istud otiosum atque ineptum αὐτίκα est. Forsitan Gowō pace Stephanus coniciendo κατ τῶ λύκῳ ἀμνάδα λυσοῖν uerum inuenerit. Qui enim Aegona bubulcum olei ignarum ut athleta fieret persuadere potuit, is agnellam quoque ut aduersus lupum furat suadere potuerit. An Maro eius loci (sed ante corruptionem) memor *nunc et ouis ultro fugiat lupus* (8, 52)¹⁵ dixit?

¹³ Milonem illum priscum et uerum non pugilem sed, monente Gowō 1950, II, 78, luctatorem fuisse parum refert. Verum fieri potest ut et pugil fuerit. Milonem Theocriteum Wilamowitzus 1906, 166 ‘Faustkämpfer’, idem 1912, 158 ‘pugilem’ ita nuncupauit, ut nescio an eius menti emendatio ὁ πύκτας Μίλων, quam tamen silentio pressit, obuersaretur. Etenim ipsum audi: “Scaena Crotone: ideo pugili cuidam Milonis, antiqui olympionicae, nomen induitur”.

¹⁴ Dico Edmondsum 1912.

¹⁵ Vide locos adsimiles apud Ottonem 1890, 198, qui tacite locum Theocriteum ad emendationem Stephanianam adcommoauit.

12, 12–16:

‘δῖω δὴ τινε τώδε μετὰ προτέροισι γενέσθην
 φῶθ’, ὃ μὲν εἴσπνηλος, φαίη χ’ Ὠμυκλαϊάζων,
 τὸν δ’ ἕτερον πάλιν, ὥς κεν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι, αἴτην.
 ἀλλήλους δ’ ἐφίλησαν ἴσφ ζυγῶ. ἦ ῥα τότε ἦσαν 15
 χρύσειοι πάλιν ἄνδρες, ὅτ’ ἀντεφίλησ’ ὁ φιληθείς’.

Fuit olim me quidem iudice qui, cum structura parum perspecta εἴποι absolute positum esse crederet idque ei displiceret, ueriores lectionem ὁ δ’ ἕτερος πάλιν, ὥς κεν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι, αἴτης aut quasi sponte sua inter legendum aut consulto per infelicem emendationem pessumderit. Tradita ipse Gowus parum aptis locis¹⁶ se tutari fatetur. Nam quod Wilamowitz¹⁷ τὸν δ’ ἕτερον πάλιν, ὥς καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι, αἴτην legit, id ὁ δ’ ἕτερος πάλιν, ὥς καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι, αἴτης esse debuit. Fieri autem potest ut haec ipsa lectio uera sit. Wilamowitzo enim admonente et uox αἴτας Laconica esse perhibebatur¹⁸ et κεν melius abest, ut φαίη χ’ (id est καὶ) Ὠμυκλαϊάζων et ὥς καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι¹⁹ concinne inter se respondeant. Tum idem aut alter scriba perseuerandi errore πάλιν pro eo quod fuit πάλαι (est autem uetustior coniectura ab Ahrenso citata), uidelicet χρύσειοι πάλαι uel potius χρύσειοι οἱ πάλαι (Wassenbergus a Gowow citatus; confer 13, 66 σχέτλιοι οἱ φιλέοντες), exarauit.

¹⁶ Vide Buechelerum 1927, 108–109.

¹⁷ Wilamowitz 1906, 180.

¹⁸ Lectione incertissima laborare moneo *SEG* 24 (1978) 128 n° 404 (uide *SEG* 22 [1967] 98 n° 302), quod hic illic, ueluti a Richero 2012, 599, tanquam supra omnem dubitationem positum praedicatur: “Aigiai. Dedication, ca. 550–500 B. C., (...). C. Gallavotti (...) interprets the text as follows: *ὑακίνθιοι ἀνέθεν αἴται ἀγροϊκῶ(ι)*. The Hyakinthioi are a thiasos who dedicate the bronze cup to a semi-divine αἴτας (= ἐταῖρος ἐρώμενος) in the fields; i. e., Hyakinthos who was loved by Apollo”.

¹⁹ Alcaeus Lesbicus (uide fr. 346, 2 a me olim enarratum) Laconica quae perhibetur uoce et ipse ita usus est, ut eam potius ad amicum quam ad amasium referre uideretur. Conferenda est *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίων* α 409 apud Cunninghamum 2003, 556 αἴταν· τὸν ἐταῖρον. Αἰριστοφάνης (Byz. fr. 408 apud Slaterum) δὲ τὸν ἐρώμενον. Forsitan igitur, pace Beekesi 2010, 45 (“A Doric or Thessalian word”), eius uerbi amatorius usus magis quam ipsa uox Laconicus uel Thessalicus fuerit. De ea uoce feminam doctam Hamm 1957, 64 olim contuli; conferre et Pottum 1867, 441–442 et 649–650 nunc iuuat.

Neutrum ob aduerbiorum τότε... πάλαι quandam abundantiam, ni fallor, Gowō placet; abundantia uero nulla est, quandoquidem τότε ad ὅτε referendum est. Tu caue ne aureae aetatis uiros rursus redisse dici putantibus et ipse adsentiaris, nam, ut de uix apta sententia nihil dicam, ‘tum erant aurei rursus uiri, cum etc.’ pro eo quod esse debuit ‘tum redierant aurei rursus uiri, cum etc.’ positum Theocrito plane indignum est.

14, 10–11:

ΘΥ. τοιοῦτος μὲν ἀεὶ τύ, φίλ’ Αἰσχίνα, ἀσυχᾶ ὀξύς,
πάντ’ ἐθέλων κατὰ καιρόν· ὁμῶς δ’ εἶπον τί τὸ καιρόν.

Interpretatione Gowiana “wanting everything just to your liking” ut unice apta sententia²⁰ efficitur (confer u. 57 ὄφελε μὲν χωρεῖν κατὰ νῶν τεδὸν ὧν ἐπεθύμεις), ita Graeca uerba κατὰ καιρόν ‘opportune’, ‘commode’, supra ueri similitudinem detorqueri uidentur.²¹ Inesse uero quendam uerborum iocularem ludum suspicor, quo lectoris acuti mens a notissima formula κατὰ καιρόν, quod primo obtutu ad rem et uirum non quadrare intellegitur, ad noue dictum *κατὰ χαῖρον adducitur. Quo facto ipse lector illud κατὰ καιρόν quasi nouo sensu uestit. At ipso ioco, ni egregie fallor, abnorme illud *κατὰ χαῖρον (nam κατὰ τὸ χαῖρον sermonis lege postulabatur) excusatur. Forsitan respiciatur²² atque etiam inrideatur illud dictum Epicureum (fr. 204 apud Usenerum) γεγόναμεν ἅπαξ, δις δὲ οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι· δεῖ δὲ τὸν αἰῶνα μηκέτι εἶναι· σὺ δὲ οὐκ ὦν τῆς αὔριον κύριος ἀναβάλλη τὸ χαῖρον (teste gnomologio Vaticano Epicureo,²³ τὸν καιρόν Stobaeo)· ὁ δὲ βίος μελλησμῶ παραπόλλυται καὶ εἷς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἀσχολούμενος ἀποθνήσκει. Quid si Epicuro uerborum ludus ei

²⁰ Itaque a *κατ’ ἄκαιρον (coniecit Greverus, recepit Ahrensus 1855) uel παρὰ καιρόν (Meinekus) cauendum.

²¹ Nam aliena sunt quae Gowus adtulit, dico 25, 66 μή τί οἱ οὐ κατὰ καιρόν ἔπος προτιμωθήσαιο et Herodotum 1, 30, 2 θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον, ὡς οἱ κατὰ καιρόν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε.

²² De Theocrito, ut ita dicam, Epicureo uide Rosenmeyerum 1971.

²³ Quam uariam lectionem sibi tum ignotam recipere nequibat Usenerus 1887, 162, eam recepit et tutatus est idem 1888, 179–180 = 1912, 302–303, cuius de toto loco disputationem auctor sum ut legas.

adsimilis, quem Theocrito adscripsi, placuit et amicum quem adhortaretur sub uerbis ἀναβάλλῃ τὸ χαῖρον illam formulam ἀναβάλλῃ τὸν καιρόν quasi delitescentem agnoscere uoluit? Haud uero temere ne κατὰ χαῖρον Theocrito tribuerem caui.

14, 44–46:

εἴκατι· ταὶ δ' ὀκτώ, ταὶ δ' ἑννέα, ταὶ δὲ δέκ' ἄλλαι·
 σάμερον ἑνδεκάτα· ποτίθεις δύο, καὶ δύο μῆνες 45
 ἐξ ὧ ἀπ' ἀλλάλων·

“Twenty, eight, nine, another ten, to-day’s the elenventh. Add two, and it’s two months we’ve been apart” (ita Gowus). Argentario meo me computatorem nullum esse iure suo adseuerante hac tamen facultate non adeo careo, ut hanc dinumerationem peruersam esse uidere nequeam. Nam, ut hoc loquendi more utar, $20 + 8 + 9 + 10 + 1 + 2 = 50$. Quodsi Gowus illo ἑνδεκάτα ordinali non unum sed undecim dies significari posse credidit, tum uehementer errauit. At enim ταὶ δὲ δέκα ἄλλαι idem quod “another ten”, omnino ‘uiginti’ ualet. Re uera ταὶ δὲ δέκα ἄλλαι hoc non nisi post mentionem decem dierum iam iniectam ualere potest. Abest autem mentio ea. Deesse igitur decem dies meo iure autumo. Putemusne igitur duce Legrando²⁴ uersum unum aliquem inter u. 43 et 44 positum et decem illos dies indicantem euanuisse? Minime. Veriore enim distinctione uti sat erit hac: εἴκατι· ταὶ δ' ὀκτώ, ταὶ δ' ἑννέα, ταὶ δὲ δέκ', ἄλλαι, scilicet ταὶ δὲ δέκα, ἄλλαι δὲ δέκα, quae poeta sermonis uulgaris breuiloquentia usus contraxit. Huc adde quod poetae ἄλλαι pro eo quod in sermone soluto debuit ἔτεραι dicere licuit. Quod si Legrandum sequi magis uoles, tum pessum datur ratio carminis septuaginta uersuum ita instituta, ut conloquentibus per integros hexametros duobus uiris omnino quinque et sexaginta uersus, per dimidiatos uel hemistichia darentur omnino quinque uersus hexametri integri.²⁵

²⁴ Legrandus 1925.

²⁵ A Gowu aliisque praeclaras emendationes spretas esse doleo u. 38 τήνω τεὰ δάκρυα; μάλα (codd. absurde; ἀλλὰ Wilamowitzus) ῥέοντω (ῥέοντι codd., emendauit Wilamowitzus, receperunt omnes); 55–56 οὔτε κάκιστος | οὔτε πρᾶτος ἴσως, ὁμαλὸς δὲ τις ὁ στρατιώτας (ἀσπιδιώτας Ahrensus, neglexit ipse Wilamowitzus).

24, 13–15:

τᾶμος ἄρ' αἰνὰ πέλωρα δύω πολυμήχανος Ἥρα
κυανέαις φρίσσοντας ὑπὸ σπείραισι δράκοντας
ᾧρσεν ἐπὶ πλατὺν οὐδόν.

Nemini unquam nec Rumpelo²⁶ contigit ut ὑπὸ σπείραισι persuadenter explicaret. Nam tantum abest ut quoddam Platonium quod fertur epigramma, *A. P.* 16, 13, 1–2 Ὑψίκομον παρὰ τάνδε καθίζεο φωνή-εσσαν | φρίσσουσιν πυκνοῖς κῶνον ὑπὸ ζεφύροις, conferri possit ut cur locus Theocriteus illo ὑπὸ labore potius indicet. Quodsi, ut puto, praepositio melius abest, tum apta uidetur esse uocula qua Pindarus, in eo praeclaro loco quem Theocritus aemulatur et ampliat, adposite utitur, uidelicet ἄφαρ: θεῶν βασιλέα | σπερχθεῖσα θυμῷ πέμπε δράκοντας ἄφαρ (*Nem.* 1, 39–40). Qua emendatione recepta diligenterque conlato uersu Theocriteo 25, 227 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θάμνοισιν ἄφαρ²⁷ σκιεροῖσιν ἐκρύφθην, locum sic constitue et intellege: πολυμήχανος Ἥρα | κυανέαις φρίσσοντας ἄφαρ σπείραισι δράκοντας | ᾧρσεν ἐπὶ πλατὺν οὐδόν, ‘multarum fraudum machinatrix Iuno caerulea uolumina sinuantes serpentes actutum ciuit ad patulum limen’.

24, 60–61:

Ἀλκμήνα μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ σφέτερον βάλε κόλπον
ξηρὸν ὑπαὶ δείους ἀκράχολον Ἴφικλῆα·

Adiectiuum ξηρός de intrementibus²⁸ prae angore aut obstupefactis²⁹ usurpari non solitum esse Gowum non latuit, qui rariorem exquisitioremque αἴσος uoculam sic adhiberi adnotauit pluresque locos eosque luculentos e lexicis deprompsit. Glossographi autem haud pauci αἴσος per ξηρός explicant. Restituendum est igitur suum Theocrito legendumque αἴσος ὑπαὶ δείους (uide e. g. Menandrum *Epitr.* 901

²⁶ Rumpelus 1879, 292.

²⁷ Vide Rumpelum 1879, 48 s. v. ἄφαρ.

²⁸ Vide Oniansum 1951 192 n. 1, quem hoc potius ad oris siccitatem referentem ut sequar uix adducor.

²⁹ Vide *TLG* II 2482 BC.

αὐός εἰμι τῷ δέει quaeque Wilamowitzus³⁰ doctius adnotavit). Tum Theocriti recentiores editores ipsumque Wilamowitzum traditum parumque aptum ἀκράχολον seruasse, praeclare inuentum ab acutissimo poeseos Graecae emendatore Heckero *ἀκράχλοον, quod Ahrensus receperat, spreuisse doleo. Nam tu caue Gowō ἀκράχολον idem quod *ἀκράχλοον ualere tibi persuadere conanti obsequaris.

29, 19–20:

† ἄνδρων τῶν ὑπερανορέων δοκέης πνήην·
φίλη δ', ἄς κε ζόης, τὸν ὕμοιον ἔχην ἄει.†

Posterior uersus emendatu facilius prius emendetur: φίλον δ', ἄς κε νόης,³¹ τὸν ὕμοιον ἔχην ἄει, “amasium, quamdiu uides (seu ‘uuiis’), eundem habe semper”. Pro tradito δοκέεις non δοκέης sed δοκίμοις³² scribere Gowus debuit. Tum ἄνδρων τῶν ὑπερανορέων emendare difficilius esse satis constat. Cum Ahrensus ἀνορέαν, ‘superbiam’,³³ eruisset, Wilamowitzus³⁴ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ ἀνορέαν felicius quam infelicius commentus est ediditque³⁵ et explicauit: “du hast ein *air*, einen *humour*, der über die ἀρετὴ καὶ δύναμις hinausgeht, (...) ὑπερήφανος εἶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ’ ἀνθρώπων”. Ut Wilamowitzo obloquens Gowus sententiam aptam esse iniuria negat, ita plurale ἀνθρώπων et ὑπὲρ pro Aeolico πέρ positum displicent. Quo fit ut ἀνθρώπω σὺ πὲρ ἀνορέαν δοκίμοις πνήην, “tu supra hominis superbiam spirare uideris”, audeam.

30, 12:

τί δῆτ’ αὐτε πόης; ἀλοσύνας τί ἔσχατον ἔσσειται;

³⁰ Wilamowitzus 1925, 98 ad u. 517.

³¹ Hoc iam Ahrensus 1855, sed dubitanter. De uerbi νόημι significatione uide Ruijghum 1967, 371–372 et 1991, 493.

³² Vide feminam doctam Hamm 1957, 144 n. 356.

³³ Vide pseudotheocriteam *Syringa* 9–10 ὃς σβέσεν ἀνορέαν ισουδέα παπποφόνου | Τυρίας τ’ ἐξήλασεν et Gowum ad loc.

³⁴ Wilamowitzus 1906, 257.

³⁵ Wilamowitzus 1912, quam editionem excutere etiamnum operae pretium est eaque non ita raro melior quam Gowiana euadit. Insunt carminum summaria elegantissima et acutissima.

Cum aphaeresis τί ὄσχατον mirabilis sit tantumque absit ut posterius τί necessarium sit ut me quidem iudice melius exsulet, omnino delendum est. Porro quotquot monstrum horrendum μάντ(ι) Εὐηρείδα, μάλα τοι φρονέοντα διδάσκω (24, 71) Theocrito adscribere ausi sunt, eis pudori id debuit esse quod intrusam explicationem pro eo quod fuit ἀλλ' Εὐηρείδα³⁶ receperunt.

Maroniana³⁷

1, 67–72:

En umquam patrios longo post tempore finis
 pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen
 <aspiciam? Aut ego hyperboreo flauescere sole>
 post aliquot, mea regna uidens, mirabor aristas?
 Impius haec tam culta noualia miles habebit, 70
 barbarus has segetes. En quo discordia ciuis
 perduxit miseros, his nos consequimur agros!

Versus 67–69 tales posui, quales edi et intellegi suo iure uoluit Hauetus.³⁸ Quem uersum uir egregius suppleuit, eum exempli gratia tantum finxisse uix est quod dicam. Illud uero *post* (u. 69), quod pro aduerbio acceptum idem seruauit, adeo infelici ambiguitate laborare mihi uidetur, ut *olim* ante *ali(quot)* euanuisse credam. Tu tantum, lector optime, caue ne *olim arbos* (*Aen.* 12, 210) propter positum et elisionem conferas. Nam 12, 210–211 uersus interpolatos esse alibi tibi probare conatus sum.³⁹ Nihil tamen obstare mihi uidetur, quin *olim aliquot* hoc positu, hac elisione a poetae manu profectum sit. Nunc illud *his* (u. 72) restat, ni fallor, emendandum, quod *huic* (sc. militi) primitus fuisse conicio. *Huic* enim *his* propter *ciuis miseros* factum uidetur esse.

³⁶ Correxerit Ahrensus, receperit Wilamowitzus.

³⁷ Textum ex editione Ottavianiana (2013) plerumque expressi; sicubi alia, quisquiliis posthabitis, repraesentauim, hoc disertim significauim.

³⁸ Hauetus 1914, 81–85.

³⁹ Vide Libermannum 2025, 90–92.

2, 56–69 (et totius carminis structura tangitur):⁴⁰

Rusticus es, Corydon; nec munera curat Alexis,	56
nec, si muneribus certas, concedat Iollas.	57
Eheu, ⁴¹ quid uolui misero mihi? Floribus Austrum	58
perditus et liquidis immisi fontibus apros.	59
Torua leaena lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,	63
florentem cytisum sequitur lasciua capella,	64
te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque uoluptas.	65
Quem fugis, a, demens? Habitarunt di quoque siluas	60
Dardaniusque Paris. Pallas quas condidit arces	61
ipsa colat; nobis placeant ante omnia siluae.	62

Verum ordinem restituisse mihi uideor, quo recepto omnia recte procedere me locum legentibus re ipsa probaturum esse satis confido. Nam si traditum ordinem seruas, nihil habent illa *Quem fugis, a, demens?* quo referantur. Ceterum carminis apertam structuram, precor, animaduerte: 1–5, praefatur poeta; 6–73, queritur Corydon ita, ut in u. 6–55 Alexi suadere ut eum amet se posse credat, secus uero in posterioribus se nullam spem habere intellegat. Carminis ratio uere Maroniana ($72 = 9 \times 8$)⁴² suadet ut uersus 39, *dixit Damoetas, inuidit stultus Amyntas*, quem tanquam ipsum per se otiosum aut ineptum Ribbeckus damnauerat, deleatur.

⁴⁰ Knoepfler 2010, 155 *actaeo*, hoc est ‘litoreo’, non *Actaeo* (2, 27 *Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho*) iure suo interpretatum esse obiter moneo.

⁴¹ *Eheu* ueriores quam *heu heu* lectionem esse aliis praeuentibus ostendi (Libermannus 2023, 63–64 n. 110).

⁴² Carminis IV, omnibus notae uaticinationis, uersuum numerus quasi perfectus 63 (7×9) impedit, quominus u. 23, *ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores*, reiciatur. Dico propter feminam doctam Ottauiano 2013. En uerus ordo, en uera atque ea pulcherrima lectio: (18) *Ac tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu* | (19) *errantis hederas passim cum baccare tellus* | (20) *mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho*, | (23) *ipsa tibi blandos fundet cunabula flores*, sc. “ipsa tibi tellus blandos flores fundet ut sint tibi tanquam cunabula”. Nota schema quod dicitur Cornelianum, in *Bucolicis* a Marone admatum ut quod maxime. Verum ordinem inuenit Kloučekus, cuius inuentum plurali *fundent* emendando Campbellus perfecit.

3, 84–85:

Pollio amat nostram, quamuis est rustica, Musam:
Pierides, uitulam lectori pascite uestro.

Solum, ni fallor, Ribbeckum⁴³ proposuisse, neminem et facillimam et me iudice certissimam emendationem *cultori* recepisse miror, non nescius fore qui solitis ueterum scripta explicantium uel potius tenebrarum inuolucris implicantium artificiis traditum *lector*i uindicare deconentur. Tu uero sapiens confer Hesiodum *Theog.* 99–100 ἀοιδός | Μουσάων θεράπων;⁴⁴ Maronem *Georg.* 2, 475–477 *Me uero primum dulces ante omnia Musae, | quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore, | accipiant;* Nasonem *Trist.* 2, 13–14 *si saperem, doctas odissem iure sorores, | numina cultori perniciose suo;* *Pont.* 4, 2, 29 *sacraque Musarum merito cole;* *Trist.* 4, 10, 19–20 *at mihi iam puero caelestia* (Heinsio duce lege *Permessia*) *sacra placebant | iamque suum furtim Musa trahebat opus.* At si editores *lector*i abiecissent, abiecissent quoque *liber* in 10, 67 *nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo* recepissentque *moriens alta aret Liber in ulmo.*⁴⁵

3, 88–89:

Qui te, Pollio, amat, ueniat quo te quoque gaudet;
mella fluant illi, ferat et rubus asper amomum.

Loquitur Damoetas. Seruio duce ‘uenisse’ subaudiri et ‘ueniat quo te quoque uenisse gaudet’ explicari solitum est. Illud *quoque* absurdum uidetur nisi ‘post alios tantosque poetas’ interpreteris. Nam quis sanus diceret admiratorem imitatoreque se gaudere eum *quoque* quem admiretur imiteturque eo peruenisse quo ipse admirator imitatorque non nisi posterius perueniat? Etsi *quoque* ut feci interpreteris, mihi tamen uidentur tradita frigidiora esse quam ut pro Maronianis satis confidenter uenditentur. Callimacheum (*Hymn. Ap.* 113) χαῖρε, ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἴν’ ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο ad tradita uindicanda parum facit atque id eo minus, quo Graeca in malam partem dicuntur, ueluti cum

⁴³ Ribbeckus 1859 dubitanter; deest apud eundem (1894) et plerosque editores aut interpretes.

⁴⁴ Vide Westum 1966, 188.

⁴⁵ Sic Coningtonus probante Housmanno 1916, 66.

Medea Apolloniana (3, 786–787) ὁ δ' ἐμῇ ἰότητι σαωθεῖς | ἀσκηθῆς, ἴνα οἱ θυμῷ φίλον, ἔνθα νέοιτο effert. Emendatore, non explicatore locus forsitan egeat. Sententiae sufficere uidetur *qui te, Pollio, amat, ueniat quo tu quoque suades*, sc. ‘perueniat quo tu suades ut et ipse ueniat’. Quam Maronianum uerbum *suadeo* sit, te, si opus erit, docebit egregium illud lexicon Vergilianum.⁴⁶ Denique conferendum est *ueniam quocumque uocaris*, u. 49, loquente Menalca.

3, 100–103:

Dam. Heu heu, quom pingui macer est mihi taurus in eruo.
Idem amor exitium pecori pecorisque magistro.

Men. Hisce arte – neque amor causa est – uix ossibus haerent;
nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

Haec Maro Ottauianianus.⁴⁷ Ut uero femina illa docta Hauetianam emendationem *quom* pro eo quod traditur *quam* recte recepit neque hac sua laude fraudanda est, ita eam Haueto duce *eheu*⁴⁸ quoque legere decuit. Quid, quaeris, de aduerbio *arte*? Nec Maronianum nec loci structurae aptum est. Huc adde quod traditum *certe* tuetur is quem Maro uestigiis sequitur locus Theocriteus 4, 15–16 τήνας μὲν δὴ τοι τᾶς πόρτιος αὐτὰ λέλειπται | τὼστία. Redeundum igitur est ad tradita *his certe – neque amor causa est – uix ossibus haerent*. Prisca Latinitatis monumentum religiose adseruatum *his* pro uulgari plurali *hi* positum nos magno gaudio adficere debet.⁴⁹

3, 108–110:

Non nostrum inter uos tantas componere lites:
et uitula tu dignus et hic, et quisquis amores
aut metuet dulcis aut experietur amaros. 110

Audi feminam doctam Ottauiano: “metuitur γλυκύπικρος amor quia dulcedine sua amantem in periculum trahit (cf. Aen. 4, 298 ‘omnia

⁴⁶ Dico Merguetum 1912.

⁴⁷ Ottaviano 2013.

⁴⁸ Vide Libermannum 2023, 63–64 n. 110.

⁴⁹ Videndus Hauetus 1914, 165–168.

tuta timens’)). Equidem ‘quisquis *dulcamaros⁵⁰ amores aut spernet aut recipiet’ intellego. Maro enim, audacissimus poeta, cum nec γλυκύ-πίκρους adamussim exprimere nec *dulcis amarus* conglutinare posset, *dulcis* et *amaros* ita posuit ut uerba quodam modo inter se pugnantia primum *metuit dulcis*, deinde *experietur amarus* componeret. Nam quis sanus dulcia metuat, quis amara experiri uelit? Quorum cum neutrum ueri simile sit, ueriuorem explicationem quaerere lectores debebant. Quam, si sermonis Graeci memores fuissent et eodem ingenii acumine quo poeta usi essent, inuenissent. Nunc non inuenerunt tantumque abest ut inuenerint ut grammatici nostri, seu tradita seruarent seu falsa emendatione corrumpere, turpissimos in errores delapsi sint.⁵¹

4, 53–54:⁵²

O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima uitae,
spiritus et quantus sat erit tua dicere facta!

Cum *quantum* traderetur, *quantus* scripsit femina docta Ottauiano,⁵³ quam iterum audi: “hic ποιότης, haud ποσότης, significatur: spiritus et quantus ualet ‘et tam ingens ingenium’. Bene explicat Seru.: ‘utinam possim frui uita longissima et habere tantum spiritum, quantus possit sufficere ad tuae uirtutis commemorationem’ (cf. Aen. 10, 772 *oculis spatium emensus quantum satis hastae*; Liu. 25, 33, 4 *merces quanta uel pro bello satis esset dabatur*)”. Etsi haec non male disputari uidentur, displicet tamen sonus *-tus* ita iteratus, ut consona uerba sola uocula et distraherentur. Nam *ille latus niueum molli fultus hyacintho* (6, 34) aliter conformari satis patet.⁵⁴ Vereor equidem ne emendatio

⁵⁰ Extat glossema *dulcacidus* (TLL V, 1, 2182, 46–52) uideturque finxisse ipse Stephanus (TGL III 654 A s. v. γλυκύπικρος) *dulciamarus*.

⁵¹ Cucchiarellius 2023, 195–196 difficiliora subtiliter enucleare, ut solet, supersedit.

⁵² Liceat hic emendationem commemorare, qua legendo *molli siluestris* (*paulatim* testes omnes) *flauescet campus arista* (4, 28) Maroni suum restituisset mihi uisus sum (uide Libermannum 2023, 74 ad Catullum 38, 7). Nam rem et locum consideranti *rerum paulatim sumere formas* (6, 36) alienum esse adparebit.

⁵³ Ottauiano 2013.

⁵⁴ Nullibi, si Shackletonus Baileyus 1994, 100–106 fidem facit, duo uerba in *-tus* desinentia Maro conglutinavit, quem tamen *meriti tanti* (Aen. 9, 256) dixisse non nescio.

quantus Maronem ad uulgaris syntaxeos normam perperam exigit. Immo *maneant mihi spiritus, quantum sat erit...*, sc. “maneant mihi spiritus (nominandi casu), quantum spiritus (gignendi casu) satis erit...”, non minus Latine dici mihi uidetur quam illud Plautinum, *Epid.* 213 *Tum meretricum numerus tantus, quantum* (sc. *meretricum*) *in urbe omni fuit*, ubi caue ne Leoni⁵⁵ obtemperans *quantus* legas. Confer potius Leonis pace *Aul.* 785 *ut illum di immortales omnes deaeque quantumst perduint; Bacch.* 1170 *Senex optime quantumst in terra, sine <me> hoc exorare abs te; Poen.* 433 *Neque nubes omnes quantumst; Pseud.* 37 *At te di deae quantumst – Seruassint tamen; 535–536 Non unum in diem, | uerum hercle in omnis quantumst.* Insunt autem in primo loco Plautino et in Maroniano incongruentiae specimina quae noli ad seuerioris syntaxis normam redigere. Qui tamen ne talia sollicitet a se impetrare non potest, is infinitiuum quoque finalem *dicere* proturbet!

5, 56–59:

Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
 sub pedibusque uidet nubes et sidera Daphnis.
 Ergo alacris siluas et cetera rura uoluptas
 Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas.

Cetera, quo uocabulo Maro in *Bucolicis* notabiliter abstinuit idque a siluis reliquas ruris⁵⁶ partes frigidius parumque poetice discernere uidetur, addubitauit, quo ingenii acumine pollebat, Schraderus. Cuius ut peringeniosa, ita parum sensu apta commenta *secretaque rura* uel *securaque rura* displicent; displicet autem multo magis Heynianum istud *et agros et rura*. Adridet uero, tanquam satis bonam sententiam prae se ferens et facilius in *et cetera rura* abiturum, *erecta que rura* (< *ceteraque* < *et cetera* metri causa). Etenim quae rura cum ruricolis ob extinctum Daphnin luctu concussa demissaque u. 20–44

⁵⁵ Leo 1912, 311. Emendatione *quantus* optimum, ut est, metrum non melius fit. De loco Maroniano tacuit Leo.

⁵⁶ ‘Rus’ ipsum per se cultum incultumque esse posse et usu conprobatur et ueriloquio, ut ita dicam, confirmatur, cuius, sua quidem non fraudandus laude, primus inuentor Darmesteterus 1878, 56 extitit. Est autem conferenda uox Aestica ‘ravahn’, qua latum spatium significatur.

exponuntur, ea alacri⁵⁷ eiusdem Daphnidis quasi reuiuiscantis uoluptate eriguntur et reficiuntur. Semel hic erigendi uerbo⁵⁸ figurate uti potuisse eum credo, qui 6, 63 *solo proceras erigit alnos*, scilicet “ut se erexerint canit”, dixit saepiusque ipse arrigendi uerbo figurate usus est. Quin immo in illis “erectis ruribus” nonnihil proprii sensus remanere mihi uidetur.⁵⁹

6, 82–84:

Omnia quae, Phoebō quondam meditante, beatus
audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere laurus,
ille canit; pulsae referunt ad sidera ualles.

Flumineas laurus carmina quae Amyclaei Hyacinthi amore captus Apollo ad Eurotae ripas meditari putatur ediscere iuberi ab eodem Eurota adeo miror,⁶⁰ ut uocem *laurus* (u. l. *lauros*) propter commemoratum Apollinem subortam esse expulsa ueriere lectione suspicer. Forsitan enim Eurotas deus suos ipsius *fluctus* illa diuina carmina ediscere iusserit.⁶¹ Non nimis dissimiliter in *Aen.* 9, 124–125, ut hoc exemplo utar,⁶² fluctus ipse suos Tiberis deus ab alto reuocauit.

10, 42–49 (et totius carminis structura tangitur):

Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,
hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aeuo.
Nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis
tela inter media atque aduersos detinet hostis. 45

⁵⁷ De iunctura uide Stat. *Theb.* 10, 187 *ergo alacer trepidos sic erigit augur Achiuos*. Nam caue ne, quod multi, *alacris siluas* iungas.

⁵⁸ Maro erigendi uerbum proprio sensu omnino decies usurpauit.

⁵⁹ Confer ancipitem locum Theocr. 1, 138–139 τὸν δ’ (sc. Daphnin) Ἀφροδίτα | ἦθελ’ ἀνορθᾶσαι, ‘erexisse’.

⁶⁰ Caue ne Stat. *Silu.* 4, 6, 98 *amantes carmina laurus conferas* (uide Libermannum 2010, 367). Nec, si Diltheyo 1872, 60–61 aliisque Daphnen ab eodem Apolline amatam adferentibus adcedes, *laurus* satis tutaberis.

⁶¹ Postea repperi apud Chateaubriandum scriptorum Francogallicorum facile principem haec: “Fontanes m’apprend qu’il faisait des vers en changeant d’exil (...); chaque soir, des fleuves inconnus répéteront les plaintes mélodieuses qu’il eût mieux aimé faire entendre à l’Eurotas”.

⁶² Vide locos congestos a Luenzero 1876, 17–19.

Tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)
 Alpinas, a! dura niues et frigora Rheni
 me sine sola uides. A, te ne frigora laedant!
 A, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!

Credeere tantum idem fere quod ‘credere tantum nefas fieri posse’ cum significare nequire Ribbeckus uideret nec traditos uersus aliter nisi per miras interpretantium ambages et uix probabilia artificia explicari posse perspiceret, unum aliquem post sextum et quadragesimum uersum putauit deesse. Ut uero u. 46 pro interpolato habere mallet, perpulchri et perpoliti carminis structura suasit. Nam uersibus 1–8 praefatur Maro personatus; 9–30, duo et uiginti uersibus Galli dolorem idem exponit; 31–69 sublato u. 46, octo et triginta uersibus uersu loquitur ipse Gallus; 70–77, octo uersibus Maro personatus Gallum excipit et ualedicit. Ergo Galli elegiae uersus sunt octo et tringita, uidelicet tot quot Maro personatus loquitur (8 + 22 + 8). Ipsa Galli elegia aperte bipartita est: 31–49 sublato u. 46, octo et decem uersibus de infida Lycoride queritur eamque adloquitur amore feruens Gallus; 50–69, uiginti uersibus idem bucolicam uitam se malle pati amore quasi deferuescente dicit, mox recantaturus et amori iterum cedere certus. Nunc uero cur u. 46 interpolatus sit quaerenti hoc respondeo, a lectore aut grammatico quodam requisitum esse pronomen (*Tu*) quo Gallus Lycorida suam significantius adloqueretur. Interpolator is quem posui *me* uersu 44 legebat, quam lectionem traditam nescio an non recte et feliciter femina docta Ottauiano uindicauerit, spreta illa coniectura Heumanniana *te*. Nam falsum est id quod oblocuta est, *nunc* pro ‘re uera’ poni non posse nisi Gallus ipse se Martis insano amore detineri dicat. Porro si Gallus inter hostes detinetur, quomodo fieri potest ut idem dicat hoc melius sibi futurum fuisse si *hic*, id est “in Arcadiae siluis ubi nunc uersor”, cum Lycoride sua ipso aeuo consumptus esset? Quid quod insanus Martis amor eundem inter hostes detinere dicatur, quem non minus insanus Lycoridis amor habeat?⁶³ Cum omnia haec stare nequeant, ad emendationem confugias necesse uidetur esse. Quod si *te* legimus Lycoridaque ipsam insano quodam amore in duri Martis armis detineri intellegimus, tum interpolatoris eius quem posui uerba *Tu procul a patria* superuacanea

⁶³ Vide Cartaultum 1897, 399 in eo libro quem, etsi non omnia pari praestantia administravit, tuo tamen periculo neglegas.

sunt. Sunt autem me iudice ficta ut *me* lectio tradita pronomen quod sibi responderet et opponeretur haberet.

Haec, ut nunc est, hactenus. Vale, dilecte Carole, et nos ama.

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Twenty-two critical or exegetical remarks on Theocritus and Vergil's *bucolica* are offered, twelve on Theocritus, ten on Vergil. Other passages of both poets are also discussed. The paper aims at demonstrating that there is still a lot of work to do to improve the text and understanding of these *bucolica*, also Vergil's, which are more difficult than is generally realised.

Статья содержит 22 критических и экзегетических заметки: 12 к *Буколикам* Феокрита и 10 к *Буколикам* Вергилия. Попутно обсуждаются и другие пассажи обоих поэтов. Целью автора было показать, что для понимания обоих произведений и уточнения их текста потребуется приложить еще много усилий и что степень их сложности – даже Вергилия – обычно недооценивается учеными.

Lucia Prauscello

THE USE OF ΠΥΡΟΩ IN THE SEPTUAGINT,
AND ITS VALUE FOR *ESTHER*,
ADDITION D 5*

Vetero-testamentary scholarship has long recognised the existence of structural and linguistic affinities between the book of *Esther* and *3 Maccabees* (and, to a lesser degree, *2 Maccabees*). These similarities have usually been deployed to establish some kind of filiation or dependency of one book (or part thereof) from the other.¹ In 2022 Jonathan Thambyrajah has made a strong case for the importance of extending the comparison with *3 Maccabees* to the *Vetus Latina* (*VL*) of *Esther*, rather than to the *Esther* of the LXX. Thambyrajah’s conclusion (mainly based on the plus material shared by the *VL* of *Esther* and the Additions B, C and E) is that “it is probable that the direction of borrowing of the additional material as a whole is from a version of *Esther* – ancestor to the *Vetus Latina*, the Armenian, and the Georgian – into *3 Maccabees*”.² If Thambyrajah’s inference is correct, this has important repercussions on the validity of using linguistic similarities between the Greek extant texts of *Esther* (the LXX and the Alpha Text recensio) and *3 Maccabees* in attempting to determine the direction of the supposed borrowing.³ In what follows linguistic similarities will not be employed to draw inferences on

* Wherever possible I have quoted the text of the Septuagint according to the Göttingen edition. For those books still awaiting publication in the Göttingen series I have used the text by Rahlfs-Hanhart.

¹ Cf. e.g. the overview offered by Hacham 2007.

² Thambyrajah 2022, 714.

³ Thambyrajah 2022, 715: “this greatly complicates any approach based on comparison of specific vocabulary, as well as any claims that the exact parallels occur only in the additions; without the Greek *Vorlage* to the *Vetus Latina*, it is impossible to evaluate such claims”. For the Greek *Vorlage* of the *VL*, traceable to a Greek source text (the so-called *La-GrIII*) other than LXX and AT and datable “sometime between 120 and 100 BCE at the latest”, see Haelewyck 2020.

the priority of either book, but to show, via an unnoticed affinity in the use of the verb *πυρόω* with 2 and 3 *Maccabees* (both originally written in Greek, that is, lacking a semitic *Vorlage* not because this is lost but because it never existed), that the semantics and syntax of *πυρόω* in Addition D 5 to *Esther* is compatible with an original Greek composition of that addition. The comparative approach here adopted remains, therefore, methodologically valid.

Before analysing the use of *πυρόω* in *Esther*, namely in the Addition D 5, against the wider background of its Septuagintal context, let us very succinctly sketch the textual transmission of the book of *Esther*, whose translation is usually dated to the late 2nd century or early 1st century BCE.⁴ *Esther* has come down to us in two Greek recensions: the Septuagint (*Esth* LXX: for some scholars preserving the older Greek version), and the so-called Alpha Text (AT), found in only 4 manuscripts of the Septuagint.⁵ Both the LXX and the AT include 6 Additions (A, B, C, D, E, F) which are not present in the Masoretic text and that up to now have not been found in any form in the other semitic transmissions of *Esther* (Talmud, the Targums and the Syriac version).⁶ Scholars debate whether these additions are original Greek compositions or translations of a semitic *Vorlage*; so far, consensus has been reached only for Additions B and E: on lexical and syntactical grounds both are unanimously deemed to be “compositional Greek”.⁷ This paper will argue that in *Esther* Addition D 5 καὶ ἄρας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένον (ἐν) δόξῃ (i) the metaphorical use of *πυρόω* directly applied to a person experiencing

⁴ The dating is mostly based on “ideological considerations”, since *Esther* shares many themes and structural similarities with 3 *Macc*: see Boyd-Taylor 2015, 205, 213–214. For the general situation of anxiety about the relationship between Jewish people and gentiles common to both *Esther* and 3 *Maccabees*, see Hacham 2007, 781–5.

⁵ The relationship between the two recensions is hotly debated: the predominant view “denies that one version of Greek *Esther* is a straightforward recension of the other” (Boyd-Taylor 2015, 211). On the most complex textual transmission of the book of *Esther*, in Hebrew and Greek, see also De Troyer 2018 and 2020.

⁶ See Jobes 1996, 162–165; Smith – De Troyer 2021.

⁷ On the textual history of the Additions, see the detailed and balanced treatment by Jobes 1996, 25–28 and her ch. 4 (for D esp. 166–170) together with the recent survey by Smith – De Troyer 2021 with further bibliography.

a given emotion represents a marked deviation from the “standard” use of that verb in the Septuagint; (ii) that this usage finds a significant parallel, syntactically and semantically, in 2 and 3 *Maccabees*, that is, in books of the Scriptures which are unanimously considered to have been composed *ab initio* in Greek and that instantiate an examples of high literary koine of the time; (iii) this usage of πυρόω in the passive voice to denote an “incensed” state of mind in relation to a given experience has a distinguished literary pedigree within Greek literature and should be added to the features supporting a possible Greek origin for Addition D.

Contrary to what one might think, πυρόω is not a very common verb.⁸ A quick comparison via a *TLG* online search makes clear that, at least in literary texts of the archaic and classical period, the frequency of the verb πυρόω in all its semantic nuances is significantly lower than that of some of its synonyms (e.g. καίω, ἐμπύρημι). Down to the 5th and early 4th century BCE πυρόω is mainly, but not uniquely, attested in poetic texts (4x in Aeschylus [including *PV*], 1x in Sophocles, 12x in Euripides; 1x in Astydamas, 4th BCE),⁹ 10x in the Hippocratic writings,¹⁰ 2x in Herodotus (Hdt. 7. 8. 27 and 8. 102. 3) and 3x in the Platonic corpus (Pl. *Tim.* 51 b 4, 52 d 5, [*Axioch.*] 372 a 2). These early attestations cover a wide gamut of semantic possibilities, such as the burning of sacrificial offerings, the incinerating of buildings and cities, the warming up of liquids, the cooking of food, the burning alive of persons, the cremation of dead bodies, the stirring up of emotions, or the process known in metallurgy as cupellation (fire-refining). The earliest extant example, for us, of the figurative use of πυρόω directly applied to a person experiencing an overwhelming emotion is Aesch. *Ag.* 481. The chorus’ rhetorical question at Aesch. *Ag.* 479–483 “Who is so childish or so stricken out of his senses as to have his heart fired up by the message of the

⁸ This section relies on Prauscello 2026 a (forthcoming).

⁹ Aesch. *Ag.* 440, 480, fr. **281. 4 Radt, [*PV*] 497; Eur. *Cyc.* 594, 600, *Med.* 1190, *Andr.* 400, *Tr.* 1283, *IT* 685, *Hel.* 1354, *Phoe.* 575, *Or.* 1543, [*Rh.*] 61, fr. 223. 111, 781. 261 K; Soph. *Ant.* 286; Astydamas fr. **1 h. 2 Snell.

¹⁰ *De diaet. morb. acut.* 17. 12, *De mul. aff.* ii 206. 39, *Epid.* 7. 1. 3. 4, *De diaet.* i 20. 3 and i 40. 4, *De diaet.* ii 42. 10, 56. 10 and 56. 15, *De corde* 1. 6, *De flat.* 8. 24 v. 1. (all texts are cited according to Littré’s edition and numeration).

flame when it was fresh, and then to wilt when the talk changes?”¹¹ is used as a foil to indirectly censure Clytaemestra’s unbridled mental excitement caused by the beacon-signals. At 480–481 Clytaemestra’s state of mind is compared to that of a person φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν | νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν: this emotional “fire” is qualified by both the accusative of relation καρδίαν and by the source triggering that emotion, the recent tidings by fire-messages sent from Troy, thus extending and enriching the fire imagery that plays such an important role in the first part of the drama.¹² In the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE we have a surge of occurrences of πυρόω in prose, especially in technical writings (41x in the Aristotelian corpus; 41x in Theophrastus), with some instances continuing to appear in poetic texts.¹³

The Septuagint, with its 28 occurrences (if we include the apocrypha and deuterocanonical writings), clearly shares in this trend but it does so very much on its own terms. In 20 cases out of 28 πυρόω carries the specific meaning of ‘refining / testing through fire’, either in a literal way (cupellation: 5x) or figuratively in the sense of ‘refining’ > ‘proving true’ (be it of individuals, Israel as the god-chosen nation, or the Lord’s ‘tested’ and thus unerring word: 15x).¹⁴

¹¹ τίς ὄδε παιδὸν ἢ φρενῶν κεκομμένος | φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν | νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ’ | ἀλλαγῆ λόγου καμεῖν; (text and translation after Sommerstein 2009, 56–57).

¹² See Medda 2018 ii, 293 with bibliography, who rightly defends the appropriateness of the metaphor of the inflamed heart against the scepticism of some scholars who would prefer to emend the text.

¹³ Theoc. *Id.* 24. 96, Leonidas *AP* 7. 466 = 71. 2 *HE*, and *AP* 7. 408 = 58. 5–6 *HE*, Eratosth. *Hermes* fr. 16. 8 *CA*, Parthenius fr. 27. 6 Lightfoot, Lycophr. 52 and 1371, Augustus’ *ex tempore* iambic trimeter in Suet. *Vit. Aug.* 98, and *PMG* adesp. 989, where πεπυρωμένον is Bergk’s correction for the *voces nihili* transmitted by the mss (ΠΥΩΜΕΝΟΝ in cod. A and ΠΥΟ^ΩΜΕΝΟ^Ω in cod. B). *PMG* adesp. 989 is of uncertain date, but the metre may suggest a Hellenistic date, as indirectly hinted by Davies 2021, 331.

¹⁴ 2 *Regn* 22. 31 (= *MT* 2 *Sam* 22. 31) τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου ... πεπυρωμένον, *Jdt* 8:27 ἐπύρωσεν εἰς ἔτασμον τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, *Ps* 11. 7 τὰ λόγια κυρίου ... ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον, *Ps* 16. 3 ἐπύρωσάς με, *Ps* 17. 31 τὰ λόγια κυρίου πεπυρωμένα, *Ps* 25. 2 πύρωσον τοὺς νεφροὺς μου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν μου, *Ps* 65. 10 (2x) ἐπύρωσας (sc. ἡμᾶς) ὡς πυροῦται τὸ ἀργύριον, *Ps* 104. 19 τὸ λόγιον κυρίου ἐπύρωσεν αὐτόν, *Ps* 118. 140 πεπυρωμένον τὸ λόγιόν σου, *Pron* 10. 20 ἄργυρος πεπυρωμένος, *Pron* 30. 5 πάντες λόγοι θεοῦ πεπυρωμένοι, *Job* 22. 25 ὡς πεπυρωμένον, *Ps. Sal* 17. 43 τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένα, *Is* 1. 25 πυρώσω σε εἰς καθαρὸν, *Zach* 13. 9 (2x) πυρώσω αὐτούς, ὡς πυροῦται τὸ

Of these 20 occurrences of πυρόω meaning ‘refining / testing through fire’, we can check the Hebrew equivalent in the Masoretic text for 18 of them.¹⁵ In the overwhelming majority of cases (16 out of the 18 above mentioned),¹⁶ the Hebrew corresponding verb is always צָרַף (*tsāraph*: Strong’s H6884) ‘to smelt, refine, test’, a verb frequently used to specifically indicate either God’s trusted word or the testing of his own people’s faith.¹⁷ Such a level of lexical correspondence between Hebrew צָרַף and Greek πυρόω is remarkable, especially if one keeps in mind the different translation styles of the various books of the Septuagint. Therefore, if the Septuagint almost uniformly translates צָרַף with πυρόω, it is not because, as Fraenkel and others thought, this rendition is a Hebraism, but because πυρόω was already the *vox propria* in Greek for ‘testing / refining through fire’.¹⁸ What is distinctive of the Septuagint is not the use of πυρόω in the sense ‘to test / refine through fire’ *per se*, but its extension, no doubt favoured by close association between God and fire in Judaism, to indicate God’s trusted, proven word and the testing of his people’s faith. This Septuagintal nuance draws on the Greek technical meaning of πυρόω in metallurgy and inflects it with Jewish overtones: a Greek word with Jewish connotations.

In these 16 occurrences of the term for which we have a Hebrew *Vorlage* πυρόω is never employed with reference to the burning of emotions. This is not because the Hebrew Bible did not associate

ἀργύριον, *Jer* 9. 6 ἐγὼ πυρώσω αὐτούς, *Dan* 11. 35 τοῦ πυρᾶσαι αὐτούς, *Dan* 12. 10 (Theodotion version) ἐκλεγῶσιν καὶ ἐκλευκανθῶσιν καὶ πυρωθῶσιν.

¹⁵ For *Ps.Sal* 17.43 no Hebrew *Vorlage* survives, cf. Salvesen 2021, 395. Possibly no original Hebrew text ever existed for *Jdt* 8. 27; contemporary scholarship seems to incline for Greek as the language of composition around the 1st half of the 1st century BCE: see Salvesen 2021, 391.

¹⁶ The two exceptions are *Prov* 10. 20 (where we find the root בָּחַר *bāḥar* ‘to try, to select’, cf. Strong’s H977) and *Job* 22. 25 (where the fem. noun כֶּסֶף is used for silver: cf. Strong’s H8443).

¹⁷ In the Hebrew bible fire imagery represents the norm through which God’s epiphany actively manifests itself. In this sense, fire can be a means both of destruction / punishment and of purification / testing. Hence, πυρόω in the LXX and New Testament is an umbrella term covering both the ‘fire of judgement’ (like the refiner’s fire), by which all are presumably tested, and the fire which awaits those who do not pass the test (they are not ‘refined’ but completely burnt away): see Elms 2014 and Hollander 1994.

¹⁸ See Prauscello 2026 b (forthcoming).

certain emotions (above all wrath, outrage, humiliation, suffering) with an inner burning, quite the contrary. In ancient Hebrew emotions are often described in terms of physical sensations or actions: emotion as an autonomous conceptual category is in fact almost non-existent in ancient Judaism.¹⁹ In fact, it is often pointed out that the Hebrew Bible has an extremely rich and diversified lexicon of grief and anger, based on various semitic roots meaning ‘to get hot, to burn’:

1) בָּעַר (*bā’ar*: Strong’s H1197), ‘to burn up, to kindle’, often used intransitively with reference to the out-bursting of emotions (e.g. anger, wrath, but also religious zeal). The Septuagint most regularly translates בָּעַר with *καίω* (‘to burn’) and its derivatives (*ἐκκαίω*, *κατακαίω*),²⁰ except for *Ps* 18. 8 where we have *ἀνάπτομαι* (‘to kindle’); it is never translated with *πυρόω*.

2) הָרָה (*hārāh*: Strong’s H2374), ‘to be hot, to burn’. The important study by Seri-Levi 2024 shows that the lexeme is not limited to anger (divine and human) but covers a broader semantic field: for example, the idiom הָרָה לְ, imperfectly rendered at times in the Septuagint by the Greek *λυπέω* (‘to distress’),²¹ is used to describe ‘the experience of being insulted, or humiliated’ or ‘unjustly treated’.²²

3) קָמַר (*kāmar*: Strong’s H3648) ‘to be or grow warm’, figuratively used 3x in the MT in the sense of ‘to be deeply moved by a passion’ (love, anger, compassion), and 1x in the literal sense (at *Lam* 5. 10, said of the skin growing hot and parched because of a famine). There is no fixed rendition of it in the Septuagint: at *Gen.* 43. 30 the Niphal perfect נִקְמְרוּ is translated with *συνεστρέφετο* (Joseph’s gut ‘were twisted’); at 1 Kings 3. 26 of the MT (= LXX 3 *Regn* 3. 26) the rendition is *ἐταράχθη* (‘was stirred’), just as at *Hos* 11. 8 *συνεταράχθη*.

4) הָמַם (*hāmam*: Strong’s H2552), ‘to be hot’, used figuratively for a state of intense emotion, e.g. of spiritual fervour at *Ps* 39. 3, rendered in LXX *Ps* 38. 4 with *ἐθερμάνθη* (‘was warmed’). Other Greek renditions involve the verb *θάλπω* (‘to heat’): *πυρόω* is never used.

¹⁹ See above all Milstein 2024 and Mirguet 2016 and 2019.

²⁰ See Margolis 1906.

²¹ Seri-Levi 2024, 259 n. 17 with further bibliography for this rare rendering.

²² On the verb *hārāh* and the noun *hāron* to denote ‘the heat of God’s wrath’, and more generally on the Greek words employed in the Septuagint for God’s wrath, see especially Rajak 2009, 191–192.

5) חָמַד (yāham: Strong's H3179), 'to be hot, to conceive'; used metaphorically of passions (love, anger), cf. e.g. MT *Deut* 19. 6 = LXX παρατεθερμάνονται τῇ καρδίᾳ ('they were warmed in their heart'). Once again, yāham is never translated with πυρόω.

The Septuagint's books for which a Hebrew *Vorlage* is extant, then, do know the metaphorical use of burning with reference to emotions, but avoid employing Greek πυρόω for it (πυρόω being the standard LXX equivalent for Hebrew חָמַד) with absolute lexical consistency, and this across different books translated at different times and by different interpreters.

So far, we saw that in the Septuagint πυρόω, in 20 cases out of 28, means 'to refine / test through fire'. What does happen in the remaining 8 occurrences? These eight occurrences are thus distributed: 4x in 2 *Macc* (4. 38 πυρωθεὶς τοῖς θυμοῖς 'inflamed with rage', 10. 3 καὶ πυρώσαντες λίθους 'having made stones red hot', 10. 35 πυρωθέντες τοῖς θυμοῖς 'inflamed with rage', 14. 45 πεπυρωμένος τοῖς θυμοῖς 'inflamed with rage'), 1x in 3 *Macc* (4. 2 στεναγμοῖς πεπυρωμένης πάντοθεν αὐτῶν τῆς καρδίας 'their heart being utterly inflamed by their lamentations'), 2x in 4 *Macc* (9. 17 πυροῦτέ μου τὰς σάρκας 'burn my flesh' and 11. 19 ὀβελίσκους ὀξεῖς πυρώσαντες 'having made the sharp spits red hot'),²³ and 1x in the book of *Esther*, in what is known as the Addition D, preserved in two different recensions, *Esth* LXX D 5. 7 καὶ ἄρας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένον δόξῃ and the so-called Alpha Text (AT) D 5. 5 καὶ ἄρας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένον ἐν δόξῃ ('and having raised his face inflamed by / in glory').²⁴ If we omit the two passages in 4 *Macc* and 2 *Macc* 10. 3, where πυρόω is active and used in the concrete sense of 'setting to fire', we remain with 5 passages where the voice of πυρόω is always passive and is used figuratively to express emotions.

2 *Maccabees*, from which come 3 of the 5 passages with πυρόω employed figuratively to indicate an emotion of overwhelming intensity, is made, in its transmitted form, of several documents of different origin: the two prefatory letters are generally considered by scholars to derive from (lost) Hebrew originals, whereas the main narrative

²³ In both cases πυρόω refers to the penalty (burning alive) commonly applied to rebels.

²⁴ The subject is king Ahasuerus receiving Esther. See below.

part (2. 19 – 15. 39) represents an abridgment of a lost 5-book long history written in Greek by a certain Jason of Cyrene, otherwise unknown.²⁵ The question of which parts of the précis come from the ‘epitomator’ and which from the alleged author (Jason) is a debated issue, as also is the possible presence of additional sources used by the epitomator himself for some of the episodes.²⁶ As to its date, scholars have generally accepted a dating in the late second or first century BCE, but Schwartz has recently favoured a date closer to the real events narrated (185–161 BCE).²⁷ The Greek of *2 Maccabees*, at least for the passages that concern us (that is, *not* the two prefatory epistles), be it that of the epitomator or of Jason of Cyrene, is, to use the terminology of Septuagintal scholars, “compositional Greek”: that is, a Hebrew *Vorlage* never existed, an impression corroborated also by the high level of linguistic and stylistic attainment of *2 Maccabees* as a whole.²⁸ Its rich lexicon (with many neologisms), its penchant for syntactical variation and its rhetorical resourcefulness have attracted critical attention:²⁹ scholars have especially focused on how style and lexical choices are used to involve the reader at a deep emotional level (the book has long been considered a pristine example of the so-called “pathetic Hellenistic historiography”). Outrage and wrath, in particular, are important themes in the book:³⁰ they serve to highlight both the savage nature of Antiochus IV (cf. *2 Macc* 4. 38 *πυρῶθεις τοῖς θυμοῖς*)³¹

²⁵ For a concise but highly informative survey of the question, see Shaw 2015.

²⁶ See the thorough treatment by Schwartz 2008, 16–37.

²⁷ For the traditional date see Shaw 2015, 275–277; for a composition in the second quarter of the second century BCE, see Schwartz 2008, 11–15 with the relevant comments by Shaw 2009.

²⁸ See Shaw 2015, 277–280, and 2016, Schwartz 2008, 67–84: both Shaw and Schwartz consider the Greek of *2 Maccabees* as a high instantiation of literary koine; in this direction see now also Cerroni 2024.

²⁹ On neologisms, see Domazakis 2018. On rhetorical devices, esp. metaphors, see Nicklas 2015.

³⁰ In his study of *1* and *4 Maccabees* Mermelstein 2021 has shown how Jewish authors troped emotions of anger and outrage as a form of resistance against the dominant political power of the time, thus empowering the Jewish community through a sense of identity formation and belonging.

³¹ What is described here is Antiochus IV’s reaction against Andronicus at the news of Onias’ death. Cf. also *2 Macc* 9. 7 *πῦρ πνέων τοῖς θυμοῖς* (again Antiochus IV).

and the valiant character of the Hasmonean resistance (2 *Macc* 10. 35 πυρωθέντες τοῖς θυμοῖς³² and 2 *Macc* 14. 45 πεπυρωμένος τοῖς θυμοῖς³³). For our purposes, let us observe that in all these three passages we find πυρόω in the passive voice and the verb is qualified by a dative (τοῖς θυμοῖς)³⁴ indicating the cause of the ‘fire within’, just as in Aesch. *Ag.* 481.

As for 3 *Maccabees*, its composition is widely regarded to have taken place between the end of the 2nd century BCE and the early Roman rule in Egypt, with a narrower time-window of ca. 100–30 BCE preferred by some.³⁵ It is also unanimously considered an original Greek composition, authored by a Greek-speaking Jew, possibly from Alexandria. Its language and style suggest that 3 *Maccabees* belongs to the high end of the literary koine of the time.³⁶ Its author shows a marked preference for “elaborately constructed sentences, in which a relatively spare structure with a small number of finite verbs is expanded upon by piling up participial clauses, prepositional phrases, and literary epithets”.³⁷ A direct instantiation of this style is the very passage that concerns us, 3 *Macc* 4. 2, portraying the Jews’ desperate reaction to Ptolemy Philopator’s letter ordering their extermination:

³² The subjects are twenty Maccabean youths enraged at the blasphemies thrown at them by the besieged troops of Timothy.

³³ Razis, one of the elders of Jerusalem and a martyr to the cause of the Maccabees, commits a pre-emptive suicide rather than surrender to Nicanor: “still alive and burning with rage” (ἔτι δὲ ἔμπνοος ὑπάρχων καὶ πεπυρωμένος (a minority of MSS of the Lucianic text read πεπυρωμένοις) τοῖς θυμοῖς, he bares his innards and distributes them to the mob.

³⁴ The use of the plural θυμοί (possibly to indicate distinct fits of anger) instead of the singular θυμός is not earlier than Plato (the plural in *Soph. Aj.* 718 is rightly rejected by Finglass 2011, 351, who defends Hermann’s θυμοῦ). For the post-classical use of θυμοί in the plural, see Thayer 1889, s.v. 1 plural θυμοί. Outside these passages in the *Maccabees*, the syntagm πυροῦμαι (passive) + θυμῶ or a preposition + θυμός occurs only 3 times: 1x in Isaac of Niniveh (7th century CE) in the Greek translation of his *Ascetic homilies* (the original is in Syriac), *Hom.* 5. 483 μὴ πυρωθῆς τῷ θυμῷ κατ’ αὐτοῦ, 1x in the *Synodicon vetus* (written after 886/7 CE) 102. 6 θυμῶ ἐκ φθόνου μεγίστῳ πυροῦμενοι, and 1x in the 12th century Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigabenus, *Comm. in psalt.* col. 441l. 6 ὑβριζόμενος, ἐπυρώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ.

³⁵ See Salvesen 2021, 394 and Johnson 2015, 294–295.

³⁶ See Johnson 2015, 297 and Orth 2016.

³⁷ Johnson 2015, 298.

τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις ἄληκτον πένθος ἦν καὶ πανόδυρτος μετὰ δακρύων βοή στεναγμοῖς πεπυρωμένης³⁸ πάντοθεν αὐτῶν τῆς καρδίας ὀλοφυρομένων τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον ἐξαίφνης αὐτοῖς ἐπικριθεῖσαν ὀλεθρίαν.³⁹ As observed by N. C. Croy, “here and in the following verses, the author ransacks the thesaurus of grief”.⁴⁰ One tessera of this “tableau of unmitigated anguish” (Croy) is the description of “their heart utterly inflamed by wailing”: quite independently from whether we take τῆς καρδίας as the anatomical organ and understand πεπυρωμένης in its technical medical meaning,⁴¹ or interpret both in a looser way, here too the passive participle πεπυρωμένης is qualified by the dative στεναγμοῖς.

This takes us to the last of our five passages, the Addition D to the book of *Esther*. Addition D relates Esther’s audience with the king Ahasuerus: what in the Hebrew Bible are two verses (*Esther* MT 5. 1–2: the appearance of Esther before the king sitting on his throne in the inner court of the palace), in D becomes a 16 verse-long narrative expansion dramatising Esther’s fear before the sovereign. At the sight of Ahasuerus, who, sitting on the throne clad in royal garbs interwoven with gold and precious stones, looks fiercely at her because of her unexpected entrance, Esther faints away. The section of the text that concerns us (the king’s reaction at Esther unannounced appearance)⁴² is the following.

³⁸ MS 62 erroneously reads πεπυρωμένοις, by attraction to the preceding word στεναγμοῖς.

³⁹ “Yet among the Judeans there was indescribable grief and a mournful outburst of tears, their hearts altogether inflamed from groaning, as they bewailed the unforeseen destruction suddenly decreed for them” (*NETS* transl.)

⁴⁰ Croy 2006, 73.

⁴¹ Cf. e.g. Grimm 1857, 250: “durch die Anstrengung, die das Herz (im physischen Sinne) in unaufhörlichen Seufzern machte, war dasselbe ganz und gar entzündet”.

⁴² Ahasuerus had given order that whoever approached him unsummoned, should perish, except for those towards whom he would hold his sceptre. Moore’s statement (Moore 1977, 218) that “the reason for the king’s anger is expressly given only in the O(ld)L(atin)” is correct, yet the broader context (both in the MT at *Esther* 4:11 and in the Greek versions D 6 and 10) is in itself sufficient to make clear to the reader the reason for Esther’s fear. The *VL* includes the rage of the king, the simile to a bull (as in AT) and the explicit reference to the reason for his rage (*et iratus cogitabat iam p(er)dere eam. Et erat suspensa clamans. Et dix(it) rex: Quis ausus est introire in aula(m) non uocatus?*).

Esther LXX D 5. 7:

καὶ ἄρας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένον δόξῃ ἐν ἀκμῇ θυμοῦ
ἔβλεψεν καὶ ἔπεσεν ἡ βασίλισσα

and when he raised his face inflamed with glory he looked [at her]
in the full blaze of his anger and the queen fainted.

Esther AT D 5. 5:

καὶ ἄρας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένον ἐν δόξῃ ἐνέβλεψεν
αὐτῇ ὡς ταῦρος ἐν ἀκμῇ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφοβήθη ἡ βασίλισσα

and when he raised his face inflamed in glory, he looked at her
like a bull in the full blaze of his anger and the queen was taken
by fear.

The semantics of the expression *πρόσωπον πεπυρωμένον δόξῃ* / *ἐν δόξῃ* is not immediately transparent. C. Cavalier⁴³ has perceptively observed that it is not only *δόξα* (‘glory’, ‘majesty’, often with reference to its external manifestation, clothes included) that motivates the flushing of the king’s face but “possibly also the proximity of the notion of anger” (*ἐν ἀκμῇ θυμοῦ*), a remark which brings the *Esther* passage quite close to those of 2 and 3 *Maccabees* quoted above.

The variation between the two recensions of the Addition D for the portion which interests us is very limited:⁴⁴ in AT we have the participle *πεπυρωμένον* qualified by a prepositional construal (*ἐν δόξῃ*), whereas in LXX we read *πεπυρωμένον δόξῃ* (simple dative).⁴⁵ K. Jobes⁴⁶ already observed, correctly in my view, that this difference is most likely to be traced back to scribal mistakes: “Some dative phrases differ between the texts only because of the presence or absence of the preposition *ἐν* (e.g. AT:5:5 c [that is our passage]). These types of differences show no deliberate Tendenz, reflect no

⁴³ Cavalier 2012, 188.

⁴⁴ Among the Additions, D is the one showing the least degree of redactional activity between the LXX and the AT texts: see Jobes 1996, 165, 167.

⁴⁵ The corrector of MS 392 adds *ἐν* before *δόξῃ* in the LXX recension.

⁴⁶ Jobes 1996, 167.

variant Vorlage, and probably originated with scribes during the transmission of the Greek texts after addition D was copied from one version to the other”.⁴⁷

Once again, the passive perfect participle *πεπυρωμένον* is qualified (by the dative *δόξῃ* in LXX; by the prepositional construal *ἐν δόξῃ* in AT; but see above on the likelihood that *ἐν* in AT is an error of the transmission). In Addition D of *Esther* we thus have the same syntactical construction that we found in 2 and 3 *Maccabees*, that is, books that have been originally composed in Greek. To my mind, the metaphorical use of *πυρόω* referring to emotions and its syntax, so consistently divergent from the Septuagintal use of the same verb in the books for which we have a Hebrew *Vorlage*,⁴⁸ should be added to the linguistic markers suggesting that the Greek of Addition D is “compositional Greek” too. This, of course, does not mean to deny that the Greek of *Esther* D 5 is steeped in Jewish culture and resorts to what are considered standard lexical Hebraisms: a case in point is its use of *δόξα* as ‘glory’, the Septuagintal most frequent rendition for *כְּבוֹד* (‘glory’, ‘majesty’: Strong’s H3513) and its synonyms *הוֹד* (‘honour’, ‘splendour’: Strong’s H1935) and *רְדָה* (‘adornment’, ‘splendour’: Strong’s H1925). Likewise, just a few verses before, that is, at D 5. 1, we are told that Esther, in order to appear before the king in all her splendour, “put on her glory” (*Esther*

⁴⁷ This is even more likely if one considers that in the AT we have *ἐνέβλεψεν* and not *ἔβλεψεν*: the scribe, either under dictation or reading from his antigraph, might simply have anticipated *ἐν*. That is, *ἐν* + dative of the AT at D 5. 7 must not be understood as a Hebraising rendering of the preposition *בְּ* by which Hebrew and Aramaic usually express the locative and instrumental value that in Greek is more often represented by the simple dative.

⁴⁸ De Troyer 2019 dwells on the external appearance of the king in the Greek versions of *Esther* (terrible to behold, glaring in his glory) and sees in it an allusion to his almost-divine stature. This may well be, but De Troyer is unconvincing when she states that the use of the participle *πεπυρωμένον* is an explicit marker of this divine status: “When he lifts his face, he is flushed with splendor. In Kaige 2 Sam 22:31, the same attribute is used to describe God (*πεπυρωμένον*). Similarly, in OGP 11:7; 18:30; 119: 140; OGProv 30:5—again said of God, albeit that his true followers can also receive the same characteristic (e.g. OGZach 13:8; OGDan 11:35)” (De Troyer 2019, 74). De Troyer fails to notice that the use of *πεπυρωμένον* in *Esther* Addition D, as in 2 and 3 *Maccabees*, is alien, linguistically, to the *συνήθεια* of the Septuagintal books for which we have a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

LXX D 5. 1 περιβάλετο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς) or, in the AT version, “put on the garments of glory” (*Esther* AT D 5.1 περιβάλετο τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς δόξης). As observed by Cavalier,⁴⁹ the expression clearly draws from the common biblical image “clothed in splendour”: the AT text is either “glossing” the inner working of this Hebrew metaphor (τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς δόξης) or alluding to the apocryphal *Psalms of Solomon* 11:7 ἔνδυσαι, Ἱερουσαλημ, τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς δόξης σου, the only other occurrence in the Septuagint of this expression,⁵⁰ yet the syntax is entirely Greek. In Addition D 5 too, δόξα, a clear Hebraism from the point of view of the lexicon, is embedded within a metaphor and a syntactical construal (πυροῦμαι + dative or + prepositional construction) that is not otherwise attested in the Septuagint, which, as we have seen, has a very specific use of metaphorical πυρόω.

To sum up, we have seen that among the 5 occurrences of πυρόω, in the Septuagint, that are *not* modelled on the metal-working metaphor (‘to smelt’ > ‘to test by fire’ > ‘to refine’) and that do *not* employ the verb in its literal sense, that is, LXX *Esth* D 5. 7 / AT D 5. 5, 2 *Macc* 4. 38, 10. 35, 14. 45, and 3 *Macc* 4. 2, (i) the voice of the verb is always passive; (ii) πυροῦμαι is always syntactically qualified by either a dative or a prepositional construction: (ἐν) δόξη, τοῖς θυμοῖς, στεναγμοῖς; (iii) this use is attested in compositions or portion of texts for which there is no extant Hebrew original since they were in origin Greek compositions (this is certain for 2 and 3 *Maccabees*); (iv) these texts, with the exception of *Esther*, were *not* part of the Hebrew canon; (v) they are all nearly coeval and clearly influenced ideologically by the spirit of the Maccabean revolt. This seems to me to be, both singularly and cumulatively, evidence enough to justify the assertion that the metaphorical use of πυροῦμαι + dative or prepositional construction with reference to an emotional state of mind that we find in these texts represents a clear semantic and syntactical divergence from the overwhelming use of πυρόω in the sense of ‘testing / refining through fire’, the sense otherwise attested in the other books of the Septuagint. The fact that in Addition D 5 both extant versions of the Greek texts (LXX and AT) align, as

⁴⁹ Cavalier 2012, 187.

⁵⁰ See Jobs 1996, 168.

far as the semantics and syntax of $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\omega$ is concerned, with 2 and 3 *Maccabees*, strengthen the case in favour of an originally Greek composition for Addition D.

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A careful analysis of the semantics and syntax of the verb $\pi\rho\acute{o}\omega$ in the *Septuagint* helps to identify a hitherto unrecognised element of linguistic similarity between Addition D to *Esther* and 3 *Maccabees* (books originally written in Greek *ab initio*, that is, without a semitic *Vorlage*). This similarity, namely the metaphorical use of $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ (passive) directly predicated of the person experiencing an intense emotion, followed by a dative denoting the trigger of fire ‘within’, should be added to those features supporting the hypothesis that Addition D to *Esther*, like most probably also Additions B and E, was originally written in what Septuagintal studies call “compositional Greek”.

Семантический и синтаксический анализ глагола $\pi\rho\acute{o}\omega$ в Септуагинте позволяет выявить не замеченное ранее сходство между его употреблением в дополнении А к *Книге Есфири* и в *Третьей Маккавейской* книге (обе эти книги были изначально написаны по-гречески, то есть не имеют семитского оригинала). Это сходство – а именно, употребление $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ (pass.) применительно к человеку, охваченному сильной эмоцией, причем тут же в dat. указан источник “внутреннего огня”, – следует добавить к аргументам в поддержку гипотезы, что дополнение А (как, видимо, и В, и D) к *Книге Есфири* было изначально написано на греческом языке (который исследователи Септуагинты в таких случаях называют “compositional Greek”).

Robert A. Kaster

A NEW EDITION OF CICERO'S
TUSCULANAE DISPUTATIONES

I begin by thanking the editors for inviting me to join in honoring Carlo Lucarini, who for more than a decade now has so generously supported my work with his intellectual fellowship. That collaboration began in August 2014, when I was reviewing a draft of my edition of Suetonius's *De uita Caesarum* for the Oxford Classical Text series (OCT).¹ I had recently read Carlo's long review – detailed, learned, probing, and just – of my OCT of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, and a learned friend, the late Robert H. Rodgers, had told me that he had benefited enormously from his exchanges with Carlo concerning his edition of Columella's *Res rustica*.² And so, very hesitantly, I wrote to Carlo to ask whether he would be willing to read and critique my draft of the text. He replied the next day, graciously and positively, beginning the extensive electronic correspondence for which I thanked him in these terms at the end of my edition's preface:

Finally, I am grateful above all to Carlo Martino Lucarini, a marvelously acute critic with whom I exchanged views on hundreds of passages in the [*De uita Caesarum*]: not only did these exchanges improve my work in virtually every instance – for even in those places where in the end we did not agree, I was prompted to think harder and better – but they were also conducted with such a cheering combination of candor and goodwill that they stand as one of the most rewarding collaborations of my scholarly career.³

¹ Kaster 2016 (cf. Lucarini 2014b).

² Lucarini 2014a on Kaster 2011; for the edition of Columella, see Rodgers 2010.

³ Kaster 2016, lviii.

That collaboration has continued, through my edition of Seneca's *De beneficiis*, *De clementia*, and *Apocolocyntosis* and down now to my OCT of Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*, soon to appear as a contribution to Oxford University Press's project, now a generation old, of producing new critical editions of Cicero's philosophical writings;⁴ in this project I have had the good fortune of being able to build on the foundation brilliantly laid by Michelangelo Giusta, who in 1984 published his landmark edition of the work.⁵ For this collection of essays I have decided to take the new edition as my subject and present a more formal version of the lecture that Carlo invited me to deliver remotely to his students in May of 2025. In what follows I will first summarize the *Tusculans'* textual tradition, as we have come to understand it, then turn to one of the most important elements of that tradition, a rich source of uniquely valuable readings that also poses some challenging questions.⁶

* * *

The most important part of the history of the *Tusculans'* five books are the four principal manuscripts, and our understanding of those manuscripts and their history advanced significantly from the late nineteenth century on.⁷ All four were written in the 9th century, three in northern France, one in Italy; each was corrected at least twice, by the original scribe and one other contemporary hand:

⁴ Seneca: Kaster 2022 (cf. Lucarini 2021). Cicero: Kaster 2026 (cf. Lucarini 2025); the predecessor editions are Winterbottom 1990, Reynolds 1998, Powell 2006, and Reinhardt 2023a and 2023b.

⁵ Giusta 1984, now regrettably out of print.

⁶ The paper's first section is based on Kaster 2026, v–xxi; the examples in the second section are drawn from the edition's critical appendix (pp. 255–343), comprising discussions of roughly ninety textual *crucis*, of which only a small fraction concern the source just mentioned. In citing Cicero's text I use the abbreviation *TD* throughout.

⁷ The most important studies include Ströbel 1890, Pohlenz 1918, iii–xix, Drexler 1961, Giusta 1969 and 1969–1970, and the preface to his edition, esp. 1984, vii–xxx; Giusta 1991 summarizes, amends, and expands his earlier arguments and in its second part (pp. 115–368) addresses issues raised by many individual passages. Among more recent studies Huelsenbeck 2025 is especially rich and stimulating.

G Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 294 Gud. lat. (s. IX², Reims); corrections by the original scribe (G¹) and one other contemporary hand (G²);

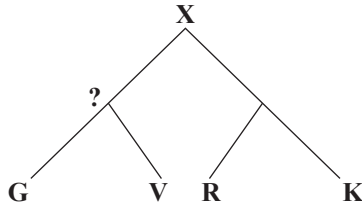
V Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3246 (s. IX^{2/3}, Italy); corrections by the scribe (V¹), a contemporary reader whose work is indicated by the siglum V², and two later readers (V³ – the Sicilian humanist Antonio Beccadelli, also known as Il Panormita, 1394–1471 – and a contemporary but much less active hand, V⁴);

R Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 6332 (s. IX^{2/3}, northern France); corrections by the original scribe (R¹), a contemporary hand (R²), and two later readers (R³, s. XII?; and R⁴, s. XV?);

K Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 943 (s. IX^{3/3}, Soissons); corrections made by the original scribe (K¹), a contemporary hand (K²), and one later reader (K³, s. X/XI?).

We will soon turn our attention to V², the second corrector of V, whose work is by far the most interesting.

Now, these four manuscripts share countless errors that they clearly derived from a common source, the archetype that is traditionally referred to as **X**, and Giusta argued that **GV** and **RK** form two distinct families:⁸



The evidence for a shared common source seems to me more compelling in the case of **RK** than the other two, but not much turns on the point, because the text they preserve is so homogeneous overall. Most important, it is also clear that – with only two exceptions – all other textual sources that have been examined are derived from the same archetype: such improvements as they offer relative to **X** amount to more or less easy corrections of obvious errors. Here are the most important categories:

⁸ Giusta 1984, xxiv–xxxii.

- two sets of excerpts compiled by learned monks in the 9th century, the *Collectaneum miscellum* of Sedulius Scottus (excerpts mostly from Books 4–5) and the more extensive excerpts made by Hadoard of Corbie, whom I will mention again soon;⁹
- fourteen more or less complete manuscript copies written between the 10th and the 13th centuries, of which I have examined all but one;¹⁰
- and more than 300 copies produced when interest in the *Tusculans* exploded in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Most of the humanist copies in this last category still have not been thoroughly examined, by me or anyone else:¹¹ in principle, therefore, it is possible that there lurks among them a copy representing a tradition independent of the archetype. But that is not likely.

This brings us to the two exceptions that I mentioned, sources of authentic readings that most scholars now acknowledge to be independent of **X**. The first of these is a single folium known as **F** – Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud. lat. 29* (s. IX^{2/3}, northern Italy, perhaps Verona) – discovered and published by A. C. Clark early in the last century.¹² It preserves a passage of around 500 words from the end of the work (*TD* 5. 114–120), in which the shared errors of **F** and **X** show that they both go back to a common source. But **X**'s text is

⁹ For Sedulius's excerpts see Simpson 1988 and Dolbeau 2020; for Hadoard's, Schwenke 1889, with Beeson 1945, Bischoff 1966, Huelsenbeck 2013.

¹⁰ Three of these – **P** (Vatican Pal. Lat. 1514, s. X^{ex.}), **B** (Brussels Bibl. roy. 5348–5352 II, s. XI²), **M** (Milan Bibl. Ambros. T.56, s. XII) – were used by earlier editors (see Giusta 1984, xvi–xxiv). Of the other eleven, two – Leiden Universiteitsbibl. Lips. 30 and London CL Royal 15.C.XI, both written ca. 1100 – have no evident relation to each other or to any other witness I have examined, and the former offers next to nothing new and useful. The latter does offer some improvements – of the same character as those occasionally found in the excerpts and **PBM** – as do eight of the remaining nine, which form three families: **α₁** (Paris BnF lat. 5802 III, s. XII^{med.}; Paris BnF lat. 6333, s. XII²; Avranches Bibl. mun. 225, s. XII²); **α₂** (Wolfenbüttel HAB cod. 293 Gud. lat., s. XII/XIII; Escorial Real Bibl. V.III.6 (s. XIII²); and **β** (Oxford Bodl. Holkham Misc. 33, s. XII¹; Florence BML Plut. 50. 27, s. XIII; Vatican Vat. lat. 2216, s. XIII²). I was unable to examine Cambridge Univ. Lib. Add. 2991 (s. XIII), for which no film or electronic images were readily available.

¹¹ T. W. Dougan surveyed scores of these for his valuable edition (Dougan 1905–1934), and his reports, supplemented by the hand-list generously given me by M. D. Reeve, guided my own investigations.

¹² Clark 1910.

twice correct where **F**'s is mistaken, and there are eleven places where **F** is correct, **X** plainly wrong, including one in which **F**'s correct reading anticipates a conjecture of Richard Bentley (5. 119 *alii* [sc. *philosophi*] *tantam praestantiam in bonis animi esse dicunt, ut ab iis corporis et externa obruantur* [F Bentley : *obseruant X*]). The most probable and economical conclusion is that **F** and **X** were derived from the same source, of which **F** preserves a less corrupt version.¹³

Finally, there are the corrections and variants entered in the manuscript **V** by the reader contemporary with the scribe, **V**². These amount to more than 400 singular readings, of which I regard over 260 as certainly or probably correct: to put that number in perspective, it is considerably larger than total number of conjectures contributed to my edition by the *eight* most prolific critics of past five centuries;¹⁴ and of these 260 more than 50 are, by my reckoning, corrections that cannot plausibly be thought to be within reach of medieval conjecture. In short, the corrector represented by **V**² based his work on a source (or sources) that preserved authentic readings transmitted from antiquity independent of **X**.¹⁵

* * *

The balance of this discussion presents a series of examples that illustrate the varied character of **V**²'s readings and some of the questions of editorial method that they raise. I begin with what is perhaps the most striking example.

¹³ Beyond the shared errors of **F** and **X** note that the *mise en page* of each strikingly resembles the other's: see pp. xiii–xiv in my edition, with more detail and further references in Huelsenbeck 2025, 156–166.

¹⁴ These number around 210, of which about fifty are owed to Giusta, forty-one to Bentley, twenty-four to Wesenberg, twenty-one each to Manutius, Lambinus, and Davies, sixteen to Bouhier, and fifteen to Ernesti.

¹⁵ See esp. Giusta 1991, 3–54; the case against the independence of **V**² was pressed most insistently by Sven Lundström in a series of publications (see esp. Lundström 1964 and 1986). I have added the qualifying phrase “or sources” because after the corrector's intense activity in the first three books, **V**²'s hand is hardly present after *TD* 4. 9, except for a flurry of activity in 5. 1–35 (see my edition, p. vii n. 6): we do not know why the corrector went dormant, nor can we be sure that he drew on the same source when he became active again in the first quarter of Book 5.

At *TD* 3. 41 Cicero quotes and translates a notorious passage from Epicurus's *On the End*, to demonstrate that he was a sensualist, a "hedonist" in the common modern sense of the term; we happen to have the original Greek text of the passage, which was quoted twice by Athenaeus and again by Diogenes Laertius (Epicurus fr. 67 Usener = Athenaeus 7, 280 A = 12, 546 E, similarly Diogenes Laertius 10. 6):

Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἔχω τί νοήσω τὰγαθόν, **ἀφαιρῶν** μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, **ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι' ἀφροδισίων, ἀφαιρῶν** δὲ τὰς δι' ἀκροαμάτων, **ἀφαιρῶν** δὲ καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς κατ' ὄψιν ἡδέϊας κινήσεις ...

For I, at any rate, am unable to conceive of "the Good" if I remove from consideration the pleasure derived from the flavors of food, or from sex, or from music, or if I exclude bodily motions that are pleasant to watch.

Now, by the time Cicero was writing the *TD* he had already paraphrased the passage twice, at *Academica* 1. 7 and *De finibus* 2. 7, and he would paraphrase it again at *De natura deorum* 1. 111. Here, for example, is the most detailed paraphrase, from *De finibus*:

... testificetur ne intellegere quidem se posse ubi sit aut quod sit ullum bonum **praeter illud, quod cibo et potione et aurium delectatione et obscena uoluptate capiatur.**

The simplifications are obvious: "bodily motions" are omitted, and an entirely different construction is used to list the various pleasures that are included.

But in the *TD* 3. 41 Cicero emphasizes that he is quoting and translating the words of Epicurus directly, and there only **V²** provides the complete and correct version:

In eo quidem libro qui continet omnem disciplinam tuam – fungar enim iam interpretis munere, ne quis me putet fingere – dicis haec:

"Nec equidem habeo quod intellegam bonum illud, **detrahens** eas uoluptates quae sapore percipiuntur, **detrahens** eas quae rebus percipiuntur ueneriis, **detrahens** [**V²**, eas ... detrahens

om. V¹] eas quae auditu e cantibus, **detrehens** eas etiam quae ex formis percipiuntur oculis suavis motiones ...”

In fact, in the book that comprises your whole system – I will translate directly, so no one supposes I am making it up – you say, “I admit I cannot understand what ‘good’ is **minus** the pleasures derived from taste, **minus** those derived from sex, **minus** those from listening to songs, **minus** the engaging movements that are derived from bodies by the eyes ...”

It is clear that the original scribe of **X** omitted the six underlined words when his eye skipped from the second occurrence of *detrehens* to the third. But when the corrector we call **V²** compared **V** with the text on which he based his corrections, he saw that those omitted words were present: and so we find on f. 51^r of the manuscript that at the end of one line, after *percipiuntur detrehens*, he added *eas quae rebus percipiuntur ueneriis* and then inserted *detrehens* before *eas quae auditu* at the start of the next line.¹⁶

My next example is more subtle but nonetheless striking in its own way. Roughly a decade before he wrote *TD*, in Book 3 of *De oratore*, Cicero told the story of Aristotle’s rivalry with Isocrates and how it caused him to combine philosophy and rhetoric in his teaching (3. 141):

Aristoteles, **cum florere Isocratem nobilitate discipulorum videret**, ... mutavit repente totam formam prope disciplinae suae versumque quendam Philoctetae paulo secus dixit: **ille enim turpe sibi ait esse tacere**, cum barbaros, hic autem, cum Isocratem pateretur dicere.

When he saw Isocrates prospering on account of his pupils’ renown ..., Aristotle suddenly changed the form of his teaching entirely and quoted a certain line of the *Philoctetes* [sc. of Euripides, *TrGF* v/2. 840 fr. 796], making a slight change: for Philoctetes says that **it’s a disgrace for him to be silent** while allowing barbarians to speak, but Aristotle said “while allowing Isocrates to speak”.

¹⁶ After repeatedly arguing for the independence of **V²**, against Lundström’s persistent objections (n. 15), Giusta placed the image of f. 51^r on the cover of the book in which he summed up his case.

At the start of *TD* (1. 7) Cicero tells the story again, with reference to his own interest in combining philosophy with rhetoric, in imitation of Aristotle's program:

ut Aristoteles ... [commotus X, cum motus *Hadoard, recc., 1469 et cett., cum commotus V²*] esset Isocratis rhetoris gloria, dicere etiam coepit adulescentes docere et prudentiam cum eloquentia iungere, sic nobis placet ...

just as Aristotle ..., **when he had been provoked** by the renown of the rhetorician Isocrates, also began teaching young men how to speak, thereby joining sagacity with eloquence, so I have decided ...

According to both versions of the story, Aristotle made his decision under the influence of some strong emotions – he envied Isocrates' success, he thought it a disgrace not to rise to the challenge, he was provoked to do so – and that is clear enough. But the text of the *Tusculans'* archetype was plainly defective, since it lacked a subordinating conjunction to give *commotus esset* a construction. When Hadoard of Corbie was taking his excerpts he noticed the problem, and so he changed *commotus* to *cum motus*: that simple change made its way into some later medieval manuscripts, from there it was brought into the text of the *editio princeps* of 1469, and there it has remained in all subsequent editions.

But that reading is certainly mistaken. Although Cicero uses the noun *motus* with *animi* many dozens of times to denote the 'movement(s) of the mind' – including movements that we call emotions – he never applies the participle to a person in the sense required by the context. Instead, in speaking of Aristotle he surely wrote *cum commotus* – the equally easy correction made by V², presuming loss of *cum* before *com* – for that is the participle Cicero uses many dozens of times to convey some emotional response (e. g., *Verr.* 2. 2. 10 *commoti dolore*, *Font.* 35 *terrore commoti*, *Mur.* 65 *miseriordia commoti*, *Pis.* 93 *metu commoti*), corresponding to the noun *commotio* that he regularly uses in *TD* when speaking of 'emotion'. Note that the example also implies a broader point relevant to an editor's treatment of V²'s readings: given that many of the latter derive from a source containing authentic ancient readings independent of the archetype,

when confronted by a choice between two apparently plausible alternatives we should, as a matter of principle, incline toward the reading that has some chance of being ancient, against a reading, like Hadoard's here, that must be a medieval innovation.

To take a more ambiguous case, Cicero makes the following statement at *TD* 1. 31, where the subject is the soul's immortality:

[**Maximum** uero **argumentum X**, **Maximo** uero **argumento V²**] est naturam ipsam de immortalitate animorum tacitam iudicare, quod omnibus curae sunt – et maxumae quidem – quae post mortem futura sint.

But the weightiest proof that nature silently settles the question of our souls' immortality is the fact that everyone cares – very deeply indeed – about what is to come after death.

Given the choice here between the nominative and the dative, I would stress that it is certainly not *necessary* to adopt **V²**'s reading, and editors cannot be faulted for choosing not to adopt it. But I decided, on balance, that the dative is probably correct, for two main reasons. First, and most simply, it is a construction that Cicero liked very much, especially when it involved some form of *magnus*: e. g., *S. Rosc* 75 *quod mihi maximo argumento ... poterat esse*, *Clu.* 114 *satis magno argumento esse debet*, and similarly *Phil.* 2. 40, *Fin.* 2. 29, *ND* 1. 1, *Sen.* 78, *Div.* 1. 119. Second, because we do have these two competing readings, and because one must be a corruption of the other, the question to ask is: *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?* Was the dative more likely to be altered to the nominative, or the nominative to the dative? It seems to me very likely that the dative is original, while the nominative was introduced as a simpler alternative. In any case, the question reminds us that editing an ancient text so often amounts to estimating probabilities, guessing what is most likely to have happened – and as I have said, I could not fault an editor for having a different view.

So once more I am ready to believe that **V²** is right – and that brings us to a question that readers might already have in mind: I am obviously ready to grant **V²** a great deal of respect – but how do I decide when to say “no”? After all, if **V²** accounts for more than 400 singular readings, as I noted above, and if I think over 260 are certainly or probably correct, there must be many places where I do believe that

it goes astray: how do I decide? It is an important question, especially since very, very few of the unique readings introduced by V² are obviously wrong. So here, briefly, are two cases where I said “no”.

A little farther along in Book 1, when Cicero is discussing the rise of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, he says (1. 38):

Pythagoras . . . tenuit Magnam illam Graeciam cum **honore disciplinae** [recc. *Lambinus*, honore disciplina **X**, honore *del. V²*, honore et disciplina *recc.*, *alii alia*], tum etiam auctoritate.

Pythagoras . . . became established in Magna Graecia thanks both to the respect paid to his teaching and to his authority.

Almost no one now would approve the archetype’s text, which crudely places the two ablative nouns, *honore* and *disciplina*, side by side; but beyond that there has been no consensus. I suspect that V² deleted *honore* because the word happened to be missing from the manuscript on which he was basing his corrections; in any case, the deletion is not obviously a bad idea. But in general I prefer, as a matter of editorial principle, the smallest possible change that produces good sense: in this case that means adopting *disciplinae*, a reading found in some more recent manuscripts and first adopted by the great critic Lambinus in his edition of 1565. The implied error and its correction are equally simple, the sense of *honos* + objective genitive is perfectly suited to the context – compare especially *Brutus* 40 . . . *nisi iam tum esset honos eloquentiae* – and the expression of “respect / honor paid to his teaching” aptly accompanies and helps to explain the *auctoritas* granted to Pythagoras.

Then there is another interesting case – *TD* 3. 42, directly following upon the passage with which I began – where Cicero again says that he is translating the *ipsissima uerba* of Epicurus. In this case, however, we do not have the original Greek for comparison; I leave the key word untranslated in my English version:

Deinde paulo infra “Saepe quaesivi” inquit “ex iis qui appellabantur sapientes quid haberent quod in bonis relinquerent si illa detraxissent, nisi si uellent uoces inanis fundere: nihil ab iis potui cognoscere. Qui si uirtutes ebullire uolent et [**sapientias X**, **sapientiam V²**], nihil aliud dicent nisi eam uiam qua efficiantur eae uoluptates quas supra dixi”.

Then just below he says, “I’ve often asked those who were called sages – supposing that they would not want to babble mere nonsense – what good things they would have left, absent the things [viz., pleasures] I’ve just named: no reply. If they want to chatter about different sorts of virtue and ———, they will speak only of the path that leads to the pleasures I’ve mentioned”.

The reading of V², *sapientiam*, presents a dilemma: does it merely introduce a more familiar form, or is it a genuine recollection of the authentic text independent of the archetype? To answer that question, it is necessary first to note two facts that point in different directions: on the one hand, it is true that Latin abstract nouns often are used in the plural to denote ‘forms’ or ‘varieties’ or ‘instances’ of a given quality; on the other hand it is a fact that no plural forms of *sapientia* are attested elsewhere in antiquity, in Cicero or in any other extant Latin text. So does that mean that *sapientias* is simply wrong?

Before making that decision it is necessary to consider yet another factor. For Cicero says that he is *quoting* Epicurus’s characterization of other philosophers: might he be reproducing a Greek philosophical way of speaking? In fact, the extant works and fragments of Epicurus contain no instance of σοφία in the plural; but I conclude that Cicero was in fact translating such a form, which occurs often enough in Greek: compare, for example, Plato *Theaetetus* 176 c, where we find exactly the sense required: αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι δεινότητές τε δοκοῦσαι καὶ σοφαί ... – “The other seeming forms of cleverness and wisdom ...”.

Having now surveyed some of the strengths and weaknesses of this uniquely valuable resource, I come to a final example, a passage where I cannot claim to be certain that I have made the correct choice. The passage, *TD* 1. 39, again concerns Pythagoras, where the archetype and V² offer markedly different versions:

X

Platonem ferunt, ut Pythagoreos cognosceret, in Italiam **uenisse et didicisse** Pythagorea omnia ...

They say that Plato came to Italy to get to know Pythagoras’s follows and learned all their principles.

V²

Platonem ferunt, **qui** ut Pythagoreos cognosceret in Italiam **uenit et in ea cum alios multos tum Archytam Timaeumque cognouit, edidicisse** Pythagorea omnia ...

They say that Plato – who came to Italy to get to know the Pythagoreans and there met Archytas and Timaeus, among many others – thoroughly learned all of Pythagoras' principles.

Further, Plato's encounter with Archytas and Timaeus – the point of departure between these versions – is mentioned, with additional details, twice elsewhere in Cicero's philosophical writings.

Rep. 1. 16: *audisse te credo, Tubero, Platonem ... in Italiam et in Siciliam contendisse, ut Pythagorae inuenta perdisceret, eumque et cum Archyta Tarentino et cum Timaeo Locro multum fuisse.*

Fin. 5. 87: *cur Plato Aegyptum peragravit ...? cur post Tarentum ad Archytam? cur ad reliquos Pythagoreos, Echecratem, Timaeum, Arionem Locros, ut ... adiungeret Pythagoreorum disciplinam ...?*

What are we to make of this? If the archetype's version is authentic, V²'s version is an interpolation produced by a reader – almost certainly in antiquity – who recalled the episodes in one or both of the other texts and decided to incorporate a version here. But if the authentic text is V²'s, the archetype's text is probably the result of a common accident, of the sort found in my first example above. In that case (*TD* 1. 41), a scribe's eye skipped from one occurrence of *detrahens* to another, omitting the words that separated the two verbs; in this case, after writing *uenit* the scribe would have looked back to the book was copying, spied the ending of *cognouit* – with four of the last five letters the same, the fifth the same shape in the same place – and continued from there with *edidicisse*, causing the loss of perhaps a full line and producing a text that made no sense as Latin. The result could then be changed easily to something that does make sense: *qui*, now having no function, would be deleted before *ut*, and the words *uenit edidicisse* that were now juxtaposed would be changed to *uenisse et didicisse*.

And so I chose to print V²'s version, for three reasons. First, it is very easy to see how the archetype's version could have come to exist. Second, Cicero does recycle details like this again and again in the philosophical works. And finally, Cicero is just very fond of the intensive verb *ediscere*, “to learn thoroughly”, which appears seventeen times across his writings – and that is a detail that an interpolator very likely would not have known.

Was that the correct choice? I believe so but am not certain. I can only repeat the point that Cicero himself makes again and again, for example in the question posed at *TD* 4. 47:

Quid est igitur quod occurrat in hac quaestione quo possit attingi aliquid veri simile, quo longius mens humana progredi non potest?

In this inquiry, then, what is there that might present itself as a means of attaining something probable, beyond which the human mind cannot advance?

In this last example, as in editing our texts more generally, I take certainty to be more than we can hope to achieve and embrace what seems to me most probable.

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This article first briefly summarizes the state of our knowledge concerning the textual tradition of Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*. It then illustrates via select examples the unique value of the corrections made by an early reader of one of the work's principal manuscripts (Vatican Vat. lat. 3246) and probes some of the questions of text-critical method that this source raises.

Статья начинается с обзора всего, что на данный момент известно о рукописной традиции *Тускуланских бесед* Цицерона. Далее на нескольких примерах автор демонстрирует особую ценность исправлений, сделанных в достаточно раннее время читателем одной из важнейших рукописей этого труда (Vatican Vat. lat. 3246), и обсуждает отдельные вопросы текстологической критики, возникающие в связи с этим источником.

Mikhail Shumilin

IN ORATIONES CICERONIS
EMENDATIUNCULAE

Carolo Martino Lucarini quinquagenario sacrum

*Ipse uigorem animi qui mentis uiribus aequas,
ne spernas subito paruumque hoc respice munus!*

Pro Archia 28

Atque ut id libentius faciatis, iam me uobis, iudices, indicabo et de meo quodam amore gloriae nimis acri fortasse, uerum tamen honesto uobis confitebor. Nam quas res nos in consulatu nostro uobiscum simul pro salute huius aequae imperi et pro uita ciuium proque uniuersa re publica gessimus, attigit hic uersibus atque inchoauit. Quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et iucunda uisa est, hunc ad perficiendum adhortaui.

Ex stemmatibus codicum, quae accipi solebant, restitui debet in archetypo in ultima sententia *ad(h)ortau*i; si uero ea quae arguunt J. De Keyser et T. Deneire accipimus,¹ aut idem aut *hortau*i ille archetypus codex debebat legere. Scholia autem Bobiensia legunt in eodem loco *adorau*i. Certe neque *adhortandi* neque *hortandi* uerbum in Cicerone formas actiuas habere potest;² *adorau*i tamen uox et ipsa non omnino apta huic loco uidetur (et quod ad sensum pertinet enim nimia est, et constructio sic effecta exemplis carere uidetur) et fortasse ex codicum

¹ De Keyser – Deneire 2013; cf. etiam De Keyser 2013.

² Formas actiuas uerbi *adhortor* omnino in tota antiquitate ignorat *TLL* 1. 651. 73 – 652. 68, *hortor* uero uerbum testatur quidem Prisc. *Inst.* 2. 392. 21 Keil *horto* fuisse apud ‘uetustissimos’ (cf. 2. 392. 6 Keil), sed indubitatas formas actiuas eius non ante aetatem recentissimam inuenimus: *TLL* 6. 3. 3007. 21–26.

lectione in simplicius aliquid correcta orta est. Sunt sane codices qui *adhortatus sum*, *hortatus sum* uel *hortatus fui* legant (et recipiunt hoc primum quidam editorum),³ sed mirum esset si nemo scribarum sic actiui generis formas correxisset; mutationem uero ex *adhortatus sum* in *adhortaui* non ita facile explices. His de causis saepe ab emendantibus temptatus est locus. *Adornaui* proposuit R. Klotz,⁴ quae coniectura arrisit A. C. Clarkio,⁵ sed neque hoc uerbum omnino id significare quod hic debetur uidetur.⁶ *Adhortari* coniecit F. Drechsler, uocem *quod* supra delens;⁷ *adhortari* <non destiti> suppleuit K. Busche;⁸ <coepi> *adhortari* nuper excogitauit W. Olszaniec.⁹ Haec corrigendi uia fortasse melior est, sed non ita facile, puto, *r* in *u* corrumpitur. H. Kasten quoque in editione sua propriam coniecturam *adoptaui* recepit,¹⁰ cuius tamen sensus obscurior uidetur.

Indigere quidem emendatione reor locum, sed alia. Fortasse *aduocaui* scribendum est: *c* in *t* in multis scripturis Latinis facillime transit,¹¹ *u* uero saepius in codicibus cum *b* confunditur,¹² quae littera

³ E.g. Reid 1891, 31; Nohl 1984, 12; Müller 1897, 11; Halm–Laubmann 1900, 126; nuper Rzepowski 2007 propter causas rhythmicas *sum adhortatus* legendum arguit.

⁴ Apud Stürenburg 1839, 178.

⁵ Clark 1911, <98>.

⁶ Cf. Cerutti 2006, 77: “Although the meaning of *adornaui* in this context is still not completely clear, the general sense is that because Cicero approved of what Archias had already written, he offered some kind of support (financial? historical details?) so that Archias could finish the poem”.

⁷ Drechsler 1885.

⁸ Busche 1912, 345–346.

⁹ Olszaniec 2010.

¹⁰ Kasten 1966, 44.

¹¹ Bene notum est hoc de litteris minusculis quae dicuntur, sed, cum archetypus hic scholiis Bobiensibus (saec. II–IV, u. Zetzel 2018, 258) antiquior esse debet, notandum est idem uerum esse et in scripturis quae dicuntur cursiua uetus Romana (quod minoris momenti hic est quia in libris scribendis uix ea utebantur) et semiuncialis (eis litteris uel eis similibus debebant quidam libri iam a primis post Christum natum saeculis conscribi: Babcock 2020, 111–113).

¹² Vide Stotz 1996, 255–258, 267–271, et cf. e.g. (ut ex libris geographicis Plinii facilius exempla colligam, ubi in nominibus ignotis saepe peccant scribae) Plin. *NH* 6. 170 *berenicen*] *uerinicen* E^s, 6. 174 *ualitu*] *abalitu* F², *abalitus* P, 6. 191 *bion*] *uion* E^s, 6.194 *isbelos*] *isuelos* E^s, *ballios*] *uallios* PE^s. *Boco* pro *uoco* iam in Pompeis in *CIL* 4. 4186 legitur.

litterae *h* saepe in isdem scripturis simillima est:¹³ scilicet, si fortasse scripsit quis scribarum aliquid scripturae *adbotau*i simile pro *aduocau*i, facile erat scribis similitudinem sensus apti quaerentibus postea hanc uocem in *adhortau*i corrigere. In clausula sic ditrochaeum habebimus, quo saepe Cicero utitur. De sensu uerbi cf. *OLD* s.u. *aduoco* 1 d “to call upon to participate in (an activity), summon to”, de structura uero (quamquam non omnino eodem sensu uerbo adhibito in his exemplis, quia semper praeter actionem ipsam de adueniendo aliquo agitur, – fortasse de poeta hic loquens Cicero, etiamsi in syntaxi prorsae orationi propria, sensum dedit uoci poetis magis usitatum) cf. Cic. *Att.* 12. 18 a. 2 *non aduocau* ad *obsignandum*, Liu. 2. 57. 2 *ad consultandum aduocabantur*, Quint. *Inst.* 12. 1. 24 *qui ad defendendas causas aduocatur*, Quint. *Decl.* 258. 4 *ad signandum aduocatus*, Frontin. *Strat.* 3. 2. 10 *ad dirimendum id iurgium aduocatis*.

Pro Caelio 18

Quo loco possum dicere id quod uir clarissimus, M. Crassus,
cum de aduentu regis Ptolemaei quereretur, paulo ante dixit:
utinam ne in nemore Pelio...

Ac longius quidem mihi contexere hoc carmen liceret:
nam numquam era errans
hanc molestiam nobis exhiberet,
Medea animo aegro, amore saeuo saucia.

Aemilius Baehrens de uoce *liceret* ita scripsit: “Restituas ‘licet’, quod respondet illi ‘quo loco possum dicere’; inducere archetypi scribam coniunctiui circumiacentes ‘quereretur’ et ‘exhiberet’”.¹⁴ Non recipiunt tamen hanc coniecturam editores recentes, et in ultima editione Teubneriana scribit de ea T. Maslowski: “[A]t alia erat Ciceronis, alia Crassi causa”¹⁵ et ad Wageningii commentarium lectorem refert, ubi haec inuenimus: “[N]on legendum est *licet*, ut Baehrens uolebat;

¹³ Sc. non tantum in minusculis litteris, sed etiam in scripturis cursiua uetere Romana et semiunciali. Cf. e.g. Plin. *NH* 6. 149 *hattan(a)e* DR, *battane* d^x, 6.158 *ethraui* D (?) R, *etbraui* F.

¹⁴ Baehrens 1884, 44.

¹⁵ Maslowski 1995, 73.

irrealis enim ita explicandus uidetur: si uellem, mihi potius quam Crasso *liceret* plures uersus, qui ad Clodiam deflecti possent, ex illa tragoedia laudare”.¹⁶ Scilicet uarie, si recte eos intellego, Maslowski et Wageningen formam explicant: ultimus certe coniunctiuum irream illo “si uellem” subaudiendo explicat (quod uix persuadet: et addit uersus Cicero, et nullo modo indicat se nolle id facere), primus uero ita intellegere uidetur: “si Crassus essem, *liceret* mihi”. Sed (praeter id quod fortasse *licuisset* Cicero diceret) dubium mihi uidetur adhuc ex Crassi ore loqui hic Ciceronem. Crassus enim, qui ante eum Caelium eodem die defendebat, uersum ex *Medea exule* Enniana eo sensu laudauit, ut Ptolemaei regis Romam aduentus, propter quem et Dionis philosophi mors Caelio obiecta occurrit, origo omnium malorum appareret. Cicero uero ad conductionem aediculae in insula P. Clodii in Palatio prope domum Clodiae (*Cael.* 17–18) eundem uersum optime referri dicit, quia omnia mala Caelio ex Clodia prouenire arbitratur, nec eum tantum uersum, sed et sequentes, ubi amor Medae describitur similis amori Clodiae (cf. quod dein eodem capitulo dicit: *Ostendam hanc Palatinam Medeam eamque migrationem adulescenti causam siue malorum omnium, siue potius sermonum fuisse*). Vix ergo in Crassi loco ei *liceret* eos uersus addere, sed potius in suo. Itaque recte puto monere Baehrensium de causis corruptionis, sed malim in *liceat* corrigere: facilius enim imaginari possum scribam, qui coniunctiuum uidens non eiusdem temporis, cuius circumstantes, illis eum assimilauerit. De locutione autem cf. e.g. Cic. *Flacc.* 61: *Liceat haec nobis, si obliuisci non possumus, at tacere, liceat mihi potius de leuitate Graecorum queri quam de crudelitate, Rab. Post.* 17: *Qua re aut iudici mihi non esse liceat, aut lege senatoria non teneri.*

Pro Ligario 24

Quaero: quid facturi fuistis? Quamquam quid facturi fueritis dubitem, cum uideam quid feceritis?

Certe in hac ultima sententia nolebat Cicero dicere se reuera dubitare quid facturi fuerint Tubero et pater eius, si in litus Africae admissi

¹⁶ Wageningen 1908, 63.

essent, qua de causa editores interrogationis signum in fine ponere solent, ut sit *dubitem* coniunctius dubitativus. Sed fortasse magis Latina erit locutio, si coniciamus post *quamquam* alterum *quid* propter haplographian excidisse: *Quamquam* <*quid*>, *quid facturi fueritis, dubitem...* Cf. e.g. *Ou. Pont.* 3. 9. 19 *quid enim dubitem tibi uera fateri?*

Philippicae 2. 69

Frugi factus est: illum suam suas res habere iussit, ex duodecim tabulis clavis ademit, exegit.

Εἰρωνικῶς describit Cicero Antonii a Cytheride discessum quasi legitimum diuortium sit,¹⁷ sed hoc concludens *exegit* (*OLD* s.u. 1c: “to divorce (a wife)”, *TLL* 5. 2. 1450. 39–48) duriusculum et superfluum uidetur. Eandem sententiam laudans Nonius Marcellus uocem *forasque* addit ante *exegit* (*Non.* 291 M, p. 449. 8–9 Lindsay), et D. Lambinus eam lectionem paululum mutando *foras exegit* coniecit¹⁸ (cf. e.g. *Plaut. Aul.* 414 *itaque omnis exegit foras*), sed debito sensu non est usitata locutio. Fortasse potius glossema in contextum irrepsit περιφράσεις Ciceronianas explicans.¹⁹ Nota et alibi in hac oratione similiter glossemata plane saepe irrepere: talis est e.g. in eodem capitulo uox *tricliniis*, uocem *conclauibus* explicans (*pro conclauibus popinae sunt* Halm,²⁰ quem secuntur editores hodierni: *pro conclauibus popinae triclinis sunt* V : *pro tricliniis popinae sunt* D), in capitulo 68 uox *spolia*, uocem *rostra* explicans (*illa in uestibulo rostra cum aspexisti* Orelli,²¹ quem nunc sequuntur Ramsey et Magnaldi,²² recte, ut puto: *illa in uestibulo aros trans polia cum aspexisti* V : *illa in uestibula rostra spolia cum aspexisti* D), in capitulo 84 uox *nausiet*,

¹⁷ Ramsey 2003, 259–260.

¹⁸ Lambinus 1577, 85.

¹⁹ Quod ad clausulas pertinet, ditrochaicum sic pro cretico cum trochaico habebimus, utrumque in Cicerone legitimum.

²⁰ Halm 1875, 93, 121–122.

²¹ Orelli 1826, 475–476.

²² Ramsey 2003, 64, 258; Ramsey–Manuwald 2009, 120; Magnaldi 2008, 52.

περίφρασιν *faciat quod in porticu Minucia fecit* explicans (*modo ne faciat quod in porticu Minucia fecit* Pluygers,²³ quem nunc sequuntur Ramsey et Magnaldi,²⁴ recte, ut puto : *modo ne nausiet, faciat quod in porticu [-um V] Minucia fecit* codd.), item in eodem capitulo 84, si recte iudicat D. R. Shackleton Bailey (et mihi quidem uidetur recte iudicare),²⁵ uerba *ubi rhetoris sit tanta merces*, quae περίφρασιν *ubi campus Leontinus appareat*²⁶ explicant (*ubi campus Leontinus appareat* Shackleton Bailey : *ubi rhetoris tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat* D : *ubi rethoris sit tanta merces, id est, ubi campu [sic] Leontinus appareat* V). In omnibus his locis debet glossator antiquus fuisse, quippe qui sat multa de antiquitate sciret et sententias non ita faciles intelligeret.²⁷

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²³ Apud Cobet 1881, 143.

²⁴ Ramsey 2003, 69, 283; Ramsey–Manuwald 2009, 136; Magnaldi 2008, 60.

²⁵ Shackleton Bailey 1986, 385. Ante eum aut *id est* aut *id est ubi campus Leontinus appareat* cum J. F. C. Campio solebant delere editores, et nuper quoque hoc ultimum recepit Magnaldi 2008, 60. In opusculo Magnaldi 2002, 66 n. 19 sic respondit illa uiro docto Anglico: “[L]’abilità degli antichi glossatori delle *Filippiche* a cogliere le allusioni ciceroniane, richiamando in ottimo latino i passi interessati, induce a condividere l’ipotesi che *id est ubi campus Leontinus appareat* sia una chiosa”. Videtur tamen, si sic intepretatur, glossator locutionem non ita obscuram per aliquid multo obscurius explicasse.

²⁶ De terra immodice uasta quam Antonius magistro suo rhetori Sex. Clodio in Sicilia donauit agitur.

²⁷ Cf. Müller 1876 et praesertim Magnaldi 2002, ubi addit aliquot exempla locorum ubi fortasse in contextum orationum Philippicarum glossemata irrepserunt.

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In the article, a set of emendations is proposed for the text of Cicero’s speeches. In *Pro Archia* 28, a *locus vexatus*, it is proposed to read *aduocauit* instead of the manuscript reading *(ad)(h)ortauit*. In *Pro Caelio* 18, a conjecture *liceat* instead of the transmitted *liceret* is proposed. In *Pro Ligario* 24, the recommended reading is *Quamquam <quid>, quid facturi fueritis, dubitem...* In the second *Philippic* 69 it is proposed to delete *exegit*.

В статье предлагается набор эмендаций к речам Цицерона. В много об­суждавшемся месте *Pro Archia* 28 предлагается вместо рукописного *(ad)(h)ortauit* читать *aduocauit*. В *Pro Caelio* 18 вместо парадосиса *liceret* предлагается читать *liceat*. В *Pro Ligario* 24 дается рекомендация читать *Quamquam <quid>, quid facturi fueritis, dubitem...* В *Philippicae* 2. 69 предлагается удалить слово *exegit*.

Giovanni Zago

ARTE ALLUSIVA IN TIBULLO, 2. 2. UN ESERCIZIO DI LETTURA

Uno degli interessi forti di Carlo Martino Lucarini, mio amico fraterno dagli anni ormai lontani del comune tirocinio filologico alla Scuola Normale Superiore (quando la *Normalistarum disciplina* era ancora *tetrica*), è la *Quellenforschung*: in tale ambito di ricerca egli ha indagato, tra l'altro, i modelli letterari e filosofici dei poeti augustei (in particolare Orazio)¹ e si è cimentato con l'arduo problema dell'origine dell'elegia latina.² In omaggio a questo suo interesse gli offro un saggio di analisi intertestuale di un'elegia tibulliana, sulla quale credo che si possa ancora dire qualcosa di nuovo.

In un saggio che continua a essere il più equilibrato profilo critico della poesia tibulliana fino ad oggi realizzato, Antonio La Penna ha sostenuto che Tibullo si collocava “di fronte al lettore in una posizione diversa da quella dei neoterici e dei contemporanei augustei. Sia i neoterici che i poeti augustei mantengono l'atteggiamento callimacheo: il lettore non è soltanto un ascoltatore, ma un collaboratore: il poeta lo stimola a scavare, con gusto e con impegno, nella propria arte per scoprirne i pregi e le sottigliezze. Il lettore del poeta callimacheo è anche lui un dotto, forse meno agguerrito, ma non meno vigile del poeta stesso. Tibullo elabora la sua poesia con eleganza e rigore: il suo classicismo è anche callimachismo; ma egli sembra richiedere un lettore che goda della sua poesia e vi si abbandoni senza affaticarsi a scoprire la sua dottrina. Una delle ragioni che mi inducono a pensarlo è lo scarso uso dell'arte allusiva. Non intendo certo negare che egli conosca molta poesia greca e latina e che la utilizzi ...; ma, se non vogliamo dare al termine di arte allusiva una accezione troppo lata che lo renderebbe inutile, se poniamo come caratteristica dell'arte

¹ Lucarini 2001; Lucarini 2024.

² Lucarini 2008.

illius puro destillent tempora nardo,
 atque satur libo sit madeatque mero.
 aduat et, Cornute, tibi quodcumque rogabis.
 en age, quid cessas? adnuit⁶ ille: roga. 10
 auguror, uxoris fidos optabis amores:
 iam reor hoc ipsos edidicisse deos.
 nec tibi malueris totum quaecumque per orbem
 fortis arat ualido rusticus arua boue,
 nec tibi gemmarum quidquid felicibus Indis 15
 nascitur, Eoi qua maris unda rubet.
 uota cadunt.⁷ utinam strepitantibus aduolet alis
 flauaque coniugio uincula portet Amor,
 uincula quae maneant semper, dum tarda senectus
 inducat rugas inficiatque comas. 20
 hac ueniat Natalis aui⁸ prolemque ministret,

⁶ Non c'è ragione di alterare in *adnuet* il tràdito *adnuit*: il cenno di assenso del *Genius*, chiamato *Natalis* ai vv. 1 e 21 (vedi la n. precedente), si riferisce all'augurio formulato dalla *persona loquens* subito prima (v. 9 *aduat et, Cornute, tibi quodcumque rogabis*). È stato intelligentemente sostenuto che nella figurazione elaborata da Tibullo la *persona loquens* prende un'oscillazione della testa della statua del *Genius* trasportata in direzione dell'altare come un cenno d'assenso e una promessa che qualunque richiesta di Cornuto sarebbe stata esaudita: cf. Ov. *Am.* 3. 2. 58; Maltby 2002, 388. La *persona loquens* sta dando, insomma, la sua interpretazione soggettiva di un presunto *omen*.

⁷ *Vota cadunt* non significa 'uota rata sunt', come molti hanno creduto a partire da Broukhusius 1708, 232: non vi sono attestazioni di *cadere* in questa accezione, e inoltre *cadunt*, se avesse tale significato, sarebbe illogico prima di *utinam*, che non c'è ragione alcuna di alterare in *uiden ut* (lezione di recenziatori accolta da molti studiosi). Il verbo *cadere* significherà qui "to be uttered": cf. Den Boeft 1980 (articolo eccellente); Murgatroyd 1994, 273; Maltby 2002, 391.

⁸ *Hac ... aui* (nel senso di *hoc auspicio*, con icastico richiamo all'Amore svolazzante evocato ai vv. 17–18) è congettura di Heinsius (*apud* Broukhusium 1708, 449) per il tràdito *hic ... auis*. Tale congettura, recentemente rilanciata da Hardy 2023, 449, è senza dubbio la migliore sino ad oggi avanzata per questo problema testuale molto discusso (per una rassegna degli altri tentativi di emendazione cf. D'Amanti 2021, la cui infelicissima sistemazione congetturale dell'emistichio – *sic ueniat Natalis olens* – non meritava di essere proposta). Sia Heinsius che Hardy sbagliano tuttavia, a mio avviso, ad accogliere *uiden ut* in luogo del tràdito *utinam* al v. 17: alla luce di *uēnit* (v. 1), *ueniat* al v. 21 risulta accettabile, infatti, solo se l'ominosa epifania di Amore con le sue ali strepitanti non si è (ancora) verificata. Murgatroyd 1992, 94 ha obiettato alla

ludat ut⁹ ante tuos¹⁰ turba nouella pedes.

È sfuggito fino ad oggi che questa elegia richiama il carne 11 di Catullo:

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,
siue in extremos penetrabit Indos,
litus ut longe resonante Eoa
tunditur unda,

siue in Hyrcanos Arabasue molles, 5
seu Sagas sagittiferosue Parthos,
siue quae septemgeminus colorat
aequora Nilus,

siue trans altas gradietur Alpes,
[...]

omnia haec, quaecumque feret uoluntas 13
caelitum, temptare simul parati,
pauca nuntiate meae puellae 15
non bona dicta.

cum suis uiuat ualeatque moechis *eqs.*

Gli esegeti di Tibullo – da Broukhusius 1708, 229 in poi – si limitano a citare il catulliano *Arabasue molles* (v. 5) come termine di confronto per il nesso *tener ... Arabs* che occorre al v. 4 della nostra elegia, senza peraltro ipotizzare che Tibullo avesse in mente specificamente l'espressione di Catullo, ma postulando che i due poeti si fossero serviti indipendentemente di un motivo topico. Le analogie lessicali e formali tra i due componimenti, tuttavia, sono assai più numerose, e non possono essere fortuite: a *Indos*, che costituisce la

proposta di Heinsius che Tibullo nell'elegia 2. 2 non ha "specifically described anything as an omen or sign"; non si può, d'altra parte, che condividere la replica di Hardy 2023, 449: "but what else, if not this, is the 'winged love' of vv. 17–20?".

⁹ Preferisco, con vari studiosi tra cui, da ultimo, Hardy 2023, 331, *ut* (attestato in recenziatori) al tràdito *et*.

¹⁰ *Tuos* si riferisce a *Cornutus*, a cui il poeta si rivolge a partire dal v. 9.

clausola del v. 2 del carme catulliano, corrisponde *Indis*, che occorre in clausola al v. 15 dell'elegia tibulliana, e sia nel carme catulliano sia nell'elegia di Tibullo al verso che termina con *Indos (-is)* segue un verso contenente un avverbio in anastrofe che significa "dove" (*ut [= ubi]* in Catullo; *qua* in Tibullo), da cui è introdotta una proposizione relativa che include sia l'aggettivo *Eous* sia il sostantivo *unda*, in entrambi i casi adiacente a una forma verbale. Al tibulliano *dicamus bona uerba* (v. 1) fa inoltre da contraltare l'antifrastico *nuntiate ... non bona dicta* di Catull. 11. 15–16 (con *dicamus bona uerba* la *persona loquens* esorta gli astanti a εὐφημεῖν, ossia a evitare parole di cattivo augurio, e lo fa nel corso di una cerimonia in cui chiede a *Natalis* e *Amor* di favorire la felicità coniugale e familiare di Cornuto; *non bona dicta* sono invece le ingiuriose parole di ripudio che Catullo chiede a Furio ed Aurelio di riferire a Lesbia). Queste affinità sono tanto palesi da indurmi a credere che siano frutto di riprese consapevoli e non di inconsce reminiscenze,¹¹ e il suggestivo effetto creato dalla comparazione tra Tibull. 2. 2 e Catull. 11 suggerisce che Tibullo abbia imitato versi del carme 11 di Catullo *non subripiendi causa sed palam mutuandi, hoc animo ut uellet agnosci*:¹² Tibullo voleva, cioè, spingere il destinatario dell'elegia (Cornuto) e in generale i propri lettori colti a ricordare il carme che descrive il *repudium per nuntios* di Lesbia da parte di Catullo.¹³

È stato scritto che Tibull. 2. 2 è un componimento "poco 'elegiaco' nella sua esaltazione affettuosa (e un po' convenzionale) di un amore coniugale", un componimento "in cui l'elegia sogna per un momento un mondo diverso, 'normale', e si avvicina pericolosamente a una condizione in cui rischia di perdere le ragioni stesse della sua esistenza come genere letterario".¹⁴ L'osservazione è fine, ma condivisibile solo in parte, perché Tibull. 2. 2 è un congegno letterario

¹¹ Si noti che Catull. 11. 3–4 è imitato anche, sebbene in maniera assai più sfumata, in Tibull. 2. 4. 9–10 *insanis cautes obnoxia uentis / naufraga quam uasti tunderet unda maris* (in questo caso il parallelo non è sfuggito agli studiosi). Per la presenza di Catullo in Tibullo cf. La Penna 1995, 52, con elenco dei *loci similes* (mancano ovviamente i raffronti tra Catull. 11 e Tibull. 2, 2 che stiamo qui proponendo).

¹² Uso le famose parole di Seneca padre (*Suas.* 3. 7).

¹³ Per il carme 11 di Catullo come descrizione di un formale *repudium per nuntios* cf. Mayer 1983.

¹⁴ Lenaz 1997, 344.

assai più sofisticato di quanto finora sia sembrato ai critici: se Tibullo, nelle vesti di *persona loquens* e narratore interno, spinge Cornuto e il lettore a immaginare che la *fides* in amore possa durare per sempre, è Tibullo stesso – in qualità di autore ‘allusivo’ – a ricordare all’uno e agli altri, attraverso il richiamo intertestuale a Catull. 11, che le relazioni amorose possono finire a causa della *fides* tradita, e possono finire dolorosamente. Insomma, sfruttando la memoria poetica dei più colti tra i suoi lettori, Tibullo riesce – per così dire – a ritagliare uno spazio per l’amore tormentato e infelice, ossia per l’amore ‘elegiaco’, anche in un componimento che, per il tema trattato, sembrerebbe inevitabilmente precluderglielo: uno squisito esempio di arte allusiva.

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This article points out the previously unnoticed intertextual link between Tibull. 2. 2 and Catull. 11, and argues that Tibullus alludes to Catullus' poem on his divorce from Lesbia in order to make his own poem, which culminates in a eulogy of marriage and family life, more 'elegiac'. A few textual and exegetical notes on Tibull. 2. 2 are also provided.

Автор привлекает внимание к не замеченной прежде интертекстуальной связи между Tibull. 2, 2 и Catull. 11 и доказывает, что аллюзия на стихотворение Катутла о разрыве с Лесбией позволяет Тибуллу приблизить собственную хвалу супружеской любви и семейной жизни к элегической традиции. Кроме того, он делает несколько текстологических и экзегетических замечаний к Tibull. 2, 2.

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... IN ALIUM ORBEM TERRARUM DELATOS
(PETRON. 1. 2)*

What survives of Petronius' novel opens, as is well known, with a lively discussion between the young Encolpius – the *ego* narrator – and the rhetor Agamemnon on educational matters, firstly the extravagances of declamation in both content and style. The gap between declamation and real oratory is such, Encolpius argues, that students coming out of the schools of rhetoric, once they set foot in the forum, “think themselves transported into another world” (1. 2: *putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos*). This is one of the vivid “figurative expressions”¹ characteristic of Encolpius, and it is recorded for its proverbial flavour in Otto's classic repertory;² yet the image remains ultimately unexplained, the “other world” evoked being so vague, that various scholars have understood it *tout court* as “another planet”.³ In reality the metaphor is indeed hyperbolic, but it remains confined to the realm of nature, as is shown by cross-comparison with two slightly later Greek passages.⁴

* My warmest thanks to the editors for their invaluable suggestions.

¹ Vannini 2011, 76: “espressioni figurate”.

² Otto 1890, 146 *s.v.* *forum* (2).

³ Thus several translators, *e.g.* Sullivan ⁵1986 (1965), 37: “they think they have been landed on another planet” (unchanged in Sullivan–Morales 2011); Alexandrou 1985 [Α. Αλεξάνδρου, *Πετρωνίου Σατυρικών*], 27: “νιώθουν σαν να πέσανε σε άλλον πλανήτη” (after Sullivan: *cf.* Pappas 2023, 116–117); Aragosti 1995, 133: “si credono trasferiti di peso su un altro pianeta”; Holzberg 2013, 9: “sie... sich auf einen anderen Planeten versetzt glauben”; Longobardi 2015, 3: “si trovano come sbarcati su un altro pianeta”. Along the same lines, Breitenstein 2009, 34 comments as follows: “Die Äußerung beschreibt die Erfahrung der Schüler. In Tat und Wahrheit lebten diese bis dahin auf einem anderen Planeten und landen nun auf dem Boden der Tatsachen”. No position is taken in Schmeling 2011.

⁴ Never connected to each other before, to my knowledge, although long individually known to scholars working on, or otherwise familiar with, Petronius:

(1) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 4. 4. 4, 669 d:

Τὸ... τῶν ἐναλίων γένος ἔκφυλον ὅλως καὶ ἄποικον ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ κόσμῳ γεγονότων καὶ ζώντων.

Sea animals... are a species entirely alien and remote from us, as if they had sprung up and were living in some different world.⁵

(2) Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 2. 17–18 (edd. Mutschmann–Mau):

... ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ πολλοὺς πάρεστιν ὄραν λέγοντας μὲν εὐφυῶς ἐπὶ δικαστηρίων καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, τὰ δὲ τεχνικὰ τῆς ῥητορικῆς παραγγέλματα μὴ γινώσκοντας. Καὶ ἀντιστρόφως, ... οἱ ἐξηκριβωκότερες [ἐπὶ πλεῖον] καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκπονήσαντες τὸν τεχνικὸν τῆς ῥητορικῆς λόγον ἀδυνατοῦσι ῥητορεύειν ἐπὶ δικαστηρίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς ... ὡς ὁ σύμπας οἶδε βίος, οἱ σοφιστεύοντες ἐπ' ἄκρον μὲν τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἐξήσκησαν τεχνολογίαν, ἰχθύων δὲ ἀφωνότεροι ἐπὶ τῆς [γῆς] ὑπαίθρου θεωροῦνται.

... we may see many in our daily life who speak nicely in law-courts and assemblies, while not knowing the technical precepts of rhetoric. And conversely, ... those who have brought to precision and worked out more fully the technical rules of rhetoric are incapable of making a speech in the law-courts and the assembly ...[;] as every ordinary person knows, those who play the sophist have refined to a peak the technical discourse of rhetoric, but are observed to be dumber than fishes when they are out in public.⁶

The second passage, as recently shown,⁷ builds on the proverbial expression ἀφωνότερος τῶν ἰχθύων:⁸ stemming from the ancient idea

the first passage was turned to account by Erasm. *Adag.* 1. 2. 97 *In alio mundo*, who concluded by relating the idiom to foreigners feeling “quasi in alium delati orbem” (a patent Petronian reminiscence); the second passage was pointed to – with some inaccuracies – by Jean Bourdelot (†1638), in a note reproduced in Burman ²1743, I, 8 (where a reference to Erasmus, *cit.* is also collected).

⁵ Translation by [Clement–]Hoffleit 1969, 351.

⁶ Translation based on Bury 1949, 197 and Bett 2018, 132. On the general argument see Karadimas 1996, 194–198.

⁷ Keyer 2012, 289.

⁸ Spyridonidou-Skarsouli 1995, nr. 39 d, with exhaustive commentary at pp. 317–319. Cf. Erasm. *Adag.* 1. 5. 29 *Magis mutus quam pisces*.

that fish are mute,⁹ the idiom was also applied to those who proved incapable of speaking or debating publicly, and the like.¹⁰ This is probably echoed in Petron. 39. 13: Trimalchio's statement that, within the zodiac, *in piscibus... rhetores – sc. nascuntur* – seems to be a jibe at the supposed eloquence of rhetoricians.¹¹

The exact meaning of 1. 2 is now clear enough: those who pass from the closed environments of the schools of rhetoric – a microcosm of *studia ... in umbra educata*¹² – to the open spaces of real eloquence feel themselves flung “into another world”, like creatures removed from their proper element: like fish out of water, precisely, and as such incapable of speaking. The same basic metaphor, viewed from the opposite perspective, seems to underlie a distinctive expression in Philostratus, *Epist.* 28 Kayser:

γενέσθαι μὲν ἰχθῦς ξένος οὐκ ἀνέχεται, χαίρει δὲ μεταβολαῖς τῆς γῆς οὔσης μιᾶς.

a foreigner cannot endure becoming a fish [= feeling himself in a world alien to his own]; rather, he rejoices in changes, since the earth is one.¹³

⁹ Widely attested since [Hes.] *Scut.* 212 in ancient sources, both Greek (Spyridonidou-Skarsouli 1995, 317) and Roman (Bömer 1976, 32 on *Ov. Met.* 4. 50).

¹⁰ See with references Spyridonidou-Skarsouli 1995, 318 and especially Keyer 2012, 288–289.

¹¹ As deftly argued by Korenjak 2006, further corroborated by Keyer 2012, 288–289.

¹² Seneca's famous definition, reported by *Tac. Ann.* 14. 53. 4 (and, not by chance, adopted as a heading in *Petrone–Casamento* 2010). Cf. *Petron.* 2. 4: *umbraticus doctor*, with my note *ad loc.* in *Fedeli–Stramaglia–Fo* 2027 (forthcoming).

¹³ I interpret the passage thus, in the wake of Bounoure–Serret 2019, 187–188: “l'étranger n'accepterait pas de devenir un poisson, mais il se réjouit de changer de place sur la terre qui ne fait qu'un” and Giannini 2025, 252: “uno straniero non sopporta di essere come un pesce, ma gioisce dei cambiamenti, perché una è la terra”. Earlier translations are in various ways unsatisfactory (to mention only the main, more or less recent ones, cf. Hansmann 1989 [1919], 52: “der Fremdling kein Fisch werden, seinen Aufenthaltsort auf der Erde aber, eben weil sie Erde ist, wechseln kann”; Benner–Fobes 1949, 475: “though a stranger does not endure transformation into a fish, yet he does take pleasure

As the context intimates, the image becomes here a mannered way of saying that “love knows no boundaries”,¹⁴ because one who is in love feels himself to be in his proper element – *i.e.*, loves at ease – in any part of the world. Another comparable image drawn from the animal realm is sketched by Quintilian;¹⁵ and indeed, already Seneca the Elder¹⁶ had pronounced that *in declamationibus non tantum aliud genus <rerum, sed aliud genus> hominum esse* (*Contr.* 3. pr. 18, with Håkanson’s plausible supplement).

That declaimers truly felt completely out of their element when attempting to act as advocates in the forum is made explicit by numerous sources;¹⁷ a famous anecdote on Porcius Latro may vouch for them all: *traditur ut, cum ei summam in scholis opinionem optinenti causa in foro esset oranda, impense petierit uti subsellia in basilicam transferrentur: ita illi caelum novum fuit ut omnis eius eloquentia contineri tecto ac parietibus videretur* (*Quint. Inst.* 10. 5. 18, and more fully *Sen. Contr.* 9. pr. 3–4).

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in shifting position on land, and the land is a unit”; Kytzler[–Herel] 1967, 199: “ein Fremdling es zwar nicht aushält, ein Fisch zu werden, aber doch den Ortswechsel zu Lande genießt – und das Land ist eine Einheit”; Conca[–Zanetto] 2005, 179: “uno straniero non sopporta di diventare un pesce, ma gioisce dei cambiamenti, per quanto la terra sia una sola”; Brodersen 2017, 57: “ein Fremder es zwar nicht aushält, ein Fisch zu werden, aber einen Ortswechsel auf der Erde genießt, die ja eine Einheit ist”). I also refer to Giannini 2025 for a thorough defence of the authenticity of this and other passages of the fuller redaction of the letters of Philostratus, which is preserved only in part of the manuscript tradition.

¹⁴ Giannini 2025, 251: “l’amore... non conosce confini”.

¹⁵ *Inst.* 12. 2. 14: *reperias quosdam in disputando mire callidos, cum ab illa cavillatione discesserint, non magis sufficere in aliquo graviore actu quam parva quaedam animalia quae, in angustis mobilia, campo deprehenduntur.*

¹⁶ Aptly compared with our Petronian passage by Berti 2007, 148.

¹⁷ See in detail Berti 2007, 141–149 and 2010, 101 ff.

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The figurative expression *in alium orbem terrarum delatos* (Petron. 1. 2) implies a change of natural element: those who pass from the schools of rhetoric to the forum become like fish out of water, and as such prove incapable of speaking. Elucidating this expression, with its strong proverbial background, also helps to clarify a passage in Philostratus, *Epist.* 28 Kayser.

Образное выражение *in alium orbem terrarum delatos* (Petron. 1, 2) предполагает метафору, связанную со сменой естественной среды обитания: те, кто выходит из риторических школ и оказывается на форуме, чувствуют себя, как рыбы, вытасщенные из воды, и так же, как рыбы, неспособны говорить. Уточненная интерпретация этого выражения, несомненно, восходящего к поговорке, помогает лучше понять также пассаж Филострата, *Epist.* 28 Kayser.

Walter Lapini

COME FARSI AMICO IL GIUDICE
(NOTA A CARITONE VI, 7, 11)

Siamo all’inizio del libro sesto del *Cherea e Calliroe* di Caritone. Tutta Babilonia aspetta con il fiato sospeso che il re Artaserse decida a chi restituire Calliroe: se a Cherea, suo primo marito, oppure a Dionisio, che, così si crede, le ha dato un figlio. Senonché anche Artaserse si invaghisce della ragazza, e desiderando averla (ma senza scandali) incarica l’eunuco Artassate di propiziargliela.

Calliroe come è ovvio rifiuta le avances, ma nel farlo lascia trapelare il suo amore per Cherea. L’eunuco, intravisto il punto debole, le fa capire che per essere ridata a Cherea le basterà essere carina con il re. L’obiezione che Cherea potrebbe scandalizzarsi dello sconcio baratto è aggirata con l’argomento che Cherea non saprà mai della *liaison*; e quand’anche sapesse (così ragiona Artassate), le attenzioni del re verso sua moglie non potranno che lusingarlo.

Queste le ultime parole della *suasoria*, VI, 7, 10–12:

[10] ὁ δὲ εὐνοῦχος ἐνέκειτο μᾶλλον καὶ «σεαυτῇ – φησὶ – τῆς βραδυτῆτος αἰτία γίνῃ. [11] πῶς οὖν εὐμενῆ τὸν δικαστὴν ἴξεις ἢ σχεῖν κάλλιον† ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κομίση; τάχ’ <ἂν> οὐδὲ Χαίρεας γνοίῃ τὸ πραχθέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνοὺς οὐ ζηλοτυπήσει τὸν [12] κρείττονα: δόξει δέ σε τιμιωτέραν, ὡς ἀρέσασαν βασιλεῖ». ¹

L’eunuco la incalzò ancora di più, dicendole: «tu stessa provochi a tuo danno questa perdita di tempo. [11] In che modo dunque ἴφραυ il giudice o avere meglio† affinché tu recuperi tuo marito? Probabilmente Cherea non lo saprà mai. E comunque, anche se

¹ Il testo è di Reardon 2004, 109, che accetta ἐνέκειτο di Sanz Morales (1999, 146, e cf. 2020, 123) al posto del trådito ἐπέθετο. Il Reardon mette il punto interrogativo dopo ἴξεις. Io lo tolgo, perché usare la *crux* vuol dire rinunciare anche alle ipotesi sulla punteggiatura.

venisse a saperlo, non sarà geloso di una persona tanto più importante di lui. Anzi ti considererò ancora più preziosa, poiché sei piaciuta al re».

Il senso è chiaro, ma la sintassi non torna. Fra $\pi\omega\varsigma$ e $\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$ c'è evidentemente un guasto.

La storia delle tentate emendazioni comincia presto. Il D'Orville propose $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ o $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ al posto di $\sigma\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, senza tanto crederci neanche lui.² Il Reiske mutò $\eta\acute{\iota}$ in $\eta\grave{\iota}$ facendo di $\pi\omega\varsigma$ – $\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$ un periodo solo.³ Il Beck tornò a due periodi leggendo H come $\eta\acute{\iota}$ asseverativo (*profecto*).⁴

Il Seiler, studiando i $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ assoluti in Longo, ipotizzò che potesse essercene uno anche nel nostro passo, per il quale dubitativamente suggeriva $\eta\acute{\iota}$ $\langle\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\rangle\sigma\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$.⁵

Le innovazioni di D'Orville, Reiske, Beck e Seiler, e mettiamoci anche Abresch,⁶ sono tutte stiracchiate. Rendono il testo leggibile, ma con ogni evidenza non lo sanano.

Nel Novecento si prende a sospettare che $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ e $\sigma\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ siano alternative l'una dell'altra. Il Blake atetizza $\sigma\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, il Wifstrand $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$.⁷ Tutti e due per forza di cose devono atetizzare anche $\eta\acute{\iota}$. E non basta: mantenendo $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ non ha più un ruolo e deve sparire a sua volta. Scegliendo l'opzione di Wifstrand, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ è invece indispensabile, perché è proprio lui, con $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ sottinteso, a reggere $\sigma\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$. E però la domanda retorica non sta in piedi senza una negazione. Di qui la necessità per Wifstrand di modificare $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ in $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$.

I testi di Blake («come dunque [sc. se non concedendoti al re] avrai il giudice ben disposto onde riottenere anche il marito?») e di Wifstrand («come non è meglio avere il giudice ben disposto onde

² D'Orville 1750, 572: «liquidam emendationem non inuenio».

³ Reiske ap. D'Orville 1783, 146: «qui enim benevolam habebis judicem tu, cui pulchrius erat, benevolam habere, quo et maritum recuperares?». La traduzione si ritrova in Hirschig 1856, 280.

⁴ L'ipotesi di Beck pare apprezzata da Calderini 1913, 376: «come dunque avrai benevolo il giudice? Ed era *pur* meglio l'avessi tale, se volevi riacquistare anche il marito» (enfasi mia). Ipotesi alternativa di Beck (ap. D'Orville 1783, 146 n. 5) era la lacuna («nisi quaedam exciderunt»).

⁵ Seiler 1843, 280.

⁶ Che tentava un po' alla cieca $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ oppure $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ οὐ oppure $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (ap. D'Orville 1783, 146).

⁷ Blake 1938, 94; Wifstrand 1945, 8.

riottenere anche il marito?») sono fin qui gli unici scorrevoli e senza lische. Ma il lettore vede bene a che prezzo.⁸

Georges Molinié, nell'edizione Belles Lettres del 1979 e poi del 1989, stampa πῶς οὖν εὐμενῆ τὸν δικαστὴν σχεῖν κάλλιον ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κομίση;, che è il testo di Wifstrand, ma senza il ritocco οὖν > οὐκ, e quindi un testo impossibile, da cui infatti la traduzione «quel plus beau moyen de t'attirer la bienveillance du juge pour qu'il te rende précisément ton mari?» si distacca non poco.⁹ Lo studioso evidentemente si è dimenticato di οὐκ e ha costruito sull'errore. Si osservi peraltro che il testo ricusato non viene incluso fra quadre o graffe, ma soppresso fisicamente. Un'infelice idea, purtroppo seguita da Goold nell'edizione Loeb del 1995. Ma proseguiamo.

In un articolo del 2003, Alberto Borgogno propone σκέψαι al posto di ἢ σχεῖν, «pensa meglio a come potrai aver benevolo il giudice in modo da ottenere anche tuo marito», con questa spiegazione: «l'invito a 'pensare meglio' è perfettamente motivato dal fatto che Calliroe continua ad esprimere un'intenzione opposta a quella che Artassate vorrebbe insinuare nella sua mente».¹⁰ Come dire: pensaci due volte, torna sulle tue decisioni. Borgogno scrive «pensare meglio» ma il senso che ne esce è quello di «pensarci meglio», che non è la stessa cosa. Io credo che σκέψαι κάλλιον possa significare solo 'trova tu una soluzione migliore della mia (se sei capace)'. Anzi una soluzione più raffinata, più sottile, visto che la parola usata è κάλλιον e non κρεῖττον. Ma non è questo che il contesto richiede.¹¹

⁸ L'ipotesi glossematica ha convinto anche Mendoza 1979, 163 n. 69, la quale, senza accorgersi del controsenso, omette dalla traduzione ἢ σχεῖν κάλλιον in quanto derivato «de una explicación al margen a εὐμενῆ – ἔξεις, a cuyo sentido nada añade» (enfasi mia). Ma, come ammoniva Cobet 1859, 247, acuto eureka di glosse, anche caritoniane, «nihil satis tuto deletur nisi quum intelligitur, quo tandem modo nasci potuerit», e non si vede di quale glossa possa aver necessitato un testo come quello di Wifstrand, o come quello di Blake.

⁹ Il testo di Molinié può essere ridotto alla ragionevolezza solo nel modo seguito da Roncali 1996, 345–347: «come sarebbe bello avere il giudice favorevole, per recuperare anche il marito!», col punto esclamativo invece dell'interrogativo. Brethes 2016, 127, che usa il testo di Molinié, tacitamente lo modifica, reintroducendovi la negazione: «n'est-il pas préférable de gagner...?».

¹⁰ Borgogno 2003, 131; e si veda 2005, 308.

¹¹ Borgogno 2005, 308 n. 302, rivendica di aver «ricostruito un testo leggibile senza intervenire pesantemente (Blake ricorre alla soluzione di

In un articolo del 2009, e poi nell'edizione critica di tutto Caritone del 2020, Manuel Sanz Morales propone e stampa πῶς οὖν εὐμενῆ τὸν δικαστὴν ἔξεις; ἢ <ἐπι>σχεῖν κάλλιον ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κομίση;, «¿cómo te ganarás la actitud favorable del juez? ¿o acaso es preferible esperar, para que él te entregue a tu marido?»¹² Dopo un lungo esilio, ἦ = *vel* ricompare,¹³ e i periodi diventano di nuovo due. Ἐπισχεῖν significherebbe 'aspettare' e sarebbe usato assolutamente come in Ach. Tat. III, 17, 1; Heliod. I, 12, 3 e V, 1, 4. Κάλλιον starebbe per κρεῖττον. Attraverso la domanda retorica l'eunuco vorrebbe far capire che aspettando, nicchiando, Calliroe danneggia se stessa, perché in questo modo non riuscirà mai a riavere Cherea.

Ma l'interrogativa 'come renderai il giudice favorevole?' non tiene conto che il modo di rendere il giudice favorevole è già stato spiegato ed è noto: giacere con il re. La domanda assume la necessaria *allure* retorica solo con il sottinteso 'come renderai il giudice favorevole *se non facendo come ti ho appena suggerito?*'. Κάλλιον sarebbe proprio ciò che ci vuole per esprimere sottinteso, ma purtroppo qui le frasi sono due, e κάλλιον si trova nella seconda.

Per quanto mi riguarda, leggerei:

πῶς οὖν εὐμενῆ τὸν δικαστὴν ἔξεις παρασχεῖν κάλλιον ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κομίση;

Come potrai rendere il giudice ben disposto meglio che in questo modo [= andandoci a letto], sì da poter recuperare anche il marito?¹⁴

Che qui il verbo giusto fosse παρέχειν lo aveva già visto il Seiler. Ma con ἦ in mezzo il suo παρασχεῖν non poteva funzionare, e giustamente è stato estromesso dagli apparati.

espungere l'intero ἢ σχεῖν κάλλιον)». Ho due obiezioni: la prima è che un testo *leggibile* non è per forza un testo giusto; la seconda è che σκέψαι non è poi così poco costoso come Borgogno sembra credere.

¹² Sanz Morales 2020, 123.

¹³ Sarebbe l'«ἦ coniciensis», come lo chiama Cobet 1859, 268, parlando di 3. 6. 6.

¹⁴ Vari traduttori oltre me danno più scorrevolezza al periodo traducendo ἵνα come se fosse ὥστε. Ovviamente né io né loro ignoriamo che ἵνα introduce la finale.

La correzione di ἡ σχεῖν in παρασχεῖν restituisce anche a κάλλιον il valore semantico appropriato: non un *meglio* purchessia, ma un *meglio* nel senso del bello e del piacevole, con un ammiccamento degno della bassezza del personaggio. (L'eunuco, che ritiene la *meixis* di Calliroe con il re un onore per Cherea, non può che ritenerla un onore e un diletto per Calliroe).¹⁵ La mia proposta darebbe, credo, una funzione anche a καί,¹⁶ che verrebbe a dire: avrai il marito oltre il resto. Il resto sarebbe il privilegio di essere scelta dal re, di dargli e riceverne piacere. Anche la scelta della forma fraseologica (ἔχειν παρέχειν invece del solo παρέχειν) non è gratuita: il sintagma esprime l'«avere la possibilità di, la disponibilità di», sottolineando ulteriormente che il corso buono o cattivo che gli eventi prenderanno dipende per intero dalle decisioni di Calliroe.

Per 'rendere (παρέχειν) qualcuno εὐμενῆ' cf. Thuc. II, 74, 2; Fl. Jo. AJ IV, 317; Plut. *De cap. ex inim. util.* 92 B. Per 'rendere (παρέχειν) qualcuno giudice' cf. Plut. *Quaest. Plat.* 1000 B παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς δικαστάς; Phil. Alex. *In Flacc.* 106. Per 'rendere (παρέχειν) un giudice disposto-in-un-certo-modo' cf. Plut. *Praec. ger. reip.* 823 B διαλλακτὴν εὐμενῆ (...) παρέχων ἑαυτόν; *Numa* 3, 6 παρέχων ἑαυτόν ἄμεμπτον δικαστήν.

Per ἔχειν e παρέχειν dipendenti e contigui cf. Ach. Tat. VII, 11, 2 οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι παρασχεῖν; App. *BC* II, 19, 141 εἶχον παρασχεῖν; Luc. *Apol.* 1 ἔχοντα παρέχειν.¹⁷

Per ἔξειν παρασχεῖν, futuro più aoristo, riporto due occorrenze, una distanziata e una contigua: [Clem.] *Hom.* III, 10, 4 ἔξει (...) παρασχεῖν e Jo. Chrys. *In oppugn. vitae monast.* XLVII, 335, 41 PG ἔξομεν παρασχεῖν. Sono occorrenze tarde, ma non credo che questa sia una debolezza.¹⁸

¹⁵ Coglie la sfumatura Molinié 1989, 164: «quel plus beau moyen de t'attirer la bienveillance du juge...?», ecc.

¹⁶ Un καί che dà problemi: qualcuno non lo traduce (Mendoza 1979, 163; Meckelnborg-Schaefer 2006, 189; Brethes 2016, 127; Fátima Silva 2017, 185), qualcuno lo traduce a modo suo: Molinié 1989, 164: «pour qu'il te rende précisément ton mari?».

¹⁷ E ancora Xen. *Oec.* 2, 25, se si deve accettare, come credo, il supplemento di Richards 1907, 2: αἰτοῦντί σοι αὐτὸς μὴ ἔχων <παρέχειν> ἄλλοσε κτλ.

¹⁸ Aggiungo, se può servire, che la sequenza di semplice + composto, ἔχειν παρασχεῖν, quella che troviamo in Caritone, ha una frequenza almeno quadrupla rispetto a παρασχεῖν ἔχειν. Dunque anche l'ordine è quello giusto.

Per il *Fehlertyp* si può indicare un caso pressoché identico (ancorché di tragitto inverso) da me medesimo individuato in Diog. Laert. IX, 30 φέρεσθαι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐν μείζονι κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν σελήνην, dove περὶ τὴν σελήνην ha senza dubbio preso il posto di ἢ τὴν σελήνην per via di un H letto come Π e confuso con un'abbreviazione.¹⁹

La trafila παρασχεῖν (composto) > Πσχεῖν (composto abbreviato) > ἢ σχεῖν (scomposizione del composto e *misreading*) può essere documentata con alcuni raffronti: *Aspas. In Aristot. EN* 61, 23–24 Heylbut παρασχεῖν vs. πάσχειν; *sch. Pind. Ol.* 5, 9, 138, 10 Drachmann πάσχει vs. περιέχει; *Dion. Hal. De imit.* II, 6 (416), II, 203, 3–4 UR παραδείξας vs. πλέξας; *Procl. In Plat. Remp.* 130, 16 Kroll παρεχομένων (Kroll) vs. ἢ ἀρχομένων; *Dionys. De aucup.* 2, 1 (22, 8 Garzya) περισκέπει vs. τι σκέπει. Si aggiungano *Plut. De fort.* 97 F ἐλαννομένους καὶ διαφορομένους (Wytttenbach) vs. ἐλαννομένους ἢ περιφερομένους (apparato di Paton–Wegehaupt 1925, 198), e *sch. Eur. Hipp.* 276 a ἢ τῆς ὀδύνης vs. καὶ τῆς ὀδύνης vs. ἢ καὶ περὶ τῆς ὀδύνης (apparato di Cavarzeran 2016, 177), dove pare evidente la filiazione H-περὶ ο περι-Η. E ancora *Jo. Phil. In Aristot. Phys.* 514, 17–18 Vitelli περὶ οὐ vs. ποῦ. Identica dinamica in *Aristot. Meteor.* 372 a ἢ αἰτουμένου vs. ἐπαιρουμένου; *sch. Eur. Andr.* 201 b καταδέξεται vs. ἢ δέξεται (apparato di Cavarzeran 2022, 122).

La tradizione di Caritone – ovvero il Laur. Conventi Soppressi 627 (F) – ha palesemente un problema con i preverbi e le preposizioni. Tutte le tradizioni lo hanno, ma questa di più. Scorrendo gli apparati di Reardon e di Sanz Morales, troviamo, a stare bassi, almeno 25 casi certi o probabili di scambio (I, 3, 5 ὑπονοῦσα Reiske: ἐπινοῦσα F; I, 9, 5 ὑπέμενεν Abresch: ἐπέμενεν F; II, 1, 6 περιῶν Abresch:²⁰ παριῶν F, ecc.), e quasi 20 di omissione: II, 4, 9 ἀποσεμνύνειν F: σεμνύνειν *P.Oxy.* 2948; III, 4, 11 τοὺς παρακαθεζομένους Cobet: τοὺς καθεζομένους F; IV, 2, 7 συν[απαγό]μενος *P.Fayyum* 1: ἀπαγόμενος F, ecc.

¹⁹ Lapini 2011. La mia correzione è stata ora messa a testo da Dorandi 2013, 679. Cf. anche [Plat.] *Eryx.* 404 c τοῦ ἀκούειν [ἢ] ἐτέρου τινός (testo di Donato 2023, 199; espunzione di K. F. Hermann), forse da correggere in παρ' ἐτέρου τινός, come proposto (cautamente) da Le Clerc 1711, 71–72.

²⁰ L'intervento di Abresch non è accolto né da Sanz Morales 2020, 27, né (di conseguenza) da Baumbach – Sanz Morales 2021, 147.

Questi errori – peraltro a senso unico: solo omissioni e mai aggiunte, mai o quasi mai – incoraggiano a immaginare la presenza di preverbi abbreviati. Si veda in particolare V, 2, 4:

ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν ᾧ κατήγετο μετὰ Πολυχάρμου τοῦ φίλου, καὶ ρίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, περιρρηξάμενος τὸν χιτῶνα, ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ περιελὼν
 κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
 χεύατο κὰκ κεφαλῆς, χάριεν δ' ἥσχυνε πρόσωπον.

Carlo Lucarini ha così analizzato il passo in un lavoro di una ventina di anni fa:²¹

crea evidenti difficoltà περιελὼν, perché προαιρῶ significa sempre ‘togliere via d’attorno’ ovvero ‘eliminare’, giammai raccogliere. Una soluzione potrebbe essere l’espunzione di questo verbo, ma non pare raccomandabile, poiché il verbo αἰρῶ è presente anche nel passo iliadico in questione (*Il.* XVIII, 23–24, nella forma ἐλὼν). Forse nel nostro passo è consigliabile far iniziare la citazione da χερσὶ e leggere dunque ... χιτῶνα, ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ<v> [περι]ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν...

Fin qui Lucarini. Ora, ἀμφοτέραις e χερσὶν sono comune proprietà di Caritone e di Omero: il lettore antico attraversa il confine fra l’uno e l’altro senza accorgersene. Noi moderni però, equipaggiati di corsivi, virgolette, spaziature e indentature, dobbiamo per forza mettere un *firewall*. Io lo metterei fra χερσὶν ed ἐλὼν, attribuendo ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶν tutto a Caritone.²²

Questo χερσὶν ἐλὼν (già in Hercher, ma che Lucarini ha riproposto indipendentemente)²³ è una correzione palmare e di fine

²¹ Lucarini 2007, 68.

²² Hercher 1859, Xe 87, presentava questo testo: τὸν χιτῶνα ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν (si notino le spaziature). Sanz Morales 2020, 91, accetta il tràdito senza neppure menzionare χερσὶν ἐλὼν, che confina nell’*apparatus additicius* a p. 174. Peccato che lo studioso spagnolo, editore *insightful* e tutt’altro che pavido, non abbia apprezzato l’intervento. E peccato che a p. 174 abbia ricordato solo Hercher, e non anche Lucarini. Non si tratta di ‘completezza’: il fatto è che una congettura ha tanto più valore quanto più numerosi sono gli interpreti che la sentono necessaria.

²³ Si veda la nota precedente.

intuito. È plausibile che il N efelcistico venisse letto Π e che il Π (simultaneamente) venisse interpretato come περι-.²⁴ Graffe e quadre fanno capire a colpo d'occhio qual è il testo prima e dopo la cura, ma, storicamente parlando, se ne potrebbe fare a meno: il *ny* che manca non è altro che il περι- in esubero.

Come i divinatori *du temps jadis*, Lucarini non si è perso in spiegazioni. Né dalla sua rilettura ha lucrato un 'prodotto' autonomo, come altri μικρολόγοι certo avrebbero fatto. Nel mio intervento su VI, 7, 11 non ho seguito il suo esempio. Ma valga a farmi perdonare l'aver riportato all'attenzione questo esempio di alta filologia.

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²⁴ Caso comparabile in [Aristot.] *Rhet. Alex.* 1421 a καθάπερ ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσε vs. καθάπερ ἡμῖν παρεδήλωσε (N duplicato e letto Π?); Antiph. 1, 12 ζητοῦσι «παρ»ατεῖσθαι (Blass) vs. ζητοῦσιν αἰτεῖσθαι (Π-preposizione preso per Π-lettera e quest'ultimo letto N?); Herodian. *Post Marc.* 6, 7 ἔχειν vs. «παρ»έχειν. L'integrazione, di Lange, non è indispensabile (e infatti Lucarini 2005, 133, non la accoglie), ma è attraente. Da notare che la parola che precede finisce in N (ἡσυχάζειν).

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- A. Wifstrand, *Eikota. Emendationen und Interpretationen*, K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i lund Arsberättelse (Lund 1945) 1–9.

Textual note on Chariton VI, 7, 11: read πῶς οὖν εὐμενῆ τὸν δικαστὴν ἔξεις παρασχεῖν κάλλιον ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κομίση instead of πῶς οὖν εὐμενῆ τὸν δικαστὴν †ἔξεις ἢ σχεῖν κάλλιον† ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κομίση.

Замечание к тексту Харитона VI, 7, 11: предлагается читать πῶς οὖν εὐμενῆ τὸν δικαστὴν ἔξεις παρασχεῖν κάλλιον ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κομίση вместо πῶς οὖν εὐμενῆ τὸν δικαστὴν †ἔξεις ἢ σχεῖν κάλλιον† ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κομίση.

Denis Keyer

JUVENAL 6. 422–423:
FEMALE GENITAL MASSAGE?

Juvenal portrays a violent woman who, if awakened by a barking dog, commands that her neighbor be dragged off together with his dog and that both of them be flogged (6. 415 ff.). Her character is subsequently developed in the episode that describes her evening activities:¹

...gravis occursu, taeterrima vultu²
balnea nocte subit,³ conchas⁴ et castra moveri
nocte iubet, magno gaudet sudare⁵ tumultu, 420
cum lassata graui ceciderunt braccia massa,
callidus et cristae digitos inpressit aliptes
ac summum dominae femur exclamare coegit.

¹ Text and apparatus here and below are based on Willis 1997 and Clausen 1959 with minor corrections, additions, and abridgements.

² Friedländer 1895, 333 (followed by Knoche 1950; Labriolle–Villeneuve 1967, 76; Martyn 1987 and Braund 2024, 274) argues for punctuating after *vultu*, thus having *gravis* <...> *vultu* refer to the preceding, but this seems unlikely, since *gravis occursu* implies the process of moving. Pace Friedländer, v. 413–418a and 418b ff. must refer to the same woman.

³ Friedländer 1895, 333 is probably right that a private, not a public bath is meant.

⁴ The form and function of these vessels are debated (see Watson–Watson 2014, 214); possibly, basins or bathtubs (Courtney 2013, 274, following Friedländer 1895).

⁵ Pace Watson–Watson (2014, 214), this refers not to sweating during exercise and massage, but to the *sudatorium* following these activities, as is generally recognized: the use of the iterative *cum* with perfect predicates excludes a simultaneous interpretation. Friedländer 1895, 334 (with references) points out that sweating was meant not only to improve digestion, but also to evoke thirst; hence imbibing large quantities of wine prior to eating, in order to empty the stomach through vomiting (cf. n. 20 below); these activities were also typical of athletes.

convivae miseri interea somnoque fameque
 urguntur. tandem illa venit rubicundula, totum 425
 oenophorum sitiens, plena quod tenditur urna
 admotum pedibus, de quo sextarius alter
 ducitur ante cibum rabidam facturus orexin,
 dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino.
 marmoribus rivi properant, aurata Falernum 430
 pelvis olet; nam sic, tamquam alta in dolia longus
 deciderit serpens, bibit et vomit. ergo maritus
 nauseat atque oculis bilem substringit opertis.

423 ac *codd.*, nec *fort. schol.*⁶ | exclamare *codd.*, expatrare *Marzullo 1983* 428 rapidam *RAU*¹, rabidam *cett.* 429 et loto terram *PR*^{Arov.}, et terram loto *O*, et terramque luto *FH*²*Z*, et terram luto Φ 430 aurata *PR*, aut lata Φ , aut lota *K*¹*O*

A difficulty arises in lines 422–423, particularly with the word *crista*. It normally denotes the crest of a cock or other birds (also snakes); frequently the crest of a helmet; sometimes the ridge of a mountain; more rarely the crest of certain animals (dolphin, whale, crocodile).⁷ Notably, unlike Greek λόφος, it is never used of a human being⁸ and refers not to a mane (*iuba*) but to something rather hard and longitudinal.⁹

⁶ 1. *non cogit* [*co*<*e*>*git* Wessner] *exclamare, quod ecerit* [*ferierit* Barth, probante Wessner, *fecerit* alii, *iecerit* Marzullo 1983, 263 n. 17]; 2. *illa non exclamat, sed patienter tolerat*. Wessner 1931, 261 may well be right that the scholiast read *nec summum*...; however, the sense of the comment is not quite clear, and its text may be corrupt.

⁷ See *ThLL* IV. 1209. 70–77.

⁸ Cf. *Il.* 10. 573 κνήμας τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἀμφὶ τε μηρούς.

⁹ *Lucr.* 5. 1315 *terrificas capitum quatientes undique cristas* (of lions?) is the only possible exception, but Deuffert 2018, 356; 1996, 203–205, with lit., argues for its athetization as an interpolation from 2. 632 *t. c. q. numine cristas* (of the Curetes' helmets). Housman 1972, 435–436 (= 1897, 242–243) rightly dismisses Munro's idea of artificial crests (Munro ⁴1886, II, 346, quoting *Liv.* 37. 40. 4, of elephants); I suspect that *quatientes cristas* is construed with *turmas* in v. 1314, with *turmae* referring to infantry. In *Mart. Cap.* 2. 197 (*nunc draconis facies, nunc rictus leonis, nunc cristae cum aprugnis dentibus*), pace Meurig Davies 1949, 75, the word refers to boars, not lions. The meaning of *cristae* in *Sidon.* 5. 242 *pro barba tenues perarantur pectine cristae* (of the Franks, usually taken to mean 'moustaches') remains uncertain to me.

From the *scholia recentiora* on,¹⁰ scholars have unanimously adopted an explicitly obscene interpretation of these lines. *Crista* is taken as an occasional metaphor for the clitoris,¹¹ less often as denoting the labia¹² or pubic hair¹³ (the latter being unlikely, since *crista* is not applied to human hair or even to an animal's mane), and, evasively, female pudenda as a whole.¹⁴

The passage is thus read as describing the masseur's manual stimulation of the woman's genitals, with *callidus* meaning that he knows what his mistress desires and readily obliges her.

In v. 123 *summum femur* is metonymically understood as a groin region, and the following explanations have been proposed for *exclamare*:¹⁵

1) as a sound produced by a slap of the hand. A parallel is drawn with Seneca, *Epist.* 56. 1, where among the sounds heard from the bath he mentions a slap delivered to the shoulders, varying depending on whether the hand strikes flat or with the hollow of the palm.¹⁶ The parallel is apt, but a slap on the pubic region, the genitals, or even the inner thighs closer to the groin would not be as loud as a slap on the posterior part of the thighs nearer the buttocks;

2) as a loud smacking or popping of the vulva during sexual intercourse or digital penetration. The scholars refer to Mart. 7. 18 (8 *cunni garrulitate*, 11 *poppysmata cunni*, 13 *clamoso* <...> *cunno*).¹⁷ However, *summum femur*, even if understood metonymically, is still far from the *cunnius* itself, and *exclamare* seems too strong a word for such a sound.

¹⁰ Gallo–Grazzini 2021, 277; Grazzini 2011, 402.

¹¹ Grangaeus in Casaubon 1695, 167; Ruperti 1820, 332; Knoche 1951, 73; Adams 1982, 98; Watson–Watson 2014, 215; Dimatteo 2023, 513 n. 115.

¹² H. Valesius in Achaintre 1810, II, 168; Richlin 1986, 65.

¹³ *Schol. rec.* (Grazzini 2011, 402); Heinrich 1839, 259; Courtney 2013, 275 [1980]. Rudd[–Barr] 1991, 52; Adamietz 1993, 180, and Lorenz 2017, 219 “Helmbusch”.

¹⁴ *OLD* s.v. “(app.) the mons veneris”; *ThLL* IV. 1210. 61 s.v. “de parte muliebri”.

¹⁵ Adamietz 1993, 368 n. 180 maintains that the woman herself cries out; yet, “to make her thigh (or groin) cry” is a very odd way of saying that she cries when her thigh (or groin) is being massaged.

¹⁶ ...*audio crepitum illisae manus umeris, quae prout plana pervenit aut concava, ita sonum mutat.*

¹⁷ Grangaeus in Casaubon 1695, 167; H. Valesius in Achaintre 1810, II, 168; Watson–Watson 2014, 215.

In Martial, the accent lies on the woman being silent, so the only sound she makes appears loud – and the organ ‘garrulous’ – by contrast.

B. Marzullo emended *exclamare* to *expatrare*.¹⁸

The generally accepted interpretation outlined above is open to several serious objections.

To begin with, this situation, if not inconceivable, is at least surprising: the woman is accompanied to the baths by numerous attendants (419 *castra moveri*, 420 *magno <...> tumultu*), and it is far from obvious that the massage could afford sufficient privacy for such licentiousness.¹⁹

More importantly, the description of the woman’s habits and behavior in v. 418–433 – strenuous exercises with weights, drinking, and vomiting enormous quantities of wine – underscores her masculinity and coarse, ‘manly’ disposition. This goes beyond any doubt if one considers Martial’s epigram, which exhibits a striking structural parallel to our passage (7. 67. 4–12):²⁰

harpasto quoque subligata ludit
 et flavescit haphe, gravesque draucis 5
 halteras facili rotat lacerto,
 et putri lutulenta de palaestra
 uncti verberere vapulat magistri:

¹⁸ Marzullo 1983, 263–264. Yet *patrare*, in its obscene sense, refers to male orgasm. The only exception is Vindicianus (p. 445 Rose), who applies it to ‘female testicles’ (i.e. the ovaries), as producing ‘female semen’. To posit *expatrare* in this already singular sense and form, together with the dubious metonymy *femur* = ‘female pudenda’, is highly implausible.

¹⁹ Courtney ²2013, 274–275 quotes Clem. *Paed.* 3. 5. 32 δούλοις ἀποδύονται γυμναί καὶ ἀνατρίβονται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ἐξουσίαν δοῦσαι τῷ κατεπτηχότι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ ἀδεῆς τῆς ψηλαφήσεως. However, the passage does not prove that sexual misconduct might take place during the massage itself; it merely suggests that slave masseurs might find it difficult to maintain chastity of thought.

²⁰ A close parallel may also be seen in Sen. *Epist.* 95. 20–21, where he complains that women have begun to suffer from hair loss and gout because, contrary to their nature, they compete with men in late banquets, physical exercise, and drinking, and empty their stomachs on a par with them (*non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, et oleo et mero viros provocant; aequae invitis ingesta visceribus per os reddunt et vinum omne vomitu remetiuntur*). Cf. n. 4 above.

nec cenat prius aut recumbit ante
 quam septem vomuit meros deunces; 10
 ad quos fas sibi tunc putat redire,
 cum coloephia sedecim comedit.

Unlike Martial, Juvenal does not speak here of the woman's 'masculine' sexual orientation, yet such intimate services on the part of the masseur would plainly disrupt the coherence of her portrayal as a mannish woman, a *virago*. In general, accusations of licentiousness may be inserted into descriptions of other improper passions; here, however, the point is that she behaves in every respect like a sturdy male, whereas submitting to the masseurs' caresses would reveal a certain degree of femininity.

Further, in Martial's text, it is aggressive massage that is mentioned immediately after exercise with weights and before heavy drinking and vomiting prior to the dinner (v. 8 *uncti verbere vapulat magistri*). It is therefore natural to expect the same here, all the more so as *impressit* in this context carries more athletic than erotic or caressing connotations.

Finally, v. 423, as has already been noted, is difficult to interpret in an obscene sense and is far more readily understood as referring to a slapping strike on the posterior surface of the upper thigh – the woman lying prone – for purely massage purposes. If this is the case, then *cristae digitos impressit* in v. 422 makes more sense when taken in the same vein, rather than genital caressing.

In view of these considerations, it is preferable to reject the obscene understanding of *crista* and to interpret *digitos impressit* as describing vigorous athletic massage.

I propose to understand *crista* as a metaphorical reference to the muscular nape characteristic of athletes.²¹ The basis for this metaphor may lie in the use of *crista* with reference to dolphins, whales, and crocodiles (*ThLL* IV. 1209. 70–77): since the woman is lying prone, such a metaphor, though unparalleled, is at least conceivable.

The nape of the neck and the upper posterior thigh are natural targets of post-exercise massage, since both regions contain major

²¹ Cf., e.g., Mart. 14. 48. 2 *grandia qui vano colla labore facit*; Iuv. 3. 88; Sen. *Epist.* 15. 2; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 6. 30. 2; *Heroic.* 49. 3; *Imag.* 2. 21. 4 ...καὶ ὁ αὐχλὴν ἐπέζευκται τοῖς ὄμοις, ὧν τὸ πολὺ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἦκει.

muscle groups that are particularly prone to tension after intense physical exertion. This interpretation also preserves the structural parallel with Mart. 7. 67.

The plausibility of such a metaphor is further supported by the comparison with the *crista* of prominent cervical vertebrae in physiognomic texts:

Scr. physiogn. I. 368 Foerster: (Adamant.) τραχὺς ἀρχὴν ὠσπερ λοφιά ἀμαθοῦς σὺν ὕβρει. / (Ps.-Polemon) τραχὺς ἀρχὴν ὠσπερ λοφιά ἀμαθῆ σὺν ὕβρει τὸν ἔχοντα μαρτυρεῖ.

Ibid. II. 75: *aspera cervix tamquam cristata non solum indocilem, sed etiam insolentem declarat.*

eaque cristata (*sic André*) vel eamque cristatam dicunt *codd.*, tamquam cristata *Foerster*

The last argument, of course, is only indirect, since we are most likely dealing with a late-antique Latin translation of a Greek text, and it is not muscles but the protruding vertebrae that are compared to a *crista*. Nevertheless, it illustrates a possible direction for the metaphor, and original metaphors are not uncommon in Juvenal. In any case, there are hardly any stronger arguments in favor of interpreting *crista* as referring to the female pudenda.

The structural parallel with Mart. 7. 67, together with the general requirements of the context, suggest that v. 422–423 describe not a manual stimulation of the woman's genitals, but a vigorous athletic massage.

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Crista in Iuv. 6. 422 does not mean ‘clitoris’, ‘labia’, or ‘pubic hair’; and v. 422–423 do not imply manual stimulation of the female genitals: (1) the woman is described as mannish, and this would undermine her characterization; (2) in a close parallel at Mart. 7. 67, a vigorous massage is mentioned after physical exercises and before drinking and vomiting (v. 8); (3) v. 423 resists an obscene interpretation and suggests slapping as part of the massage (cf. Sen. *Epist.* 56. 1). *Crista* is best taken as a metaphor for a muscular nape: cf. *ThLL* IV. 1209. 70–77 s.v. (crests of dolphins, whales, and crocodiles) and Scr. physiogn. II. 75 Foerster (of prominent vertebrae): *aspera cervix tamquam cristata*; I. 368 τραχὺς ἀρχὴν ὅσπερ λοφία.

Crista у Ювенала (VI, 422) не означает ‘клитор’, ‘половые губы’ или ‘волосы на лобке’, и в ст. 422–423 не говорится о стимулировании гениталий: (1) это плохо согласуется с тем, что поведение героини описывается как ‘мужланское’; (2) в близкой параллели из Марциала (VII, 67) после физических упражнений и перед поглощением и выbleвыванием вина упоминается агрессивный массаж (ст. 8); (3) ст. 423 трудно понять в obscene смысле и легко – как указание на шлепающий удар в процессе массажа (ср. Sen. *Epist.* 56. 1). *Crista* метафорически указывает на мускулистый загривок: ср. *ThLL* IV. 1209. 70–77 s.v. (гребни дельфинов, китов и крокодилов) и Scr. physiogn. II, 75 Foerster (о выдающихся шейных позвонках): *aspera cervix tamquam cristata*; I, 368 τραχὺς ἀρχὴν ὅσπερ λοφία.

Tiziano Dorandi

GLI *EXCERPTA* DELLA *CLASSIS C*
DELL'*AD SE IPSUM* DI MARCO AURELIO*

I

Nel primo volume degli *Anecdota Graeca Parisiensia*, Cramer rendeva nota, sul fondamento di un codice di Parigi e di uno (mutilo) di Oxford, una raccolta di *excerpta* dai primi quattro libri dell'*Ad se ipsum* di Marco Aurelio, che da Schenkl in poi sono conosciuti come *classis C excerpta*.¹

È mia intenzione riproporne oggi una nuova edizione fondata su un esame completo di tutti i manoscritti di cui disponiamo e sui risultati che derivano dallo studio delle loro relazioni stemmatiche. Alla luce di questa edizione, un *futurus editor* dell'*Ad se ipsum* potrà valutare e sfruttare in maniera più conveniente di quanto è stato fatto finora le varianti degli estratti della *classis C* rispetto a quelle dei restanti testimoni diretti e indiretti dell'opera di Marco Aurelio.

II

L'importanza degli *excerpta C* non sfuggì a Nauck, che ne richiamò la testimonianza a conforto di un paio di congetture da lui proposte² né a Leopold che li prese in conto nella preparazione della sua edizione.³ Fu, comunque, Schenkl che studiò a fondo, in due momenti successivi, l'intera silloge.⁴ Egli non solo contribuì al restauro del suo

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¹ Cramer 1839, 173–179 (per i codici da lui utilizzati, vedi *infra* § III, p. 139); Schenkl 1913, XIII.

² Nauck 1886, 744 e Nauck 1888, 5.

³ Leopold 1908, V. La raccolta era apparentemente sfuggita a Stich 1882.

⁴ Schenkl 1893 e Schenkl 1913.

testo, ma ne indagò anche l'apporto alla *constitutio textus* dell'*Ad se ipsum* rispetto ai *codices integri*:

A = Vaticanus gr. 1950, s. XIV *ante med.*;

T = editio princeps Guil. Xylandri, Tiguri 1559, ad exemplar codicis Toxitani nunc deperditi facta⁵

e alle altre raccolte di estratti:⁶

D Darmstadtinus 2773, s. XIV;

M Monacensis gr. 323, *ca.* 1486–1497;

W;

X.

Il primo intervento di Schenkl presupponeva il testo difettoso di Cramer, il che ne compromise alcuni risultati. Lo studioso ritornò sulla questione qualche anno più tardi nell'introduzione all'*editio maior* dell'*Ad se ipsum*. Qui egli mantenne quanto gli appariva ancora valido della precedente ricerca e corresse il resto con opportuni ritocchi mettendo a frutto una conoscenza più ampia (anche se non completa) della tradizione manoscritta degli *excerpta C* e l'esperienza maturata come editore dell'opera di Marco Aurelio.⁷

Schenkl segnalò sporadici accordi fra i singoli testimoni degli *excerpta* e richiamò l'attenzione sulla presenza in essi di numerosi errori di copia; insistette sugli interventi peculiari a tutti i redattori di sillogi di estratti e che consistono in ritocchi e manipolazioni volontarie del testo originario nel momento della sua riscrittura; mise infine in evidenza alcuni luoghi nei quali gli *excerpta C* trasmettono un testo dell'*Ad se ipsum* più elegante di quello dei restanti testimoni (IV, 3, 2) o più perspicuo (III, 4, 4) o perlomeno lezioni di pari valore (II, 13, 1) nonché i due casi (II, 2, 1 e III, 4, 4) nei quali trovano conferma congetture moderne di Reiske e di Menagius. Ribadì infine nell'orma di Leopold che, se confrontata con gli altri manoscritti dell'*Ad me ipsum* e in particolare con **A T D**, la tradizione di **C** si riallaccia piuttosto a quella di **T** che non a quella di **A D**.⁸

⁵ Invece di **T** è usata talvolta la sigla **P**. Vedi Dalfen 1979, IX.

⁶ Le sigle **W** e **X** indicano due ulteriori *classes* di *excerpta* ognuna delle quali rappresentata da diversi codici. Vedi Dalfen 1979, XII–XXII e XLI–XLII.

⁷ Schenkl 1913, XIII–XIV, XVII, XXI–XXII, XXXIII.

⁸ Schenkl 1893, 165–166 e Schenkl 1913, XXI–XXII; Leopold 1908, V.

I risultati di Schenkl furono riproposti successivamente in maniera sommaria da Farquharson.⁹

Solo *en passant* (ma la questione merita di essere approfondita), Maas suggerì invece di accostare la tradizione di **C** a quella delle citazioni dall'*Ad se ipsum* nella *Suda* presupponendo un modello comune (**β**) che egli collocava in un'epoca posteriore a Areta di Cesarea.¹⁰

Più di recente, Dalfen ha spostato l'attenzione sui legami fra gli *excerpta* della *classis C* e quelli delle due *classes W* e *X* (da lui fin troppo rivalutate) che condividono tutte e tre molto materiale.¹¹ Poiché gli *excerpta C* si estendono da I, 8, 7 a IV, 20 mentre quelli di **W** cominciano da IV, 33 e quelli di **X** da IV, 49, 2 continuando la scelta con passi dai libri successivi, Dalfen ne trasse la conseguenza che era esistito un manoscritto perduto (*hyparchetypus γ*) che tramandava insieme tutti quanti gli estratti e che quel testimone, spezzatosi a un certo momento in due tronconi, aveva dato vita da una parte alla raccolta di **C** e dall'altra a quelle di **W X**. Tenuto poi conto che in **C W X** ci sono glosse o resti di glosse dello stesso genere di quelle dei codici **A T D**, Dalfen ne dedusse ulteriormente che *γ* era inquinato dalle medesime interpolazioni di **A T D** e giunse alla conclusione che fosse da postulare un ulteriore modello precedente, ossia un *hyparchetypus β*. La collocazione cronologica di **β γ** resta incerta.¹² Questa ipotesi troverebbe infine una conferma nel fatto che in **C W X** gli *excerpta* seguono un ordine diverso da quello che troviamo in **A T D** e che in **C** una parte di materiale derivato dal terzo libro (III, 5, 10, 13 e 14) è sistemato dopo IV, 40, alla fine della silloge. Un fenomeno che Dalfen spiegò supponendo che il redattore di *γ* avrebbe volontariamente modificato la successione degli *excerpta* del modello comune. Per quanto riguarda le relazioni di **C** con **A T D**, Dalfen ribadì infine i risultati di Schenkl ossia che **C**, se confrontato con **A T**, si accosta più a **A** che a **T**; se confrontato con **A T D**, condivide più spesso lezioni con **T** e più di rado con **A D**.

⁹ Farquharson 1944, XXX–XXXI.

¹⁰ Maas 1976, 139 con uno stemma (l'articolo qui raccolto risale al 1945, quando uscì come recensione di Farquharson 1944). Il contributo della *Suda* è stato più di recente indagato da Schironi 2002 e da Ceporina 2012 a, 50–53.

¹¹ Dalfen 1979, XII–XXIV.

¹² I risultati sono presentati sotto forma di uno stemma da Dalfen 1979, XXIV.

Quanto Hadot e Ceperina riferiscono a proposito degli *excerpta C* non si allontanano infine da queste ultime conclusioni.¹³

III

Gli *excerpta C* sono tramandati da nove testimoni tuttora conservati che si collocano cronologicamente tra la metà del XV secolo e il XVI secolo avanzato e erano presenti (a quanto pare in misura ridotta) anche in un decimo perduto (**x**) di cui dà notizia l'erudito tedesco Jakob Aurelius Questenberg.¹⁴

I manoscritti, in ordine cronologico, sono:¹⁵

Vaticanus gr. 954, ca. 1460 (**D = Cβ**);

Laurentianus plut. 58.11, a. 1493 (**F = Cλ**);

Vaticanus gr. 955, s. XV ex. (**E = Cα**);

Marcianus gr. IV 29 (coll. 1063), ante 1500 (**V = Cγ**);

Oxoniensis Canon. gr. 69, s. XV ex. / XVI in. (**N = Co**);

Parisinus Suppl. gr. 319, s. XVI^{1/4}, an 1523? (**P = Cπ**);

Oxoniensis New College 270, a. 1523 (**O = Cv**);

Vaticanus Rossianus 983, s. XVI^{2/4} (**R**);

Parisinus gr. 2092, s. XVI (**C**).

A questi si aggiunge il

Vaticanus gr. deperditus (**x**)

di data incerta, ma precedente l'inizio del XVI secolo.

Cramer ebbe accesso solo a **N** e **P**. Leopold conobbe anche (ma non lo utilizzò) **F**. Schenkl e Dalfen, a partire dalle ricerche di Hense, presero in conto **D E F N O P V**;¹⁶ Dorandi ha aggiunto **R C** e **x**.¹⁷

In tutti quei codici, gli *excerpta* sono collocati alla fine della seconda parte dell'*Antologia* dello Stobeo (libri III–IV) e formano una specie di appendice finale composta di testi indipendenti fra loro e estranei tutti quanti alla tradizione stobaica: le *Sententiae*

¹³ Hadot 1998, CXCVI–CXCVII; Ceperina 2012, 61.

¹⁴ Dorandi 2025, 57–73.

¹⁵ Le date e le sigle sono quelle di Dorandi 2025, 13–41. Per i primi sette codici aggiungo anche le sigle introdotte da Schenkl–Dalfen.

¹⁶ Schenkl 1913, XIII–XIV, XXXIII; Dalfen 1979, XII–XIV, XLI; Hense 1884.

¹⁷ Dorandi 2025, 65–70 e 136–139.

Theoctisti, ampi frammenti assai malconci di una orazione anonima di età imperiale rivolta a un *praefectus Aegypti*,¹⁸ una serie di brevi estratti di argomento filosofico,¹⁹ gli *excerpta C* di Marco Aurelio²⁰ e infine una scheda sull'isola di Gyarus (Περὶ Γυάρων) come sede di relegazione e di esilio.²¹ L'appendice è presente nella sua integralità in **C D E F O P R V**; mentre è mutila in **N** e **x** che si interrompono, nella sezione degli *excerpta C*, rispettivamente con le parole λέγειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι (*infra* p. 143, 26) e Ἡράκλειτος περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκπυρώσεως (*infra* p. 145, 9).

All'interno della trasmissione manoscritta dell'*Antologia* stobea, i codici sopra elencati formano un insieme compatto e sono strettamente imparentati. Essi sono testimoni (con altri esemplari mutili) della cosiddetta *stirps Trincavelliana* considerata, fino a tempi assai recenti, una famiglia a sé rispetto alle altre due che tramandano Stob. III–IV, la prima rappresentata da

S Vindobonensis phil. gr. 67, prima metà del s. X,
la seconda da

M Scorialensis Σ.Π.14, s. XII;

A Parisinus gr. 1984, ca. 1260–1270.

In realtà, la *stirps Trincavelliana* si è dimostrata essere piuttosto una redazione (*recensio* τ) di Stob. III–IV dipendente da **S** e quindi priva di autonomia.²² Il suo capostipite è il codice **D** esemplato su **S** da Michele Apostolio in Creta, verso il 1460 per conto di Lauro Quirini.²³ Tutti gli altri codici discendono in maniera diretta o indiretta da **D** e sono pertanto *descripti* portatori del medesimo testo in più punti, di volta in volta, peggiorato e mai corretto nei suoi pur evidenti errori. Mancano elementi dirimenti per cercare di sistemare i discendenti di **D** in uno stemma tracciandone così una precisa genealogia, né

¹⁸ Bohler 1903, dopo Cramer 1839, 165–171. Una nuova edizione tradotta e annotata di questo testo è in corso di preparazione a cura di chi scrive e di Lorenzo Ferroni.

¹⁹ Anch'essi riproposti da Bohler 1903, 45–46 dopo Cramer 1839, 171–172.

²⁰ Unica edizione integrale in Cramer 1839, 173–179.

²¹ Pubblicata da Cramer 1839, 179–180.

²² Uno studio completo della tradizione e della storia del testo di Stob. III–IV ha pubblicato Dorandi 2025, i cui risultati sono qui presupposti.

²³ Dorandi 2025, 134–135.

vale la pena di insistervi. Sembra tuttavia che **E F** discendano da **D**; **V** deriva a sua volta probabilmente da **F**; **P O** sono entrambi di mano di Zaccaria Calliergi che copiò il primo nel 1523 e il secondo in una data vicina se non la stessa. È verisimile che il loro modello sia il medesimo. Almeno **P** tramanda un testo che si distingue spesso per le singolarità a lui peculiari (alcune delle quali potrebbero risalire allo stesso Calliergi) o se comuni a **O** derivare dallo stesso modello.²⁴

Uno studio delle lezioni dei manoscritti che tramandano l'intera appendice (e quindi anche gli *excerpta C*) ha portato ai medesimi risultati raggiunti a proposito della *recensio τ* dell'*Antologia* stobeana confermando dunque che **D** è il solo testimone indipendente di quel gruppo e squalificando gli altri al rango di *descripti*.

IV

Nel preparare la mia edizione degli *excerpta C*, ho applicato i seguenti criteri editoriali. Ho preso come unico fondamento per la *constitutio textus* il codice **D** che ho indicato con la sigla **C^D** al fine di evitare confusione con quella dell'altra raccolta di estratti dall'*Ad se ipsum* trasmessa dal codice di Darmstadt.²⁵ Ne ho corretto il testo nei casi in cui ho ritenuto che le sue *lectiones singulares* siano nate per banali errori di copia dal suo presunto modello o a questo precedenti.²⁶ In due luoghi perdura incertezza sulla opportunità di intervenire: la reintegrazione di πάντα dopo αισθητὰ in II, 12, 1 (alla quale ho rinunciato supponendo una sua omissione volontaria da parte dell'*excerptor*) e la soppressione del secondo καὶ nella sequenza καὶ Γάιος καὶ Καῖσαρ in III, 3, 3 (che ho invece ritenuta necessaria). Sulla falsariga di Cramer e per motivi di leggibilità, ho separato i singoli estratti l'uno dall'altro indicando in grassetto la corrispondenza con il testo di Marco Aurelio. L'apparato sotto forma di note al testo è perlopiù negativo e limitato ai casi in cui mi sono allontanato da **C^D**.

²⁴ Il tentativo di classificazione di questi manoscritti proposto da Bohler 1903, 5–12 (con l'erroneo stemma disegnato a p. 11) poggia su false premesse e fu già criticato da Schenkl 1913, XIII.

²⁵ I fogli di **C^D** sono indicati a margine dell'edizione.

²⁶ Dorandi 2025, 160–162.

V
Classis C excerpta

ἐκ τῶν Μάρκου

(f. 413 v) ὅτι χρὴ μαθεῖν, πῶς δεῖ λαμβάνειν τὰς δοκούσας χάριτας παρὰ τῶν φίλων μήτε ἐξηττώμενον διὰ ταῦτα μήτε ἀναισθητῶς παραπέμποντα. (I, 8, 7)

ὅτι δεῖ τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν παρέχειν, ὥστε πάντας αὐτῷ πιστεῦειν περὶ ὧν λέγει ὅτι οὕτως φρονεῖ, καὶ περὶ ὧν πράττει ὅτι οὐ κακῶς πράττει. (I, 15, 5)

ὅτι δεῖ τιμᾶν τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσόφους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους μὴ ἐξονειδίζειν μηδὲ²⁷ παράγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν. (I, 16, 18)

ἔωθέν φησι προὔλεγεν ἑαυτῷ· ἐντεῦξομαι περιέργωι, ἀχαρίστῳι, ὑβριστῆι, δολερῳι, βασκάνῳι, ἀκοινωνήτῳι· πάντα ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν ἐκείνοις παρὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν· ἐγὼ δὲ τεθεωρηκῶς τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ²⁸ ὅτι καλὸν καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ὅτι αἰσchrὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντος φύσιν ὅτι μοι συγγενής, οὐχὶ αἵματος ἢ σπέρματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ νοῦ καὶ θείας ἀπομοίρας μέτοχος, οὔτε βλαβῆναι ὑπὸ τινος αὐτῶν δύναμαι· αἰσchrῶι γάρ με οὐδεὶς περιβάλλει, οὔτε ὀργίζεσθαι τῷ | (f. 414 r) συγγενεῖ δύναμαι²⁹ οὔτε ἀπέχθεσθαι αὐτῷ. γεγόναμεν γὰρ πρὸς συνεργίαν, ὡς πόδες, ὡς χεῖρες, ὡς βλέφαρα, ὡς οἱ στοῖχοι τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω ὀδόντων. τὸ οὖν ἀντιπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις παρὰ φύσιν· ἀντιπρακτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ ἀποτρέπεσθαι. (II, 1, 1–5)

ὃ τί ποτε τοῦτο ὃ εἰμι,³⁰ σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνευμάτιον καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. ἄφες τὰ βιβλία· μηκέτι σπῶ· οὐ δέδοται. ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ἀποθνήσκων τῶν μὲν σαρκίων καταφρόνησον· λίθος καὶ ὀστράκια καὶ κροκύφαντος ἐκ νεύρων,³¹ φλεβίων, ἀρτηριῶν πλεγμάτιον. θέασαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅποῖον τί ἐστίν· ἄνεμος, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἀλλὰ πάσης ὥρας ἐξεμούμενον καὶ πάλιν ῥοφούμενον. τρίτον οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ὧι δὴ ἀπονοήθητι· γέρων εἶ· μηκέτι τούτῳι ἐάσης δουλεῦσαι, μηκέτι καθ' ὄρμην ἀκοινωνήτον νευροσπασθῆναι, μηκέτι τὸ εἰμαρμένον ἢ πᾶρον δυσχερᾶναι ἢ μέλλον ἀναδύεσθαι. (II, 2, 1–4)

²⁷ μὴ δὲ C^D.

²⁸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ C^{Dac} : τῶν ἀγαθῶν C^{Dpc} (-ῶν -ῶν ex corr.).

²⁹ αἰσchrῶι γάρ με οὐδεὶς περιβάλλει iteravit C^D, sed deletavit.

³⁰ Sulla genesi di questa riscrittura, vedi Schenkl 1893, 165.

³¹ νέβρων C^D.

τὰ τῶν θεῶν προνοίας μεστά, τὰ τῆς τύχης οὐκ ἄνευ φύσεως ἢ συγκλώσεως καὶ ἐπιπλοκῆς τῶν προνοίαι διοικουμένων· πάντα ἐκεῖθεν ρεῖ. πρόσεστι δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸ τῶι ὅλοι κόσμῳ συμφέρειν, οὗ μέρος εἶ. παντὶ δὲ φύσεως μέρει ἀγαθόν, ὃ φέρει ἢ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις καὶ ὃ ἐκείνης ἐστὶ σωστικόν· σώζουσιν δὲ κόσμον ὡσπερ αἱ τῶν στοιχείων, οὕτω καὶ αἱ τῶν συγκριμάτων μεταβολαί. ταῦτά σοι ἀρκεῖται, ἀεὶ δόγματα ἔστω· τὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν ρίψον, ἵνα μὴ γογγύζων ἀποθάνῃς, ἀλλ' ἴλεως ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας εὐχάριστος τοῖς θεοῖς. (II, 3, 1–3)

ὅτι τούτων ἀεὶ δεῖ μεμνησθαι, τίς ἢ τῶν ὅλων φύσις καὶ τίς ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ πῶς αὕτη πρὸς ἐκείνην ἔχουσα καὶ ὁποῖόν τι μέρος ὁποίου τοῦ ὅλου οὕσα καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῆι φύσει, ἧς μέρος εἶ, πράσσειν τε ἀεὶ καὶ λέγειν. (II, 9)

| (f. 414 v) ὅτι φιλοσόφως³² ὁ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῆι συγκρίσει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἂν τις κοινότερον τὰ τοιαῦτα συγκρίνειε,³³ φησί, βαρύτερα εἶναι τὰ καθ' ἐπιθυμίαν πλημμελούμενα τῶν κατὰ θυμόν. ὁ γὰρ θυμούμενος μετὰ τινος λύπης καὶ λεληθυίας συστολῆς φαίνεται τὸν λόγον ἀποστρεφόμενος· ὁ δὲ καθ' ἐπιθυμίαν ἀμαρτάνων, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἠττώμενος, ἀκολαστότερός πως φαίνεται, καὶ θηλύτερος ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις. ὀρθῶς οὖν καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀξίως ἔφη, μείζονος ἐγκλήματος ἔχουσα τὸ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀμαρτανόμενον ἢ περ μετὰ λύπης· ὅπως τε ὁ μὲν προηδικημένῳ μᾶλλον ἔοικε καὶ διὰ λύπης ἠναγκασμένῳ θυμωθῆναι· ὁ δὲ αὐτόθεν πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν ὄρμηται, φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶξαι τι καθ' ἐπιθυμίαν. (II, 10, 1–3)

ὡς ἤδη δυνατοῦ ὄντος ἐξίεναι τοῦ βίου, οὕτως ἕκαστα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι. (II, 11, 1)

τὸ μὲν³⁴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, φησὶν, ἀπελθεῖν, εἰ μὲν θεοὶ εἰσιν, οὐδὲν δεῖνόν· κακῶι γὰρ σε οὐκ ἂν περιβάλοιεν·³⁵ εἰ δὲ ἦτοι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἢ οὐ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων <τί μοι ζῆν ἐν κόσμῳ κενῶι θεῶν ἢ προνοίας κενῶι; ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ μέλει αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων>³⁶ καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἀλήθειαν κακοῖς ἵνα μὴ περιπίπτῃ ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ἐπ' αὐτῶι τὸ πᾶν ἔθεντο. (II, 11, 2–3)

³² φιλοσόφους C^D.

³³ συγκρίσεις C^D.

³⁴ μὲν C^D : δὲ codices Marci.

³⁵ περιβάλλοιεν C^D.

³⁶ E Marco restitui : omisit homoeoteleuti causa C^D. Il testo era saltato anche in A, dove fu comunque aggiunto successivamente nel margine.

πῶς πάντα ταχέως ἐναφανίζεται, τῶι μὲν κόσμῳ αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα, τῶι δὲ αἰῶνι αἰ μνημαὶ αὐτῶν· οἷά ἐστι τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἡδονῆι δελεάζοντα ἢ τῶι πόνῳ φοβοῦντα ἢ τῶι τύφῳ διαβεβοημένα· πῶς εὐτελεῆ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα, καὶ ῥυπαρὰ καὶ εὐφθαρτα καὶ νεκρὰ νοερᾶς δυνάμεως. (II, 12, 1)

ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον τοῦ πάντα κύκλῳ ἐμπεριεχομένου καὶ τὰ νέρθεν γὰρ, φησίν, ἐρευνῶντος καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν πλησίον διὰ τεκμάρσεως ζητοῦντος, μὴ αἰσθανομένου δὲ ὅτι ἀρκεῖ πρὸς νόμῳ³⁷ τῶι ἔνδον ἑαυτοῦ δαίμονι εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον γνησίως θεραπεύειν. θεραπεία δὲ αὐτοῦ | (f. 415 r) καθαρὸν πάθους διατηρεῖν καὶ εἰκαιότητος καὶ δυσαρεστήσεως τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων γινόμενα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν αἰδέσιμα δι' ἀρετῆν, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φίλα διὰ συγγένειαν, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐλεεινὰ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν· οὐκ ἐλάττων ἢ πῆρωσις αὕτη τῆς στερισκοῦσης τοῦ διακρίνειν τὰ λευκὰ καὶ μέλανα. (II, 13, 1–3)

κὰν τρισχίλια ἔτη βιώσεσθαι μέλλῃς καὶ τοσαυτάκις μύρια, ὅμως μέμνησο, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄλλον ἀποβάλλει βίον ἢ τοῦτον, ὃν ζῆι, οὐδὲ ἄλλον ζῆι ἢ ὃν ἀποβάλλει. εἰς ταῦτόν οὖν καθίσταται τὸ μήκιστον τῶι βραχυτάτῳ. τὸ γὰρ παρὸν πᾶσιν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἀπολυόμενον³⁸ οὐκ ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἀποβαλλόμενον οὕτως ἀκαριαῖον ἀναφαίνεται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ παρωιχηκός, οὔτε τὸ μέλλον ἀποβάλλοι³⁹ ἂν τις. ὃ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει, πῶς ἂν τις τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἀφέλοιτο; (II, 14, 1–4)

ὅτι τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου, ὁ μὲν χρόνος στιγμή, ἡ δὲ οὐσία ρέουσα, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις ἀμυδρά, ἡ δὲ ὄλου τοῦ σώματος σύγκρισις εὐσηπτος, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ῥεμβός, ἡ δὲ τύχη δυστέκμαρτον, ἡ δὲ φήμη ἄκριτον· συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, πάντα τὰ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ποταμός, τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄνειρος καὶ τύφος, ὁ δὲ βίος πόλεμος καὶ ξένου ἐπιδημία, ἡ δὲ ὑστεροφημία λήθη. τί οὖν παραπέμψαι δυνάμενον; ἐν καὶ μόνον φιλοσοφία. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῶι τηρεῖν τὸν ἔνδον δαίμονα ἀνύβριστον καὶ ἀσινῆ, ἡδονῶν καὶ πόνων κρείσσονα, μηδὲν εἰκῆι ποιοῦντα, μηδὲ διεψευσμένως καὶ μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως, ἀνευδεῆ τοῦ ἄλλον ποιῆσαι τι, ἢ μὴ ποιῆσαι. (II, 17, 1–4)

ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπαναλίσκεται ὁ βίος καὶ μέρος ἕλαττον αὐτοῦ καταλείπεται, ἀλλὰ

³⁷ μόνῳ C^D.

³⁸ ἀπολλυόμενον C^D.

³⁹ ἀποβάλλοι C^D.

κάκεινο λογιστέον, ὅτι, εἰ ἐπὶ πλέον βιώηι τις, ἐκεῖνό γε ἄδηλον, εἰ ἐξαρκέσει ὁμοία αὐθις ἢ | (f. 415 v) διάνοια πρὸς τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων. (III, 1, 1)

ὅτι Ἴπποκράτης πολλὰς νόσους ἰασάμενος, νοσήσας ἀπέθανεν. οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πολλῶν θανάτους προηγόρευσαν, εἶτα καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ πεπρωμένον κατέλαβεν. Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Πομπήϊος καὶ Γαῖος {καὶ} Καῖσαρ ὅλας πόλεις τοσαυτάκις ἀνελόντες καὶ ἐν παρατάξει πολλὰς μυριάδας ἰπέων καὶ πεζῶν κατακόψαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ποτε ἐξῆλθον τοῦ βίου. Ἡράκλειτος περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκτυρώσεως τοσαῦτα φυσιολογήσας ὕδατος τὰ ἐντὸς πληρωθεὶς βολβίται κατακεχρισμένος ἀπέθανε. Δημόκριτον δὲ οἱ φθειρες, Σωκράτην δὲ ἄλλοι φθειρες ἀπέκτειναν. τί ταῦτα; ἐνέβης, ἔπλευσας, κατήχηθης, ἔκβηθι. εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ἕτερον βίον, οὐδὲν θεῶν κενὸν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ· εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀναισθησίαι, πάσῃ⁴⁰ πόνων καὶ ἡδονῶν ἀνεχόμενος καὶ λατρεύων τοσοῦτωι χεῖροιν ἀγγείωι ἢ περίεστι τὸ ὑπερητοῦν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ νοῦς καὶ δαίμων, τὸ δὲ γῆ καὶ λύθρος. (III, 3, 1–6)

ἐθιστέον ἑαυτὸν μόνον φαντάζεσθαι, περὶ ὧν εἴ τις ἄφρον ἐπανερόιτο, “τί νῦν διανοῆι;”, μετὰ παρηρησίας παραχρημα ἂν ἀποκρίναιο, ὅτι τὸ καὶ τό, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐθύς δῆλα εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα ἀπλᾶ καὶ εὐμενῆ, καὶ ζώου κοινωνικοῦ, καὶ ἀμελοῦντος ἡδονικῶν ἢ καθάπαξ ἀπολαυστικῶν φαντασμάτων ἢ φιλονεικίας τινὸς ἢ βασκανίας καὶ ὑποψίας ἢ ἄλλου τινός, ἐφ' ὧν ἂν ἐρυθριάσειας ἐξηγούμενος, ὅτι ἐν νῶι αὐτὸ εἶχες. ὁ γὰρ τοι ἀνὴρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, οὐκ ἔτι ὑπερτιθέμενος τὸ ἐν ἀρίστοις ἤδη εἶναι ἱερέυς τις καὶ ὑπουργὸς θεῶν, χρώμενος καὶ τῶι ἔνδον ἰδρυμένωι αὐτῶι, ὃ παρέχεται τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄχραντον ἡδονῶν, ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ παντὸς πόνου, πάσης ὕβρεως ἀνέπαφον, πάσης ἀναίσθητον πονηρίας, ἀθλητὴν ἄθλου τοῦ μεγίστου, τὸ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀθους καταβληθῆναι, δικαίως (f. 416 r) οὐδὲ βεβαμμένον εἰς βάθος, ἀσπαζόμενον μὲν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ ὑπονεμόμενον πάντα, μὴ πολλακίς δὲ μηδὲ χωρὶς μεγάλης καὶ κοινωφελοῦς ἀνάγκης φανταζόμενον τί ποτε ἄλλος λέγει, ἢ τί πράσσει{ν} ἢ διανοεῖται. μόνον γὰρ εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ἔξει καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶι ἐκ τῶν ὅλων συγκλωθόμενα διηνεκῶς ἐννοεῖ, κάκεῖνα μὲν καλὰ παρέχεται, ταῦτα δὲ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι πέπεισται. ἢ γὰρ ἐκάστωι νεμομένη μοῖρα, συνεμφέρεται τε καὶ συνεμφέρει. (III, 4, 3–6)

⁴⁰ πάσῃ CP.

ὅτι ἀναχωρήσεις αὐτοῖς ζητοῦσιν, ἀγροικίας καὶ αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ ὄρη· εἴωθας δὲ καὶ σὺ τὰ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα ποθεῖν. ὅλον δὲ τοῦτο – ιδιωτικώτατόν ἐστιν ἐξὸν ἧς ἂν ὥρας ἐθελήσης⁴¹ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ οὔτε ἡσυχιώτερον οὔτε ἀπραγμονέστερον ἄνθρωπος ἀναχωρεῖ ἢ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν, μάλισθ' ὅτ' ἔχει ἔνδον τοιαῦτά τις, εἰς ἃ ἐγκύψας ἐν πάσῃ εὐμαρεΐα εὐθὺς γίνεται· τὴν δὲ εὐμάρειαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο λέγω ἢ <εὐ>κοσμίαν. συνεχῶς οὖν δίδου σεαυτῶι ταύτην τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ ἀνανέου σεαυτόν· βραχέα δὲ ἔστω καὶ στοιχειώδη, ἃ εὐθὺς ἀπαντήσαντα ἀρκέσει εἰς τὸ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀποκλύσαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι σε μὴ δυσχεραίνοντα ἐκείνοις, ἐφ' ἃ ἐπανέρχηι. (IV, 3, 1–3)⁴²

ἀλλὰ τὸ δοξάριόν σε, φησί, περισπάσει, ἀλλ' ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸ τάχος τῆς πάντων λήθης καὶ τὸ χάος τοῦ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἀπείρου αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἀπηχίσεως καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον καὶ ἄκριτον τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν δοκούντων καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ τόπου, ἐν ᾧ περιγράφεται, παύου ποτέ. ὅλη τε γὰρ ἡ γῆ στιγμή καὶ ταύτης πόσον γωνίδιον καὶ ἡ κατοίκησις αὕτη; καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόσοι καὶ οἳί τινες οἱ ἐπαινεσόμενοι; λοιπὸν οὖν μέμνησο τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἀγρίδιον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸ παντὸς μὴ σπῶ μηδὲ | (f. 416 v) κατεντείνου, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερος ἔσο καὶ ὄρα τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς πολίτης, ὡς θνητὸν ζῶιον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς προχειροτάτοις, εἰς ἃ ἐγκύψεις, ταῦτα ἔστω τὰ δύο. ἐν μὲν, ὅτι τὰ πράγματα οὐχ ἄπτεται τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξω ἔστηκεν ἀτρεμοῦντα, αἱ δὲ ὀχλήσεις ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἔνδον ὑπολήψεως. ἕτερον

⁴¹ ἐθελήσεις C^D.

⁴² C^D conserva nel margine, copiata dalla mano principale (Apostolio), una breve aggiunta allostria attribuita a un Filone (forse Filone d'Alessandria): φίλωνος τόπος τῶν κατὰ γῆν ιερώτερος σοφοῦ διανοίας οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὄν τρόπον ἀστέρεαι (sic. lege ἀστέρεαι) ἀρεταὶ περιπολοῦσιν. L'estratto filoniano, probabilmente già presente in S, deriva dalla tradizione dei florilegi sacro-profani (o damasceniani). Come ha provato Harris 1886, XIX, il medesimo testo si legge infatti con le due varianti (οὐδὲ εἰς ἔστιν e ἀστέρων) anche in un codice del *Florilegium Rupefucaldinum*: Cheltenham, Thirlestaine House Phillips. 1450 (= Berolinensis gr. 46) s. XV, f. 33 v. L'identificazione del suo autore con Filone d'Alessandria risale a Mangey che accolse il frammento nella sua edizione degli *Opera omnia* di quell'autore pubblicata a Londra nel 1742, II, 661. 4 e, come tale, è riproposta da Harris 1886, 100. 1 e da Roysse 1991, 174. Quanto appena detto va a correzione e complemento di Dorandi 2025, 60. Nell'indice dei nomi antichi del medesimo volume (208) si scriva inoltre: "Filone (ignoto): 60–61".

δέ, ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα ὅσα ὀρᾶς, ὅσον οὐδέπω μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσται· καὶ ὅσων⁴³ ἤδη μεταβολαῖς αὐτὸς παρατετύχηκας, συνεχῶς δι' ἀκοήν.⁴⁴ (IV, 3, 7–11) ὁ κόσμος ἀλλοίωσις· ὁ βίος ὑπόληψις. εἰ τὸ νοερὸν ἡμῖν κοινόν, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καθ' ὃν λογικοί ἐσμεν, κοινός. εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁ προστακτικὸς τῶν ποιητῶν ἢ μὴ λόγος κοινός· εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁ νόμος κοινός· εἰ τοῦτο, πολίται ἐσμέν· εἰ τοῦτο, πολιτεύματός τινος μετέχομεν· εἰ τοῦτο, ὁ κόσμος ὡσανεὶ πόλις ἐστί· τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου φήσει τις τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πᾶν γένος κοινοῦ πολιτεύματος μετέχειν; (IV, 3, 12 – 4, 2) ἐκεῖθεν δέ, ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ταύτης πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν καὶ νομικὸν ἡμῖν· ἢ πόθεν; ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ γεῶδές μοι ἀπὸ τίνος γῆς ἀπομεμέρισται καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἀφ' ἐτέρου στοιχείου καὶ τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀπὸ πηγῆς τίνος καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ πυρῶδες ἐκ τίνος ἰδίας πηγῆς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔρχεται, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ οὐκ ὄν ἀπέρχεται· οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ νοερὸν ἦκει πόθεν. (IV, 4, 2–3) ὁ θάνατος τοιοῦτον οἶον γένεσις, φύσεως μυστήριον, σύγκρισις δὲ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων εἰς ταῦτά. (IV, 5)

ἐνυπέστης ὡς μέρος· ἐναφανισθήσῃ τῷ γεννήσαντι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναληφθήσῃ εἰς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τὸν σπερματικὸν κατὰ μεταβολήν. πολλὰ λιβανωτοῦ βωλάρια ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βωμοῦ· τὸ μὲν προκατέπεσε, τὸ δ' ὕστερον, διαφέρει δ' οὐδέν. (IV, 14–15)

ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν θεὸς αὐτοῖς δόξεις, οἷς νῦν θηρίον καὶ | (f. 417 r) πίθηκος, ἐὰν ἀνακάμψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ λόγου. μὴ ὡς μύρια ἔτη μέλλων ζῆν, τὸ χρέος ἐπήρηται· ἕως ζῆς, ἕως ἕξεστιν, ἀγαθὸς γενοῦ. (IV, 16–17)

ὄσῃν ἀσχολία⁴⁵ κερδαίνει ὁ μὴ βλέπων τί ὁ πλησίον εἶπεν ἢ ἔπραξεν ἢ διηνοήθη, ἀλλὰ μόνον τί αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἦ καὶ ὄσιον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἀγαθόν.⁴⁶ μὴ μέλαν ἦθος, μὴ περιβλέπεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς γραμμῆς τρέχειν ὀρθόν, μὴ διερριμμένον. (IV, 18)

πᾶν τὸ καὶ ὀπωσοῦν καλὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καλὸν ἐστί καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ καταλήγει οὐκ ἔχον μέρος ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἔπαινον. οὔτε γοῦν χειρὸν ἢ κρεῖττον γίνεται τὸ ἐπαινούμενον. τοῦτο φημι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινότερον καλῶν λεγομένων, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ὑλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνικῶν κατασκευασμάτων· τὸ δὲ δὴ ὄντως καλὸν τίνος χρεῖαν ἔχει; οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος, ἀλήθεια, εὖνοια, αἰδώς. τί τούτων διὰ τὸ

⁴³ ὅσον C^D.

⁴⁴ δι' ἀκοήν sic C^D.

⁴⁵ ἀσχολίαν codices omnes : lege εὐσχολίαν cum Gataker.

⁴⁶ τὸν ἀγαθόν codices omnes : locus nondum sanatus.

ἐπαινεῖσθαι καλόν ἐστιν ἢ ψεγόμενον φθείρεται; σμαράγδιον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὸν γίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπαινῆται; τί δὲ χρυσός, ἐλέφας, πορφύρα, λύρα, μαχαίριον, ἀνθύλλιον, δενδρύφιον; (IV, 20)

τοιούτος ἔσο, οἷος ἂν εἴη τις παραμένων τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἐκ τοῦ βίου, εὐλύτος, μήτε ὄρκου δεόμενος μήτε ἀνθρώπου τινὸς μάρτυρος. ὀρθὸν οὖν εἶναι χρῆ, οὐχὶ ὀρθούμενον. (III, 5, 2–4)

μνημόνευε ὅτι μόνον ζῆι ἕκαστος τὸ παρὸν τοῦτο, τὸ ἀκαριαῖον· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἢ βεβίωται ἢ ἐν ἀδήλωι· μικρὸν μὲν οὖν ὃ ζῆι ἕκαστος, μικρὸν δὲ τὸ τῆς γῆς γωνίδιον, ὅπου ζῆι. (III, 10, 1)

ὥσπερ οἱ ἰατροὶ ἀεὶ τὰ ὄργανα καὶ σιδήρια πρόχειρα ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰ αἰφνίδια τῶν θεραπευμάτων, οὕτω τὰ δόγματα σὺ ἔτοιμα ἔχε, τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα εἰδέναι καὶ πᾶν καὶ τὸ μικρότατον οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὡς τῆς ἀμφοτέρων πρὸς ἄλληλα συνδέσεως μεμνημένον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἄνευ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα συναναφορᾶς εὖ πράξεις οὔτε ἔμπαλιν. (III, 13)

| (f. 417 v) μηκέτι πλανῶ· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ὑπομνήματά σου μέλλεις ἀναγινώσκειν οὔτε τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πράξεις, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκλογὰς ἃς εἰς τὸ γῆρας σεαυτῶι ἀπετίθεσο· σπεῦδε οὖν εἰ θέλεις καὶ τὰς κενὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφείς, σεαυτῶι βοήθει, εἴ τι σοι μέλει σαυτοῦ, ἕως ἔξεστιν. (III, 14).

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The paper presents a new edition of the *excerpta* of the *classis C* of Marcus Aurelius’ *Ad se ipsum*, based on a complete and renewed examination of all manuscript witnesses and on the results derived from the study of their stemmatic relationships.

В статье представлено новое издание фрагментов класса *C Ad se ipsum* Марка Аврелия, основанное на новом, исчерпывающем исследовании всех рукописей и их стеммы.

Michael D. Reeve

EDITING PORPHYRIO:
A CAUTIONARY TALE

Many years ago I wrote an article on the transmission of Florus when I had seen only a few of the 200 or so manuscripts. An experienced editor urged me to wait until I had seen more, but two things impelled me to go ahead and publish: I had enjoyed trying to read between the lines of recent editions, and mindful of Karl Popper and Alexander Kleinlogel I saw advantages in testing predictions of how the manuscripts would turn out to behave. The tests largely confirmed them, and I wrote another article.¹ For writing the present article I have no such excuse, because I shall not make predictions and do not intend to check the text in any of the pertinent manuscripts. The necessary research has been done by Luca Paretti and Stephen Oakley, but my purpose here is less ambitious. When the three of us were exchanging a flurry of correspondence in 2003, I drafted an account of what editors and others had been doing since the 1820s with the manuscripts of the work concerned, which number a mere 22. A story took shape of repeated failure to ask the right questions, to adduce valid evidence, and to learn from predecessors, but two 19th-century scholars whose names I had never met emerged with reasonable credit. At the same time, the relationship between textual and external evidence threw up a problem that has become more acute as more evidence of each kind has come to light.

To my draft of 2003 I added in 2014 only a title, opening and closing paragraphs, and references in some footnotes, and I reproduce them all here. As the one work published between 2003 and 2014 that might have made a difference made none, the story could still be told as I told it in 2003; but now that manuscripts have started to appear

¹ The two articles are Reeve 1988, 477–491, and Reeve 1991, 453–483. I had in mind Kleinlogel 1979 and the criterion of falsifiability set up in the fourth chapter of Popper 1934/1935.

regularly on line the distinction between published and unpublished evidence is fading. I sent the draft of 2014 to Stephen Oakley, and he kindly acknowledged use of it when he published his account of the transmission;² but apart from adding a reference that he immediately gave me in 2014, further details from the work concerned, and a note that I appended in 2020, I make no further changes. Here the story is, then, with just one piece of unpublished evidence included and electronic territory merely signposted.³

* * *

Though much of Porphyrio's commentary on Horace has been in print since 1474–1475 and the rest since 1481 (*ISTC* ih00472000, 00451000), no-one examined the foundations of the text until the 19th century. In 1824 a transcript of the commentary on the *Ars poetica* was published from a manuscript believed at the time to date from the tenth century, M (Munich Staatsbibl. C. L. M. 181),⁴ and in 1830 Joh. Caspar Orelli, announcing F. Hauthal's plans for an edition of Horace and the ancient commentators, added this:⁵

Cum hoc viro mihi peramico communicabo accuratum apographum integri cd. Monacensis Porphyrionis sec. X, quod mihi ante aliquot annos paravi et ex quo, aliquo iam examine instituto, permulta in illo scholiasta corrigi atque etiam quae passim exciderunt posse suppleri probe intellexi.

Hauthal himself, in a fuller account of his plans, mentioned Orelli's copy of M and went on to cite from Platina, librarian at the Vatican from 1475 to 1481, a statement that accounted for the late date of the other manuscripts: Pope Nicholas V, who held office from 1447 to

² Oakley 2023, 245–332, with the acknowledgement on pp. vii–viii. On p. vii he also acknowledges use of Paretto 2000–2001.

³ My thanks go to Stephen Oakley and Luca Paretto, whose thunder I have done my best not to steal. Peter Lebrecht Schmidt kindly lent me a copy of the unpublished dissertation by Elizabeth Hunter Jones, for which see n. 36 below, but I have denied myself any use of it here.

⁴ Hocheder 1824, v (where he says that he made the transcript in 1822), vii, 175–187. The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has now put M on line.

⁵ Orelli 1830, lv.

1455, sent Enoch of Ascoli to Germany and beyond in search of new texts, and Enoch's finds included Porphyrio.⁶

Hauthal's plans raise another matter of historical interest. He states it as his aim *pretium et affinitatem* [of the main witnesses] *inquirere, et ita fontes minorum sive manu exaratorum sive typis exscriptorum invenire, eosque tandem in tabula synoptica (genealogica quasi) ante oculos ponere*.⁷ That must be among the earliest applications of the term 'genealogy' to the classification of textual witnesses. It recalls Orelli's *familiae et quasi propagationes quaedam et codicum et editionum*.⁸

Hauthal's preparations dragged on, and in 1858–1859 F. Pauly beat him into print with an edition of Acro and Porphyrio;⁹ but Pauly did not use M until p. 179 of his second volume, though he added a collation up to p. 144 (the gap went unexplained). Hauthal immediately retaliated with a *Prodromus* in which he listed his *subsidia* and edited both commentaries in *Carm.* 1. 1–2 and Acro's up to 1. 3. 25.¹⁰ For Porphyrio, M, "saeculo nono aut ineunte decimo exaratus", headed his *subsidia*, and he disclosed that Orelli's copy had been made by Karl Halm. His other *subsidia* were twelve manuscripts of the 15th century, two collations of the 16th, and four editions of the 15th and 16th, and he asked, but did not decide, whether M was the manuscript that Enoch found. His full edition, the first to use M from the outset even if at one remove, appeared in 1864–1866. A reviewer unhelpfully opined that M was either the source of the other manuscripts or an immediate offshoot of a common source,¹¹ but Wilhelm Meyer in 1870 committed himself: the three late manuscripts used in Hauthal's apparatus, and probably all the rest, descended in some way from M.¹² Accordingly, Meyer based

⁶ Hauthal 1830, 459 and 460–462 n. 15; and see Gaida 1913–1932, 338. 22–24.

⁷ Hauthal 1830, 451.

⁸ See Timpanaro 1985, 49–50.

⁹ Pauly 1858–1859. His title includes *post Georgium Fabricium*, who published his edition at Basel in 1555. Braunhard 1833–1835 includes a reprint of Acro and Porphyrio adjusted with the aid of the scholia in Leipzig Rep. I fol. 6 (s. xi) and apparently by conjecture; see I vii, x.

¹⁰ Hauthal 1859.

¹¹ Elsperger 1867, 26.

¹² Meyer 1870, 3–5.

his Teubner edition of 1874 on M and took from the late manuscripts only what he regarded as good conjectures. M. Petschenig overshot in his review when he said that Meyer had proved the descent of all the other manuscripts from M.¹³

Meanwhile, a further piece of external evidence about Enoch of Ascoli had come to light, and more followed. In the very year of Pauly's second volume and Hauthal's *Prodromus*, 1859, G. Voigt published a letter that Poggio wrote from the papal chancery on April 30th 1451 about Enoch's commission. It gave Ludwig of Erlichshausen this information:¹⁴

mittimus ... Enoch Esculanum ... qui diversa loca et monasteria inquirat si quis ex ipsis deperditis apud vos libris reperiretur. Idcirco ... velis omnes tui territorii libros sibi ostendere, antiquos presertim et prisce scripture, et simul permittere ut in tuo territorio scribi possit expensis nostris. Nolumus enim ut aliquis liber surripiatur sed tantummodo ut fiat copia transcribendi.

By October 28th Enoch had reached Verona, by December 6th Roskilde (near Copenhagen).¹⁵ In 1893 V. Rossi investigated the date of various letters about his return and concluded that though he was back in Rome by December 13th 1455, a few months after the death of Pope Nicholas V, he had not yet made any of his finds available for copying when he died in 1457 between August 28th and December 10th.¹⁶ Some of the letters that Rossi cited had been published before, but he established that only two, an undated one from Panormita and a reply from Aurispa dated *Idibus Decembris*, belonged to 1455. Then R. Sabbadini reported the date 1455 from Pier Candido Decembrio's account of the manuscript that included another of Enoch's discoveries, the minor works of Tacitus.¹⁷ More evidence about Enoch's knowledge of Porphyrio was published in 1895.

¹³ Petschenig 1874, 341–342.

¹⁴ Voigt 1859, 361 n. 2 = ²1881, 202 n. 1 = ³1893, 200 n. 3. He prints *apud vos*, but *apud nos* would give better order without changing the sense.

¹⁵ Sabbadini 1914 b, 276–277; Mancini 1882, 328–329.

¹⁶ Rossi 1893, 129–150.

¹⁷ Sabbadini 1901, 262–264. Stok 1985, 295–306, usefully brings the evidence together but nevertheless admits, p. 282, that since Sabbadini's day none

At Augsburg in the 1450s the young Sigismund Meisterlin was compiling a history of the city, founded by the Romans as Augusta Vindelicorum, and it puzzled him what connexion Horace had in mind at *Carm.* 4. 4. 17–22 between the Vindelici and the Amazons. Fortunately, someone helpful paid a timely visit: a papal envoy, Enoch of Ascoli, who told him that the cathedral library possessed an ancient commentary on Horace by Porphyrio. They went and consulted it together.¹⁸

Evidence also came to light about the earlier history of the text. In 1866 J. Klein published a scrapbook compiled in the mid ninth century by Sedulius Scottus, which includes several quotations from Porphyrio.¹⁹ In 1875, when H. Hagen published a catalogue of the manuscripts at Bern, he reported from a copy of Servius's commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues*, Bern 363 (s. ix), a note interpolated at 9. 35, *Lege Pomponii expositionem in Oratium, quam vidi in Lorashaimm*, with *in Hlorashaimm* repeated in the margin (f. 25 v).²⁰ The name has become Lorsch, and the monastery there, founded in 764, is well known for its medieval holdings of classical texts.²¹

Through all these developments, M was guarding a secret. It had been in use for over a century when Bernhard Bischoff in 1940 reported from its last page the 15th-century entry “*maria v(irgo)*”, which he identified as an *ex libris* of Augsburg Cathedral. He also assigned M not to the tenth century but to the middle of the ninth and reported without comment P. Lehmann's view that it could

has been added except by Rubinstein 1958; and this letter reveals nothing of immediate relevance to Enoch or Porphyrio.

¹⁸ Joachimsohn 1895, 33–34, taken up by Traube 1906, 1239, and from there by Lehmann 1911, 85–86, and by Sabbadini himself, 1914 a, 244 and 1914 b, 277 n. 9. The Latin version of Meisterlin's *Cronographia Augustensium* has never been published; the German version now has, by Gröchenig 1998, but is not widely available. From Stephen Oakley in 2014: the relevant passage of the Latin version was published by Müller 2010, 251 n. 56. At p. 243 n. 23 Müller identifies his source as Augsburg 2^o cod. Aug. 56; for other manuscripts of either version he cites at p. 238 n. 3 Colberg 1987, 358–360, and the corrections at Colberg 2004, 988.

¹⁹ Klein 1866. Quotations from Porphyrio are listed in the index, p. 152.

²⁰ Hagen 1875, 348, and again in Hagen 1897, i.

²¹ Reynolds–Wilson 2013, 99–100, 109; Reynolds 1983, Index p. 488.

well come from Lorsch.²² Later, however, he dissociated the hand from Lorsch.²³

Still, everything else seems to fit. Whether M originated at Lorsch or not, Enoch found it at Augsburg Cathedral, and the late manuscripts will all descend from a copy that he took back to Italy, in accordance with what Poggio represented as a papal order: to make copies and not walk off with the originals.²⁴

Alas, Hauthal's edition already includes recalcitrant evidence ignored by Meyer. Meyer prints in italics words or phrases absent from M and supplied either in late manuscripts or by himself, and Hauthal's apparatus reveals that in many of these passages late manuscripts have words that M could have omitted by *saut du même au même*:

Carm. 1. 29. 2 *paras* <*non ante ... paras*>
Carm. 3. 24. 33 *querimoniae* <*si non ... querimoniae*>
Serm. 1. 4. 21 *recitentur* <*deinde ... delectentur*>
Serm. 1. 4. 107 *hortaretur* <*parce ... hortaretur*>
Serm. 1. 5. 77 *ostentare mihi* <*non est ... notos ostentare mihi*>
Ep. 1. 18. 75 *accepto* <*laeteris ... accepto*>

Meyer but not Hauthal reports the omission by M of another such passage:

Serm. 2. 2. 37 *adpetis* <*maiolem ... adpetis*>

Even if a 15th-century reader working on a copy of M had detected all these omissions, they would hardly have been repaired in a way that happened to account for them. Another passage omitted by M but present in late manuscripts, *Serm.* 1. 5. 51 *profect<os in coccei nervae villam ma>nsisse*, presumably formed a line, albeit a short one, in an

²² Bischoff 1940, 10 (I thank Michael I. Allen for checking the rare first edition at the University of Chicago). Lehmann 1928, 203 = 1959, 37, assigned M to the first half of the ninth century.

²³ Bischoff 1974, 78 n. 99; id. 1980, 194 (“wohl westdeutsch, nicht aus Lorsch”); id. 2004, 220 no. 2921 (“wohl Westdeutschland, IX. Jh., ca. Mitte”). Lehmann 1928, 203 = 1959, 37, had seen nothing in the hand that did not suit Lorsch.

²⁴ So for instance Bianca 1998, 209, who adds that Enoch's copy is probably lost.

ancestor, since there was no other reason for omitting it; and the same could be true of *Epod.* 17. 81 (*ab*) *inferis elicere*.

More evidence against the primacy of M emerged in 1894, when A. Holder published an edition based instead on a manuscript that he considered older and rightly assigned to the ninth century, V (Vat. Lat. 3314).²⁵ He does not say who found V, which he collated in October and November 1887. Instead, however, of citing textual evidence for its independence, he simply gave it pride of place. Nevertheless, he asserted the independence of M despite the impression “*primo quidem obtutu*” that it was a copy of V. By listing 54 passages where he follows M because V “*forte lapsus est*” he may not have meant that they all prove the independence of M, but do any? In only five where he prints the original reading of M is more than a single letter at stake:

Carm. 3. 2. 26 *vulga[ve]rit* M¹ (in a lemma)

Epod. 17. 81 *mentem amore incendere nihil in te potero [artis
amore incendere nihil in te potero] artisque meae* M

Serm. 1. 7. 2–3 *esse* M ante ras. *est* V

Ep. 1. 11. 19 *sextili* [*sextili*] M

Ep. 1. 18. 101 *nihil* M *mihi* V

The two dittographies here could have been either emended away or skipped by *saut du même au même*, and none of the other three errors pose more of a challenge than such errors of a single letter as these:

Carm. 2. 17. 19–20 *astri<s> huius*

Carm. 3. 5. 43–44 *dei[e]cisse*

Carm. 3. 16. 23–24 *pastes* (correctly deciphered?) for *partes*

Epod. 5. 43 *scelur* (correctly deciphered?)

Ep. 1. 17. 1 *charactare*

Ep. 2. 2. 162 *id es[t]*

Holder’s apparatus yields eight more errors of V that he did not list: seven of a single letter, the eighth a longer but equally trivial haplography, *Ep.* 2. 2. 1 *sent[ent]ia*. Surely, in the 409 pages of

²⁵ Holder 1894. Seven ‘*Testimonia de Porphyryone*’ lurk at the back, pp. 612–613.

the edition, it must be more significant that V omits not a single word preserved by M. As for the late manuscripts, he put Paris B. N. Lat. 7988 close to the common source of V and M and derived the rest, *exempla Italorum interpolata*, from Enoch's manuscript; but he said nothing about the relationship of Enoch's manuscript to V and M, mentioned none of its supposed descendants except the three that "accurate a me examinati sunt", and cited no grounds for associating those three.

In an important review of Holder's edition, J. Häussner claimed to have collated V before him, and Marco Buonocore of the Vatican Library kindly gave me information that supports the claim: "Da una verifica nel nostro schedario, risulta che J. Häussner ha consultato il Vat. lat. 3314 sicuramente nell'anno 1887; forse proprio nel mese di aprile, in quanto il 27 aprile del 1887 era alla Vaticana, dove risulta aver consultato il Vat. lat. 3315. Purtroppo la sua scheda di richiesta del Vat. lat. 3314 ha solo l'anno, mancando sia il mese che il giorno. Mi sembra, comunque, certo, che la sua collazione del codice sia precedente a quella dell'Holder eseguita tra ottobre e novembre del 1887". Perhaps neither discovered it, because P. de Nolhac had mentioned its early date in a work that has a dedication written in August 1887.²⁶ Buonocore adds this, however: "Per il de Nolhac, non risulta nulla al riguardo". Be that as it may, Häussner gave sound reasons for deriving M from V and then bad reasons for not doing so.²⁷ His sound reasons for doing so were that at *Ars poet.* 139 M has an error attributable to the layout of V, namely the superscript phrase $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\upsilon\varsigma$ inserted between the o and $\rho\omicron\varsigma$ of $\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$, and that at *Ep.* 1. 12. 22 and 1. 17. 14 it leaves gaps in words that V splits between lines, *ae|quam* and *reci|procum*.²⁸ His bad reasons for not doing so were 24 divergences, of which M turns out on inspection to have the better reading in only two, *Ep.* 2. 2. 155 *ullus* for *ullos* and

²⁶ Nolhac 1887, 226. Holder 1894, viii, showed that in 1570 Orsini put V at the disposal of Claude Dupuy, who made a collation; but it is absent from the section "De codicibus Porphyrianeis" in *Urba* 1885, 9–25, and from Antonibon 1888, 96–97, where he lists Vatican manuscripts.

²⁷ Häussner 1895, 915–918.

²⁸ Römer 1976, xxxvi, xlix, derives manuscripts that have *solī darentur* at *Tac. Ann.* 15. 43. 3 from Vat. Lat. 1863, which has *solī|darentur*, and manuscripts that have *prīmō res* at 15. 51. 1 from M, which has *prīmō|res*.

175 *perpetuus* for *perpetuis* (these were two of Holder's 54 passages). One of the other 22, however, may indeed be significant: *Serm.* 1. 10. 76 *enim* M for *autem* V. Though erroneous, *enim* surely arose from the Insular abbreviation for *autem*, and so M is unlikely to be a direct copy of V if V writes *autem* in full. If V abbreviates it, however, the argument is worthless.²⁹ As for the late manuscripts, he gave a good reason for not deriving from M what he considered the closest to V and M of those that he had seen, Vat. Chig. H VII 229: it has passages omitted by M but present in V. In fact he went further and said that it showed "fast durchweg" very close dependence on V. Published evidence allows his conclusion that it could not descend from M to be broadened: in the passages listed above where Meyer repairs omissions of M, Hauthal's late manuscripts agree with V against M. A discrepancy in a passage cited above, *Serm.* 1. 5. 51, affects the length of the putative line skipped in M: Meyer supplies the name as *Coccei*, Hauthal from late manuscripts and Holder from V as *Coccei Nervae*. An oversight of Meyer's, or was he following a manuscript that omitted *Nervae*?

Another reviewer of Holder's edition, P. Wessner, gave a weightier reason why M could not descend from V: M has the original reading of V in several places where corrections were made in V "bereits von erster hand" and sometimes by erasure.³⁰ Strangely, he concluded that only V "für eine ausgabe ... in frage kommt", even though Holder "natürlich" used M where it had better readings. Häussner too cited one reading like those listed by Wessner, but only as an example of the strange readings to be found in M: *Serm.* 1. 2. 133 *credimat* (*redimat* V² by erasure). Whether the argument is sound, however, depends on whether it really was the scribe of V who made the corrections and whether M is so much later than V that it could not have been copied from V before they were made. Erasures are unlikely to be paleographically datable unless the corrector wrote something new in the same space.

Little has happened since that affects the relationship of V, M, Enoch's manuscript, and the late manuscripts. The discovery of V has been attributed to its first attested owner, Agostino Patrizi,

²⁹ No edition confirms his statements about *Carm.* 1. 1. 22 (where he reports the same error), *Serm.* 1. 5. 98, *Serm.* 1. 7. 23, *Ep.* 1. 18. 41, *Ep.* 2. 2. 189.

³⁰ P. Wessner 1895, 417–418, where he listed twelve passages.

bishop of Pienza from 1484 to 1495, whose *ex libris* was added during that time (f. 1 r “A. Patritii ep. Pientini”),³¹ and Bischoff appears to have provided confirmation by assigning the hand of V to Tuscany or Umbria.³² M. M. Gorman has since assigned V specifically to the Badia Amiatina in south-western Tuscany, and he points out that Pius II opens Book IX of his *Commentarii* with a long description of Monte Amiata and its surroundings in connexion with his stay there in 1462.³³ A different suggestion has also been made, that Patrizi acquired V in 1471 on a diplomatic tour of Germany;³⁴ from their main destination, Regensburg, his party continued to places as far west as Sélestat on a route that passed through Würzburg, Mergentheim, and Heidelberg, and so took them, if not to Lorsch, at least close by.³⁵ Elizabeth Hunter Jones, who under the supervision of B. L. Ullman devoted a thesis to four of the late manuscripts, argued that Vat. Chig. H VII 229 best represented Enoch’s manuscript;³⁶ and Claudia Villa has added eight late manuscripts to the list that Hauthal gave in his *Prodromus*, so that the total of late manuscripts has reached 20.³⁷

³¹ Sabbadini 1905, 148, cited by Avesani 1964, 35, when he says it was because of V that Patrizi “fu nominato tra gli ultimi scopritori quattrocenteschi di testi classici”. So far as I am aware, it remains true that Patrizi is not known to have discovered anything else.

³² Bischoff 1968, 313; id. 1975, 82–83. In n. 23 above I mentioned that Lehmann had seen nothing in the hand of M that did not suit Lorsch, and indeed he expressed the same opinion about V; Wessner 1895, 418, had assigned both to Lorsch on the strength of the reference in Bern 363 and an entry for Horace in a ninth-century catalogue from Lorsch, Vat. Pal. Lat. 1877.

³³ Gorman 2002, 231, 242–243, 254, with plate 12 of f. 1 v.

³⁴ Bianca 1998, 403; without explicitly contradicting Bischoff, she gives Lorsch as the provenance of V. If Holder’s mention of Patrizi’s *iter Germanicum* was meant to imply that he discovered V in the course of it, then Holder anticipated both Bianca and Sabbadini 1905, 148.

³⁵ Kramer 1949, 554. The evidence comes from his own account *De legatione Germanica*, not yet published in its entirety from Vat. Lat. 3842.

³⁶ Jones 1960 (abstract; the thesis is unpublished). Like Holder and before him Antonibon 1888, 96, she gave the date 1460 for this manuscript, but no date is given by Pellegrin et al. 1975, 367–368, or by Buonocore 1992, 71–73 no. 22.

³⁷ Villa 1994, 127–129. Two of the eight had already been used in editions, Wolfenbüttel Gud. Lat. 85 by Pauly and St Omer 656 by Holder. She includes Rome Vallicell. E 41, Hauthal’s no. 36, in which according to Hauthal “scholia potius ad Acronem quam ad Porphyriionem pertinent”. When Keller 1876, 145–146, reviewing Pauly 1875, said that besides M Pauly ought to have used Gud.

When R. Helm summarized the transmission in 1952, nothing entitled him to say that the manuscript at Wolfenbüttel, Gud. Lat. 85, best represented the later tradition, or that the whole of the later tradition descended from Enoch's manuscript.³⁸ Over the late manuscripts Hauthal and Holder ought also to have taken up an implicit challenge. Pauly set out with just one manuscript, Gud. Lat. 85, which he assigned to the 13th century.³⁹ Nowhere in his work of 1859–1866 did Hauthal defend against this dating his observation of 1830 that all the manuscripts except M were written after Enoch's discovery. In his *Prodromus*, doubtless to spite Pauly, he ignored Gud. Lat. 85 altogether, and though he assigned all his own manuscripts except M to the 15th century, he did not argue that they were all written after Enoch's discovery. In fact he needed a defence not just against Pauly, because others had put Gud. Lat. 85 in the 14th century.⁴⁰ Without referring to anyone else's dating, Holder put it in the 15th, and indeed his derivation of it from Enoch's manuscript required a date no earlier than 1455; but he would have received small comfort if he had lived to see the latest catalogue for Wolfenbüttel, which puts it in "14/15 Jhd".⁴¹ Hauthal and Holder suffered another setback, it might have seemed, when Keller assigned to the early 13th century a manuscript that they had assigned to the 15th, Paris

Lat. 85 and "die älteste Strassburger Handschrift", he meant not a manuscript of Porphyrio but C VII 7 of Horace, A in Oberlin 1788, vi–vii, 369–370, and D in Keller–Holder 1864–1869, I 301–304, II iv; Holder in his edition of Porphyrio cites it more often than any other glossed manuscript of Horace, and Keller went on to say in Keller–Holder 1899, vi, that Holder had collated it in 1864 but it perished in the bombardment of 1870.

³⁸ Helm 1952, 2415–2416. Tarrant 1983, 186, and Diederich 1999, 5–7, follow Holder. Kalinina 2007, 17–18, has nothing new to say and perversely assigns M to the 10th century. P. L. Schmidt in Schmidt–Herzog 1997, 259–261 § 446, shows more awareness of the uncertainties and provides copious bibliography, gratefully exploited here. Schmidt's alternative symbol for V, namely U, seems to have been invented by Schweikert 1915, 1, who ungrammatically calls it "Cod. Vaticanus (Ursinus)"; true, Holder used no symbol, but Häussner and Wessner opted for V.

³⁹ Pauly 1858, 4–5, 17–18.

⁴⁰ Ebert 1827, 90–91 no. 446; Kirchner 1847, 44 n., and id. 1854, xxvi. Presumably the dating accounts for expressions like "the manuscripts of the 14th or 15th century", used by Meyer 1870, 3, and Häussner 1895, 915.

⁴¹ Milchsack 1913, 132 no. 4389.

B. N. Lat. 7988;⁴² but Chatelain quickly put Keller right,⁴³ and Villa narrows the date to the second half of the 15th century. Villa has also brought Gud. Lat. 85 back into the 15th century. Of the other 18 late manuscripts that Villa lists, Vat. Lat. 8898 can be dated between 1464 and 1466, Bern 516 includes a work copied in 1472, Ottob. Lat. 1434 and Vat. Lat. 1518 include other works found by Enoch, five are datable after Enoch's death in 1457 from the identity of the scribe or the first owner, and she assigns five to the second half of the 15th century and the other four more broadly to the 15th century. Of these four, two have been illustrated, and neither looks at all likely to have been written in the first half of the century.⁴⁴ Unless, therefore, Gud. Lat. 85 or one of the other two, Laur. 52. 28 and Ricc. 840, can be shown to antedate Enoch's return in 1455, Hauthal's observation stands after all.⁴⁵

Not just the *terminus post quem* of the humanistic tradition matters but also, in view of the notion that V was not found until 1471, the *terminus ante quem* of whatever discovery brought the text into circulation among the humanists. If the late manuscripts descend from V as Häussner said of Chig. H VII 229, it must have been found before 1471, because Vat. Lat. 8898 is datable between 1464 and 1466. Worse, Ottob. Lat. 1434 has the arms of Biondo, who died in 1463, and Chig. H VII 229 those of Pius II, who died in 1464 and whose efforts to obtain Enoch's finds are mentioned in the letter

⁴² Keller 1902–1904, I vi–vii, xii.

⁴³ See the retraction in Keller 1902–1904, II v n. *, 508. Did his misdating perhaps go back far enough to underlie Holder's separation of this manuscript from the other late manuscripts? It can now be viewed on line in *Gallica*, and interested readers can decide for themselves whether Keller had any justification for the misdating.

⁴⁴ Buonocore 1992, plate CX of Ottob. Lat. 1379, plate CXXXIV of Vat. Lat. 3315; both are *chartacei*, and the watermarks reported in Pellegrin et al. 1975, 544 and Pellegrin et al. 2010, 248–249, suit a date after 1455. He also illustrates Urb. Lat. 359 in plate III, Chig. H VII 229 in plate X, Ottob. Lat. 1434 in plate XI, V (f. 64 v) in plate XIII, Vat. Lat. 8898 in plate LXXXI, and Vat. Lat. 1518 in plate CXXV. The frontispieces of three are illustrated again in Mariotti 1998: Urb. Lat. 359 in plate XXIX opposite p. 704, Ottob. Lat. 1434 in plate XXX opposite p. 705, Chig. H VII 229 in plate XXXII opposite p. 721.

⁴⁵ Laur. 52. 28 can now be viewed at teca.bmlonline.it. I withhold my own verdict.

of 1457 that provides the *terminus ante quem* for Enoch's death;⁴⁶ furthermore, a strong case has been made for deriving the former from Vat. Lat. 1518.⁴⁷ On the other hand, J. Ruyschaert's suggestion that Vat. Lat. 1518 was annotated by Pietro Odo da Montopoli, who died in 1463, was rejected by Augusto Campana.⁴⁸

Evidence has accrued for the medieval circulation of the commentary, but it contributes nothing to determining the relationship of V, M, Enoch's manuscript, and the humanistic tradition. The reference to Lorsch is one of many things in Bern 363 accompanied by an abbreviation of Sedulius Scottus's name, and more quotations have been found in his works.⁴⁹ An extract appears in Paris B. N. Lat. 7900 A of Horace (s. ix/x), which like Bern 363 has been assigned to Milan, and others in Munich C. L. M. 14420 (s. x²), which has been connected at one remove with Brescia.⁵⁰ Three extracts appear in the margins of a glossary annotated by Heiric of Auxerre, B. L. Harl. 2735 (s. ix).⁵¹ Between 1049 and 1160 a copy was recorded at Lobbes,⁵² and it may not be a coincidence that L. Carrion in 1583 spoke of forthcoming notes on Porphyrio, "quem multo plenior et integriorem habemus et aliquando cum dis volentibus in lucem dabimus",⁵³ because he used a manuscript of another rare text recorded at Lobbes, Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica*.⁵⁴ An entry in a catalogue drawn up at Bury

⁴⁶ Rossi 1893, 134–135.

⁴⁷ On these three manuscripts see Pellegrin et al. 1975, 367–368, 563–564, Pellegrin et al. 1991, 98–99; on the relationship between Vat. Lat. 1518 and Ottob. Lat. 1434, Brugnoli 1960 a, 347–350, Brugnoli 1960 b, xxi–xxvi.

⁴⁸ See Donati 2000, 70–71.

⁴⁹ Hagen 1897, lii–lxvii; Dolbeau 1988–1989, 70–84, an important contribution that makes further references superfluous.

⁵⁰ Villa 1981, 12 (part I of an article written with G. C. Alessio). On the other hand, Bischoff 1998, 125 no. 585, puts Bern 363 in a group, "die wahrscheinlich aus dem Schülerkreis des Sedulius Scottus abhängig u. mit St Gallen verbunden ist".

⁵¹ Reeve 1985, 91. On this manuscript, later owned and annotated by Pierre Daniel, see Ganz 1991, 297–305. Diederich 1999, 5–7, conflates Porphyrio's remarks on *Carm.* 2. 1. 37–38 and 3. 28. 16 by confusing the extract on f. 85 v with Daniel's first note on it; Daniel at first misidentified the passage as 3. 28. 16 but then found the other.

⁵² Dolbeau 1978, 35 no. 336, and Dolbeau 1979, 230 no. 336.

⁵³ Carrion 1583, I 14 f. 27 r, pointed out by Hauthal 1830, 462 n. 15.

⁵⁴ See most recently Liberman 1997, lxxxii–lxxxiii.

St Edmunds in the mid 14th century reads as follows: *Pomponius Porphirionis floruit* [then a gap] *et scripsit Commentaria super omnes libros Oracii*.⁵⁵ This is the only attestation of Porphyrio's fuller name that I have met outside the manuscripts, the excerpts in Harl. 2735, and the catalogue of Lobbes; Sedulius Scottus uses either 'Porphyrio' or 'Pomponius' but never both at once, and no-one could have guessed that he was referring to the same person.

Apart from the information provided by Marco Buonocore, I have compiled this account entirely from published evidence, though not all of it is widely accessible. The upshot? Hauthal suggested in 1830 that the late manuscripts were all written after Enoch of Ascoli brought to Italy one from northern Europe, an event later shown to have happened by 1455, and earlier dates for two of them have evaporated. It has been plain since 1874, if not since 1864–1866, that some of them cannot descend from M, and no evidence has been offered that any of the rest do. After V entered the picture in 1887, it could easily be seen not to descend from M, and Häussner made a plausible case for deriving M from it, but the evidence offered by him and others to the contrary, though feeble, included a reading hard to explain, *enim* for *autem* at *Serm.* 1. 10. 76, if M was copied directly from V and V has *autem* written out in full.⁵⁶ Häussner described one of the late manuscripts as closely dependent on V, but no-one has shown that any of them descend from V or indeed that they have anything in common apart from being late.⁵⁷ Since 1895 it has been known that Enoch found a manuscript in the cathedral library at Augsburg, since 1940 that M belonged to that library in the 15th century. Why then has no descendant of M come to light? Over to Messrs Oakley and Paretti.

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⁵⁵ Rouse–Rouse 2004, 415 no. 488. Richard Sharpe, the general editor of the series, had kindly alerted me to the entry in November 2002.

⁵⁶ See n. 29 above. Addition of October 2020: at *Serm.* 1. 10. 76 V has *autem* in full (f. 115 v^a), M *enim* in full (f. 39 r^a); at *Carm.* 1. 1. 22 V and M both have *autem* in full.

⁵⁷ In 2026 this last remark is outdated. See n. 2.

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Porphyrio's commentary on Horace was last edited in 1894, after 70 years of chequered contributions from a succession of scholars: promising work announced in 1830 was followed by poor arguments, misdating of humanistic manuscripts, and failure to combine textual and historical evidence – shortcomings left partly unremedied in the edition of 1894. The present study of their persistence complements the analysis of the tradition published in 2023 by Stephen Oakley.

В последний раз комментарий Порфириона к Горацию был издан в 1894 г. Этому предшествовали семьдесят лет неравноценных вкладов ряда ученых: в 1830 г. ожидался многообещающий труд, но в дальнейшем приводились слабые аргументы, рукописи гуманистов неверно датировались, текстовые данные не соотносились с историческими свидетельствами. Частично эти ошибки так и остались не исправлены в издании 1894 г. Прослеживая, как они повторялись снова и снова, автор дополняет анализ традиции, опубликованный С. Окли в 2023 г.

Thomas Riesenweber

ZU EINIGEN STELLEN IN DER
ARS RHETORICA DES CONSULTUS
FORTUNATIANUS*

Die lateinischen Rhetorikhandbücher der Halmschen Sammlung sind nach 1863 editorisch sehr unterschiedliche Wege gegangen. Die alte Einheit, die bis auf Pithous Ausgabe von 1599, in Teilen auf den Baseler Druck von 1521 zurückging, scheint unwiederbringlich verloren. Jedenfalls ist nicht absehbar, daß nochmal jemand die Kraft aufbringen wird, die gut zwei Dutzend Texte mit ihren je unterschiedlichen Überlieferungsgeschichten in einer einzigen kritischen Edition zu versammeln: um so heller erstrahlt die Halmsche Ausgabe, die auch für das heroische Zeitalter des Edierens eine ganz außergewöhnliche Leistung darstellt.

Der Verfasser dieser Zeilen wird dieser jemand sicher nicht sein, da er schon seit Jahren vergeblich versucht, eine neue zweisprachige Ausgabe der spätantiken *Artes rhetoricae* mit überarbeitetem kritischem Apparat abzuschließen, die, so der Plan, eine Auswahl der Halmschen Sammlung enthalten soll: im wesentlichen die vollständigeren spätantiken Rhetorikhandbücher, darunter die pseudaugustinische Rhetorik, Sulpicius Victor, Iulius Severianus, Iulius Victor, Consultus Fortunatianus und einige kleinere Texte, also ohne die Figurenlehren, ohne die *De inuentione*-Kommentare, aber auch ohne die Enzyklopädisten und frühmittelalterlichen Autoren wie Alkuin. Vieles ist schon weit vorangeschritten, fertig ist aber noch lange nichts. Einzelnes habe ich schon veröffentlicht,¹ das meiste ruht noch in Dateien auf meinem Computer, die zu öffnen ich leider nur allzu selten die Zeit finde; darunter eine längere Arbeit zur *Ars rhetorica* des

* Einige der hier erörterten Stellen aus Fortunatian habe ich beim Jahrestreffen der *Bibliothek der Lateinischen Literatur der Spätantike* am 7. Oktober 2023 in Münster vorgestellt. Ich danke allen Teilnehmern für die lebhaftige Diskussion.

¹ Vor allem zu Sulpicius Victor Riesenweber 2018, 484–499; 2019, 64–85.

Consultus Fortunatianus, für die ich 2020 und 2022 die wichtigsten Handschriften

- B** Bern, Burgerbibl., 363; St. Gallen?, s. IX^¾,
- D** Köln, Dom- und Diözesanbibl., 166; Westdeutschland?, s. VIII,
- P** Paris, BnF, Lat. 7530; Montecassino, s. VIII^{ex},
- I** Krakau, Bibl. Jag., olim Berlin, Lat. qu. 687 (Görres 67); Frankreich, s. IX^¾,
- O** Vatikan, BAV, Vat. Ottob. Lat. 1968; Frankreich?, s. XII, und das Fragment
- V** Vat. Pal. Lat. 1719; Lorsch, s. VIII/IX (nur bis 93, 2 / 88, 9 *proponere*)

vollständig kollationiert habe; zudem habe ich umfangreichere Stichproben aus

- A** Coligny–Genève, Bodmer, Aesinas 146; Norditalien oder Chartres, s. X,
- E** Clm 14649 (St. Emmeram G 33); Süddeutschland (Sankt Emmeram?), s. XIⁱⁿ,
- F** München, BSB, Clm 6406 (Freising 206); Süddeutschland, s. XII^l, und
- S** Paris, BnF, Lat. 7730; Nordostfrankreich?, s. IX^{ex}

genommen. Sieht man von der alten Handschrift

- L** Vatikan, BAV, Vat. Pal. Lat. 1588; Lorsch, s. IX^½

ab, von der wir schon lange wissen, daß sie aus **D** abgeschrieben wurde,² bleiben unter den bisher bekannten Textzeugen der fortunatianischen Rhetorik noch 20 *recentiores*, von denen ich bisher keinen einzigen gesehen habe. Die meisten von ihnen konnte aber schon Billanovich sicher auf die Abschrift zurückführen, die Giovanni Aurispa 1433 in Köln von **D** angefertigt hatte; drei weitere scheinen ebenfalls von **D** abzustammen, aber nicht über die Vermittlung Aurispas, sondern auf unbekanntem Weg nach Florenz gekommen zu sein.

In diesem kurzen Beitrag soll es aber nicht um die Filiationen der Fortunatianhandschriften gehen; damit möchte ich mich an anderer Stelle ausführlicher beschäftigen. Hier will ich zu diesem Thema nur soviel sagen, daß bereits Billanovich in den meisten Fällen das Richtige gesehen und selbst dort, wo er die Handschriften nicht einsehen konnte, mit erstaunlicher Intuition erfaßt hat. Calboli

² Siehe zuletzt meine *Prolegomena*: Riesenweber 2015, 175–179.

Montefusco hätte gut daran getan, die Ergebnisse des großen Gelehrten in ihrer Ausgabe von 1979 stärker zu würdigen, statt auf so dilettantische Weise den Versuch zu unternehmen, das Rad noch einmal neu zu erfinden: selten habe ich ein Stemma gesehen, das methodisch ein solch vollkommener Blackout ist, wie jenes, das sich auf S. 38 ihrer Edition findet. Warum sie sich durch dieses Stemma berechtigt fühlte, sich im Apparat auf Angaben aus **DBPAO** beschränken zu können, bleibt ihr Geheimnis: **E** hätte eigentlich ständig zitiert werden müssen, taucht aber so gut wie nie im Apparat auf. Aber dazu an anderer Stelle (hoffentlich!) irgendwann mehr.

Der Text ihrer Edition hingegen gilt gemeinhin als gut.³ Trotzdem will ich im folgenden zeigen, daß man ihn an einigen Stellen noch verbessern kann, in der Hoffnung, dem mit dieser Festschrift Geehrten eine kleine Freude zu bereiten. Was mich immer wieder erstaunt hat, ist, daß Calboli Montefusco das Richtige oftmals bereits bei Simon oder Reuter hätte finden können: einige Male habe ich nachträglich festgestellt, daß die beiden verdienten Gelehrten schon vor mir die Problemlösung gefunden hatten (s. z. B. unten Kap. 5 zu 103, 16–18 / 108, 13–16).⁴ Warum Calboli Montefusco sie so oft verworfen

³ So verstehe ich Winterbottom 1983, 339 Anm. 8: „For Fortunatianus, we now have Lucia Calboli Montefusco’s excellent edition (Bologna, 1979)“. Er fügt allerdings berechtigterweise hinzu: „It would be unwise to trust her stemma, however“. Hymnisch zum Text äußert sich Kennedy 1981; auch Schindel 1987, 55 nennt den Text „ohne Zweifel eine sehr erwünschte Verbesserung“.

⁴ Mein *utatur* für überliefertes *ut* in 103, 9 / 108, 5 habe ich ebenso bei Simon 1872, 17 wiedergefunden, wie mein *unde* für *ubi* in 113, 21 / 126, 21 bei Simon 1872, 37. Aber auch sonst hat der Schweinfurter Gymnasialprofessor erstaunlichen Scharfsinn bewiesen. Ich verweise nur auf seine klugen Ausführungen zu 103, 3 f. / 107, 8 f. *nomine, ut Papiarius, Turbo*, wo die beiden Namen nur in **B** und (was Simon noch nicht wissen konnte) **ε** überliefert sind, während **α** *sapiens* bezeugt: Simon 1872, 18 f. gibt zu bedenken, daß *Papiarius* kein Name sei, den man zu Argumentationszwecken heranziehen könne, und verweist auf Quint. *Inst.* 5, 10, 30 *in argumentum raro cadit, nisi cum aut ex causa datum est, ut Sapiens, Magnus, Pius* (*Pius* Zumpt: *plenus AB*: Winterbottom z. St. verweist auf 215, 4 Halm = Victorin. *Comm.* 86, 10); er hält es daher für möglich, daß ursprüngliches *SAPIENSPIVS* in **α** zu *SAPIENS*, in **β** hingegen zu *PAPIRIVS* geworden und *TVRBO* zur Balance dem einzelnen *PAPIRIVS* hinzugefügt worden sein könnte; m. E. ist das eine sehr kluge Lösung, die viel eher einen Platz im Apparat verdient hätte als der meiste handschriftlich überlieferte Müll, der Calboli Montefuscos Apparat zierte. Vor allem anderen aber sollte man die schier übermenschliche Hellsicht würdigen,

hat, verstehe ich nicht; leider ist ihr (verdienstvoller) Kommentar überwiegend an doxographischen Fragen interessiert und übergeht in der Regel die Textkritik.

Ich zitiere den Text Fortunatians nach den Seiten und Zeilen der Ausgabe Halms und der Calboli Montefuscos, getrennt durch einen Schrägstrich. Der Text selbst folgt Calboli Montefusco, den Apparat gebe ich nach meiner eigenen Edition, für die vorläufig (Einzelheiten mögen sich noch ändern) folgende Siglen gelten: $\omega = \alpha\mathbf{B}$; $\alpha = \gamma\mathbf{P}$; $\gamma = \delta\mathbf{D}$; $\delta = \epsilon\zeta$; $\epsilon = \mathbf{AO}$; $\zeta = \mathbf{EF}$; \mathbf{IS} sind wie \mathbf{L} und die meisten Humanistenkopien *descripti* von \mathbf{D} und werden folgerichtig hier vernachlässigt; \mathbf{V} gehört zu α , hat aber vieles ausgelassen und geändert, worüber ich nicht immer Auskunft gebe; \mathbf{B} ist wahrscheinlich die Kurzfassung eines ursprünglich einmal vollständigeren Hyparchetypen β . Zu beachten ist noch, daß \mathbf{O} (und ϵ) m. E. Spuren von Kontamination mit dem \mathbf{B} - bzw. β -Zweig der Überlieferung aufweist.⁶ Das hat zur Folge, daß an den zahlreichen

mit der Simon 1872, 26–28 die bei Halm lückenhaften Kapitel I, 24 und I, 30 aus den anderen *Rhetores Latini Minores*, vor allem Sulpicius Victor und Iulius Victor, rekonstruieren konnte, und zwar *fast wörtlich*, wie es sich später in \mathbf{A} und \mathbf{O} tatsächlich überliefert fand und von Calboli Montefusco gedruckt wurde! Sein *<si semel et> saepius* für überliefertes *serius* in 116, 14 / 131, 18 ist durch *sepius* in \mathbf{O} bestätigt worden. Lächerlich die Angabe Calboli Montefuscos im Apparat: „*saepius scripsi sepius O serius DPA*“ – kein Wort davon, daß Simon ohne Kenntnis von \mathbf{O} das Richtige bereits divinatorisch erreicht hatte! Ganz offen schreibt sie sich Simons *accedit* für überliefertes *accidit* in 130, 7 / 158, 5 zu: Simon 1872, 8 hatte *accedit* mit Verweis auf Quint. *Inst.* 11, 3, 154 gut begründet (auch von dem gründlichen Schindel 1987, 55 übersehen). Evident richtig oder zumindest bedenkenswert sind auch die meisten von Simons Änderungsvorschlägen zur Interpunktion, z. B. 86, 25–27 / 75, 11–14 *Quid si eiusdem* (sc. *uoluntatis est utraque pars*), *hoc est, si unum consilium utriusque partis inuenerimus? Erit unus et ductus ...* statt des überlieferten *quod si ... inuenerimus, erit ...*

⁵ Die Verwandtschaft von \mathbf{AOEF} (= δ) erkennt man z. B. an 95, 30 / 93, 18 *qui seruius fuerat* om. (+ \mathbf{IS}); 113, 9 / 126, 8 *his* om.; 119, 21 / 137, 18 *non utique cum*] *cum non utique*; 120, 4 / 138, 20 *iam* om.; 123, 24 / 146, 13 *non*] *nam*; 124, 8 / 147, 10 *quasi* om.; 131, 10 / 160, 9 *concidat*] *considat*. Zweifellos gehört \mathbf{A} zu den Handschriften um \mathbf{D} , weil sich dort (aber nicht in \mathbf{O} !) die auffällige Blattvertauschung von \mathbf{D} (130, 27 – 131, 29 / 159, 12 – 161, 16 vertauscht mit 132, 1–20 / 161, 17 – 163, 6) wiederfindet.

⁶ Übereinstimmung im Richtigen z. B.: 88, 24 / 79, 3 *ad formam* $\epsilon\mathbf{B}$: *formae* $\mathbf{DP}\zeta$; 89, 20 / 80, 19 *seruanda* $\epsilon\mathbf{B}$: *secum* \mathbf{DP} : *secundum* ζ ; 91, 34 /

Stellen, an denen der **B**-Redaktor seine **β**-Vorlage gekürzt hat, **A** und vor allem **O** eine besondere Bedeutung zukommt, weil die beiden Handschriften eine **β**-Lesart bewahrt haben könnten, die in **B** der Kürzung zum Opfer gefallen ist.

1.

89, 16–20 / 80, 14–19

Haec genera propter quid consideramus? Propter modum actionis et genus elocutionis. Vbi ea inuenimus? In personis et rebus. Nam si persona uel res moralis sit, erit ethicon, si indigna et atrox, patheticon, si argumentis adprobanda, apodicticon, si non preferenda, sed cum summa dubitatione seruanda, diaporeticon.

haec **α** : haec ergo **B** quid consideramus propter *om.* **B** ubi ea inuenimus *om.* **B** rebus **α** : rebus inuenimus **B** moralis **B** : miseranda **α** et atrox **B** : atrox **α** non *om.* *Pithou* cum *om.* **B** seruanda **Βε** : secum **DP** : secundum ζ : *om.* *Pithou*

Hier werden noch einmal die im Laufe des Kapitels I, 11 besprochenen *genera* (sie entsprechen den *causarum species* bei Sulp. *Rhet.* 316, 3–22 Halm) rekapituliert.⁷ Das *genus diaporeticon* war 89, 9 f. / 80, 5 f. umschrieben worden mit den Worten *in quo addubitatio est nec quicquam certi affertur*. Merkwürdig ist, daß diese Beschreibung, vor allem das *nec quicquam certi afferre* ‘nichts Sicheres beibringen’, an der hier verhandelten Stelle zu *non proferre* ‘überhaupt nicht vorbringen’⁸ gesteigert wird. Auch *Pithou* scheint an dieser Textgestaltung Anstoß genommen zu haben, weil er *non* gestrichen hat. Aber sein Vorschlag *si preferenda, sed cum*

86, 3 *quando ita definimus ut* **εB** : *qua* **DPζ**; 94, 16 / 91, 3 *nos* **εB** : *non* **DPζ**; 94, 18 / 91, 5 f. *quem ad modum ... rogatio id* **εB** : *om.* **DPζ**; 97, 12 / 96, 13 *numeri* **εB** : *numerus* **DPζ**; 98, 32 / 99, 3 C. M. *et hic et alibi* **εB** : *om.* **DPζ**; 103, 6 / 107, 11 f. *magistratus* **εB** : *magnus* **DPζ**; 123, 14 / 146, 2 *quadriremem* **εB** : *quadri remigem* **DPζ**. Nur selten findet sich ein Bindefehler: 96, 35 / 95, 23 *qualitatum*] *quantitatum* **εB**.

⁷ Zur Sache s. Reuter 1893, 79 f.; Calboli Montefusco z. St.

⁸ „Non svelare“ übersetzt Calboli Montefusco 1979, 183.

summa dubitatione befremdet seinerseits, weil das korrigierende *sed* hier schlecht motiviert ist: warum hätte Fortunatian nicht analog zum *genus apodicticon* etwas wie *si cum summa dubitatione proferenda* schreiben sollen? Pithou gibt dem selbstverständlichen *proferenda* durch seine Textgestaltung zuviel Gewicht. Ob vielleicht *non <pro certo> proferenda* herzustellen ist? Es hätte durch Augensprung leicht verlorengehen können. Wie ich nachträglich gesehen habe, hatte schon Simon 1872, 12 die Ergänzung von *pro certa* vorgeschlagen; aber es scheint idiomatischer zu sein, *pro certo* zu schreiben.⁹

Ist *seruanda* mit Pithou zu streichen? Das Fehlen bei Pithou erklärt sich wohl dadurch, daß die *editio princeps* mit **DP** statt *seruanda* das völlig unverständliche *secum* las, was Pithou einfach weggelassen haben dürfte, weil er mit ihm nichts anzufangen wußte. Jedenfalls wird man es kaum adnominal zu *summa (ad)dubitatio* stellen, auch wenn *dubitare* gelegentlich durch *secum* ergänzt wird.¹⁰ Vermutlich ist *secum* eine Variante zu *sed cum*, die hier irrtümlich in den Text eingedrungen ist. Könnte dieses *secum* in **Bε** zu *seruanda* verschlimmbessert worden sein? Dann wäre *seruanda* zu tilgen. Vielleicht also mit Pithou: ‘Wenn über die Sache nicht mit Gewißheit, sondern mit größtem Zweifel vorgetragen werden muß, handelt es sich um das *genus diaporeticon*’. Aber der Rhythmus (*ad*)*dubitatiōnē sēruānda* spricht ein bißchen für die Fassung von **Bε**, auch wenn dieses Kriterium bei dem späten Kompilator Fortunatian nicht entscheidend sein darf. Könnte *seruare* hier soviel wie *obseruare* ‘(vorsichtig) betrachten’ (*OLD* 1747 s. v. *seruo* 2c „to examine closely, observe“) bedeuten? ‘Wenn die Sache nicht mit Gewißheit vorzutragen, sondern mit größtem Zweifel zu betrachten ist, handelt es sich um das *genus diaporeticon*’.¹¹

⁹ Attraktiv ist auch Simons *summa addubitatione*, das leicht durch Haplographie zu *dubitatione* werden konnte. Fortunatian hatte *addubitatio* schon kurz vorher zweimal verwendet (89, 9 / 80, 5; 89, 15 / 80, 13).

¹⁰ Z. B. Cic. *Off.* 1, 118; [Quint.] *Decl. mai.* 12, 4.

¹¹ Dieser Bedeutung gebührt wohl der Vorzug vor ‘(in einem Zustand) halten’ (6 a „to preserve or cause to continue [in a given condition, etc.]“): man würde eher *in dubitatione* erwarten wie Cic. har. 29 *Pessinuntem ... ut in pristina religione seruaret*. Ebenso wenig paßte wohl eine Bedeutung wie *reseruare* ‘zurückhalten’ (8b „to put away“), was sich fast ausschließlich auf die Aufbewahrung von Vorräten für die spätere Nutzung beschränkt, also nicht hierher gehört.

Die Wahl zwischen *moralis* und *miseranda* fällt nicht leicht: *moralis* wäre Übersetzung von *ethicon* und griffe 88, 28 f. / 79, 7 f. (*ethicum genus*) *in quo moralitas quaedam est, id est ubi mores hominum considerantur* auf. Es könnte also durchaus richtig sein.¹² Andererseits findet sich auch von der allgemeineren Definition des *patheticum genus* 88, 32 – 89, 2 / 79, 12 f. *in quo motus est animi et uis quaedam et impetus mentis, ut sunt tragoediae* an der späteren Stelle 89, 17–20 / 80, 16–19 keine Spur mehr, sondern lediglich der exemplarische Fall *si indigna et atrox*. Fortunatian könnte also auch beim *ethicum genus* variiert und beispielhaft eine bemitleidenswerte Person oder Sache (*miseranda*) genannt haben. Auch die Frage *utrum erat in alterum abiturum* ist m. E. bei *moralis* schwerer zu beantworten als bei *miseranda*: *moralis* verschreibt sich nicht leicht zu *miseranda*. Aber wer sollte letzteres hier interpoliert haben? Umgekehrt mag *moralis* Glosse zu *ethicon* sein, die das ursprüngliche *miseranda* verdrängt haben könnte.

2.

89, 21–25 / 81, 3–8

Quid est status? Quo consistit controuersia. Quomodo eum inuenimus? Ex intentione et depulsione sicut asystatas uel consistentes uidemus. Quomodo una cogitatione tot res simul inuenimus? Quoniam haec consistunt, quae habent statum. Quot sunt genera statuum? Duo, rationale et legale.

quid ... controuersia] status quid est quo consistit controuersia post 89, 25 / 81, 8 legale transp. **V** quid est status **a** : status est modus **B** consistit **a** : constat **B** quomodo eum ... habent statum *om.* **V** quomodo eum inuenimus ex intentione et depulsione sicut asystatas uel consistentes uidemus **ε** : ex intentione et depulsione inuentus sicut asystatas uel consistentes uidemus **B** : *om.* **DζP** quomodo ... habent statum **a** : *om.* **B** quot sunt genera statuum duo **a** : statuum genera duo sunt **B**

¹² So mit großem Nachdruck Reuter 1889, 178: „Gewiss ist *moralis* richtig. Denn nach der Erklärung 88, 32 – 89, 1 fällt eine *res miseranda* unter das *patheticum genus*, da dies diejenigen Fälle umfasst, in welchen mit Affecten gewirkt wird. Zum *ethicon* aber gehört sie nicht. Eine *res moralis* hingegen passt zu demselben“.

Komische Dinge sind hier passiert: während in **α** der Abschnitt *quomodo ... uidemus* ausgefallen zu sein scheint, ist in **B** *quomodo ... habent statum* verlorengegangen, in **V** fehlt beides, und die definitivische Eingangsfrage *quid est status? Quo consistit controuersia* wurde dort hinter *rationale et legale* versprengt. Halm druckte nur *quomodo ... habent statum* und verbannte den 'Überschuß' der Handschrift **B** in den Apparat. Simon 1872, 12 war der Ansicht, daß „die ziemlich unverständlichen Worte“ *quomodo ... habent statum* „eine verirrte und vielleicht auch entstellte Randbemerkung“ seien. Allerdings findet sich die Kombination *Quomodo ...? Quoniam ...* bei Fortunatian häufiger,¹³ was m. E. für die Echtheit sprechen könnte, auch wenn ich mich in dieser Frage (zumal vor dem Hintergrund der gleich unter Nr. 3 zu besprechenden Dublette) noch nicht entschieden habe.

Echt scheint mir aber auf jeden Fall das nur in **εB** erhaltene Stück *quomodo ... uidemus* zu sein. Denn einerseits zitiert es gewissermaßen 82, 2 / 67, 2 f. *Hoc (sc. an consistat controuersia) quomodo inuenimus? Ex intentione et depulsione*; andererseits scheint das folgende, nur in **α** erhaltene Stück *quomodo ... habent statum* auf *quomodo ... uidemus* Bezug zu nehmen: die Frage, wie man mit einer Überlegung (*una cogitatione*), nämlich der Frage nach *intentio* und *depulsio*, so viele Dinge (d. h. sowohl die *asystata* als auch die *status*) klären könne, setzt im Grunde die Frage *Quomodo eum inuenimus?* und die Antwort *consistentes sicut asystatas* voraus. Der in **α** fehlende Abschnitt könnte durch Augensprung von *quomodo* zu *quomodo* ausgefallen, der Verlust von *quomodo ... habent statum* auf die generelle Kürzungstendenz in **B** zurückzuführen sein.

Ist die von Calboli Montefusco abgedruckte Kombination aus **α** und **B** hier also möglicherweise richtig, habe ich Zweifel an dem von **εB** überlieferten *uidemus*: wie in 82, 2 / 67, 2 f. *Hoc quomodo inuenimus? Ex intentione et depulsione* verlangt die Frage, wie man etwas findet, die Herkunftsangabe mit *ex*, aber ohne den Zusatz einer Form von *uidere*. Ich schlage vor, *uidemus* zu athetieren: 'Wie finden wir die *status*? Durch Anklage und Abwehr,

¹³ Simon selbst verweist auf 95, 7 / 92, 10; 95, 13 / 92, 17; 95, 17 / 92, 23; 95, 23 / 93, 8; 95, 29 / 93, 16. Zwar wird dort immer auf die Frage *Quomodo hic supernascitur qualitas qualitati?* mit *Quoniam* geantwortet, aber es findet sich auch anderes Beispiel: 100, 2 / 101, 11 *Quomodo hic per abundantiam fit ambiguitas? Quoniam si tollas ...*

wie weiter oben die (Kontroversen) ohne *status*, so hier auch¹⁴ die mit *status*. Wie können wir durch eine einzige Überlegung so viele Dinge zugleich herausfinden? Weil diejenigen Streitfälle fest stehen, die einen *status* haben’.

3.

90, 22–26 / 83, 4–9

Cum de uoluntate quaeritur, quemadmodum fit? Vt: ‘Luxoriosus adulescens nocte a meretricis domo expulsus cereum ardentem ante fores meretricis abiecit. Domus arsit. Agit cum eo damni illati, arguit eum ut restituat’. Hic enim et de persona et de facto constat, sed tantummodo quaeritur qua id fecerit uoluntate.

a meretricis **α** : a meretrice **B** ardentem *om.* **B** agit cum eo damni illati arguit eum ut restituat **A** : arguit eum ut restituat **Dζ** : arguit eum ut domum restituat **P** : agit cum eo damni illati **BO** : agit cum eo ut restituat *Halm* : *om.* **V** et de facto constat **α** : constat et de facto **B** qua **D^{pr}δB** : quia **D^{ar}P**

Calboli Montefusco hat in ihrem Kommentar zu dieser Stelle eine Reihe von Belegen für diesen Genetiv *damni illati* oder *dati* gegeben, aber die Textfassung von **A** abzudrucken war keine gute Idee: weder ist es bei ihrem Phantasiestemma leicht erklärbar, wie **A** als einzige Handschrift das Richtige hätte bewahren können; noch viel schwieriger wird es, wenn wir **A** zum *gemellus* von **O** machen¹⁵ und den Weg zum Archetypen über (mindestens) vier Zwischenstufen laufen lassen (**ε**, **δ**, **γ**, **α**), in denen stets die **A**-Fassung erhalten geblieben, aber in allen anderen Abschriften, die nicht zu **A** führten,

¹⁴ Zu *uel* ~ *et* oder *etiam* s. Hofm.–Sz. 502.

¹⁵ Die Verwandtschaft von **AO** steht außerhalb jeden Zweifels, ich nenne hier nur ganz wenige manifeste Bindefehler, die sich leicht vermehren ließen: 96, 9 / 94, 13 *orbae*] *orbe nuptias*; 97, 20 / 96, 24 *qualitatum*] *quantitatum*; 98, 8 / 97, 21 *quemadmodum*] *quomodo*; 99, 19 / 100, 17 *modo obscuro om.*; 104, 24 / 110, 18 *impotenter*] *impudenter*; 120, 12 / 139, 9 f. *ubicumque*] *ubi*; 123, 16 / 146, 5 *accommodata*] *accomodanda*; 123, 25 / 146, 14 *sed om.*; 131, 9 / 160, 7 *desinendo*] *desidendo*. Siehe auch oben Anm. 5.

mehrfach unabhängig verlorengegangen sein muß: ein völlig abwegiges Szenario. Es handelt sich bei der Doppelung *agit cum eo ... arguit eum ...* m. E. um eine manifeste Dublette, zweifellos ein weiteres Indiz für die Kontamination von ϵ mit dem β -Zweig der Überlieferung. Die Frage ist nur: welche der beiden Fassungen ist aus der anderen entstanden? Schaut man sich den Kontext an, so kann nur *agit cum eo damni illati* richtig sein: es geht darum, ob es die Absicht des Angeklagten war, den Besitz der Prostituierten zu beschädigen. Im übrigen scheint die Konstruktion *arguere aliquem ut* singular.¹⁶

Schließlich: Ich will nicht bestreiten, daß sich vereinzelt Belege für die Verbindung von separativem *domo* mit der Präposition *a* finden,¹⁷ aber die übliche Ausdrucksweise ist gewiß die ohne Präposition, zumal in Verbindung mit *expulsus*.¹⁸ M. E. hat Halm zu Recht die **B**-Variante *a meretrice* aufgenommen.

4.

99, 29 – 100, 5 / 101, 8–14

Per abundantiam quemadmodum (sc. fit ambiguitas)? Vt: 'MERETRIX AVRATA VESTE NE VTATVR; SI VSA FVERIT, PVBLICETVR. Meretrix aurata ueste usa est; quaestio est quae debeat publicari, ipsa an uestis eius'. Quomodo hic per abundantiam fit ambiguitas? Quoniam si tollas NE VTATVR, ita legem ponas: MERETRIX AVRATA VESTE SI VSA FVERIT PVBLICETVR, incipiet publicatio ad meretrices pertinere.

quomodo ... 100, 8 / 101, 17 eligere *om.* **B** ita ... publicetur *om.* **O**, *prob. Simon* ita α : <et> ita *Aldus*: <ut> ita *Simon dub.*: *desunt* **BO**

Wer die scharfsinnigen Ausführungen Simons liest, taucht ein in eine andere Zeit, als die Klassischen Philologen noch keinerlei Skrupel kannten, allerlei Glossen in den überlieferten Texten zu identifizieren und ihre Tilgung zu fordern. Gewiß, das 20. Jahrhundert ist hier vorsichtiger geworden, und das 21. denkt über solche Dinge nicht mehr

¹⁶ Richtig bereits Reuter 1889, 178 f.

¹⁷ Einschlägig Kühn.–Stegm. I, 482–484; *ThLL* V 1962, 55–62.

¹⁸ Cic. *S. Rosc.* 27; *Fam.* 1, 9, 5; *Caes. Civ.* 3, 32, 4; vgl. auch Eugraph. *Ter. Eun.* p. 94, 2 sq. Wessner *adulescens ... expulsus a meretrice*.

nach. Ich will auch gar nicht zurück ins 19. Jahrhundert, gebe nur zu bedenken, daß einige der Athetesen Simons ganz vorzüglich sind und einen Platz im Apparat verdient hätten.¹⁹ Auch wird man ihm zustimmen, daß Fortunatian nicht zur *uerbositas* neigt, sondern sich, wann immer möglich, extrem kurz faßt, oft bis an die Grenzen der Verständlichkeit. Um so auffälliger ist die oben abgedruckte Stelle, weil es jedem klar sein mußte, wie das Gesetz lauten würde, wenn man *NE VTATVR* entfernte; und trotzdem wird noch einmal ganz pedantisch und in aller Breite der Wortlaut des schon einmal zitierten Gesetzes, nur eben diesmal ohne *NE VTATVR*, vorgestellt, noch dazu in Asyndese angefügt. Letzteres erschien bereits Aldus (1523) so anstößig, daß er *et* vor *ita* ergänzte. Simon 1872, 16 selbst gab auch *ut ita* zu erwägen, doch kam ihm das schließlich vor wie bloßes Kurieren am Symptom, so daß er beherzt zum Skalpell griff und *ita ... PVBLICETVR* athetierte. Das ist gewiß ein starker Eingriff. Ich möchte allerdings zu bedenken geben, daß **B**, also nach meiner Ansicht die Hälfte der Überlieferung, an dieser Stelle nicht zur Verfügung steht, weil der Schreiber, Redaktor oder Exzerptor, der für die Textgestalt von **B** verantwortlich ist, den ganzen Abschnitt 100, 2–8 / 101, 11–17 *quomodo ... eligere* herausgekürzt hat. Das heißt, daß wir nur über den α -Zweig der Überlieferung verfügen, nicht über den **B**- bzw. β -Zweig. In einem solchen Fall aber müssen die **O**- und ε -Varianten aufgewertet werden, da sie als mehr oder weniger stark mit β kontaminierte α -Handschriften durchaus die β -Fassung repräsentieren könnten. Immer wenn **B** fehlt, sollten also Varianten von **O** und (seltener) **A** in den Apparat aufgenommen werden, obwohl sie normalerweise, wenn das Stemma nicht kontaminiert wäre, eliminiert werden müßten. Da Calboli Montefusco ihre fünf Handschriften **DBPAO** ohnehin immer zitiert, entsteht dem Benutzer ihrer Ausgabe kein Schaden; in diesem Fall aber hätte man durchaus einmal erwähnen dürfen, daß Simon durch Athetese den Text hergestellt hatte, den **O** überliefert. Freilich ist man hin- und hergerissen, da *ita ... PVBLICETVR* in **O** auch durch Augensprung von *ne utatur* zu *publicetur* hätte verlorengehen können; auch ist die

¹⁹ In den Text gehört auf jeden Fall die Tilgung von 99, 27 f. / 101, 6 *amicus meus*, die Simon 1872, 16 gefordert hat: die Worte lassen sich nicht vernünftig konstruieren, ja, sie ruinieren das ganze Beispiel und fehlen an den Parallelstellen Mart. Cap. 5, 462 und Grill. p. 78, 94 Jakobi; vgl. auch Hermag. *Stas.* p. 42, 1 sq. Rabe.

Einfügung von *et* oder *ut* vor *ita* keine große Sache. Mindestens eine Erwähnung im Apparat hätte Simons Scharfsinn aber verdient!

Ebenso sollte man hervorheben, daß Simon 1872, 22 das Stück 120, 23 / 141, 3 *id est utilitatis*, das in **α** hinter *naturalis*, in **B** hinter *artificialis* überliefert ist, als Glossem tilgen wollte, da vom Nutzen des *ordo artificialis* erst im folgenden die Rede ist. Die Wörter fehlen auch in **O**. Ferner forderte er, das Fragezeichen 120, 25 / 141, 6 hinter *occurrerit* zu setzen, nicht hinter *utilitatis*. Hinter *occurrerit* findet sich das Fragezeichen auch in **Bζ**. Schließlich wird seine Athetese von 133, 26 / 165, 16 *qualis esse debet* (Simon 1872, 24) durch das Fehlen dieser Worte in **B** gestützt.²⁰

5.

103, 16–18 / 108, 13–16

In re quid consideramus? *thema*. *Consideratio* thematis multiformis est, in qua uidebimus quae sit et qualis, quae quasi publica est omnium circumstantiarum.

quid consideramus thesin **α** : thesin consideramus **B** *thema Calboli Montefusco* : tesi **DP** : thesin **Bζ** : thesi **ε** *consideratio δ* : *consideratione DP* : *res in consideratione B* *publica est α* : *publica sit B*

Hier geht es im Zusammenhang um die *circumstantiae*, genauer gesagt den zweiten der insgesamt sieben Punkte (*persona, res, causa, tempus, locus, modus, materia*), nach denen Fortunatian zufolge die *tota materia* untersucht werden muß: die Sache, d. h. den Tathergang, der vom Deklamationslehrer durch das Thema vorgegeben ist. Calboli Montefusco hat deshalb *thema* für das überlieferte *thesi(n)* durch Konjekturen hergestellt, aber etwas anderes scheint sie mir nicht richtig erfaßt zu haben: das von den Herausgebern seit der *editio princeps* abgedruckte *consideratio* ist schwach bezeugt: die ältesten Handschriften **DPB** stimmen in seltener Eintracht darin überein, daß sie den Ablativ *consideratione* überliefern, **B** schickt noch *res in* voraus, das in **DP** fehlt. Angenommen, die Vorlage des Archetyps

²⁰ Allerdings hat **P** nicht, wie Simon meint, *ceruix et ipsa qualis esse debet recta* statt *ceruix qualis esse debet et ipsa recta*, sondern *ceruix et ipsa qualis esse debet et ipsa recta*.

hätte schon *thesin* bezeugt, dann wäre der Ausfall des nur in **B** überlieferten *res in* im α -Zweig der Überlieferung leicht durch Augensprung zu erklären: *THESINRESIN*. Das Stemma legt jedenfalls nahe, daß der Archetyp *res in consideratione* bot; der Nominativ *consideratio* in δ ist ein lahmer Emendationsversuch, der sich nach Ausfall von *res in* geradezu aufdrängen mußte. Ich bin jedenfalls überzeugt, daß **B** das Richtige bewahrt hat; alles Nötige hat dazu bereits Reuter 1889, 180 geschrieben: *res* als Subjekt zu *multiformis* würde besser durch das folgende *in qua uidebimus quae sit* (sc. *res*) *et qualis, quae quasi publica est omnium circumstantiarum* fortgeführt als *consideratio*. Entscheidend ist aber die schon von Reuter angeführte Stelle 104, 28 f. / 111, 1 f. (*materia*) *multiformis est, sicuti rem esse diximus*, was auf die hier verhandelte Stelle zurückverweist. Zu *in consideratione thematis* vgl. auch 105, 1 / 111, 7 *post considerationem thematis*.

Ob Calboli Montefuscos Konjektur *thema* für das überlieferte *thesi(n)* richtig ist, vermag ich nicht mit letzter Gewißheit zu sagen: der Sprachgebrauch Fortunatians spricht aber zweifellos dafür.²¹ Möglich, daß *thema* durch Influenz des folgenden *res in* erst zu *thesin* verschrieben wurde. Wenn *thesi(n)* falsch ist, dann handelt es sich jedenfalls um einen alten Fehler, weil er den Ausfall von *res in* in α nach sich gezogen hat.²²

6.

104,12 f. / 110,3

(modos temporis inuenimus modo) aut naturali, ut die, nocte; aut legitimo uel statiuo, ut festo, nefasto.

²¹ Wer gegen die Konjektur *thema* nur vorbringen kann, daß beim überlieferten *thesin* eine *lectio difficilior* vorliege (so Kennedy 1981, 396), sollte sich zu textkritischen Fragen besser gar nicht äußern.

²² Denkbar wäre, daß *thesin* überhaupt erst durch eine Art Dittographie von *res in* zustandegekommen ist: dann könnte man erwägen, *in re quid consideramus? Res in consideratione thematis multiformis est* etc. zu schreiben. Dagegen spricht aber der Brauch Fortunatians, auf die Frage *quid consideramus* mit einem Akkusativ zu antworten: 102, 21 f. / 107, 1 f. *reperito statu quid consideramus? Totam materiam per septem circumstantias*. 108, 22 / 118, 5 f. *post diuisam materiam quid consideramus? Partes orationis*. Vgl. auch 89, 16 f. / 80, 14 f. *haec genera propter quid consideramus? Propter modum actionis et genus elocutionis*.

Ich wundere mich über den *dies festus*, der einen den Göttern geweihten ‘Festtag’ bezeichnet,²³ keinen Tag, an dem „si può agire in pubblico“, wie Calboli Montefusco 1979, 205 übersetzt. Was sie meint, ist der *dies fastus*, der in der Tat den Gegenbegriff zum *dies nefastus* darstellt, wie die Nacht zum Tage.²⁴ Das wußte schon Varr. *Ling. Lat.* 6, 29 f. *dies fasti, per quos praetoribus omnia uerba sine piaculo licet fari. ... contrarii horum uocantur dies nefasti, per quos dies nefas fari praetorem ‘do dico addico’; itaque non potest agi: necesse est aliquo uti uerbo, cum lege qui<d> peragitur.*²⁵ Wichtig ist ferner das Zeugnis des Serv. *Verg. Aen.* 12, 779 *sacro profanum contrarium, ut festo profestum, fasto nefastum*. Gegenbegriffe sind *dies fasti* und *dies nefasti* auch Prisc. *Gramm.* III, 486, 20 f. Keil (*fas*) *ex quo fasti et nefasti dies et fasti τὰ ἡμερολογία*. Da an den *dies fasti* im Gegensatz zu den *dies nefasti*, aber auch zu den *dies festi*, Gerichtstage stattfanden, konnte Isidor die *dies fasti* geradezu zum Gegensatz der *dies festi* erklären: Isid. *Orig.* 6, 18, 1 *festiuitas dicta a festis diebus quasi festiditas eo, quod in eis sola res diuina fit; quibus contrarii sunt fasti, in quibus ius fatur, id est dicitur*. Dieselbe Antithetik von ‘religiös erlaubt’ und ‘religiös verboten’ liegt auch der inhaltlich parallelen Stelle [Aug.] *Rhet.* 8 *quando temporis significationem habet, uelut ‘interdiu an noctu, sacro an inreligioso die’* zugrunde.

Liegt hier etwa ein weiterer Beleg für eine Vertauschung von *fastus* und *festus* vor, wofür *ThLL* VI₁ 626, 39–41 zwei Beispiele angeführt werden? Aber Paul. *Fest.* p. 87 Müller (= p. 78, 4 sq. Lindsay) *fastorum libri appellantur, in quibus totius anni fit descriptio. Fasti enim dies festi sunt* liegt vermutlich ein Mißverständnis vor, denn derselbe kann p. 93 Müller (= p. 83, 6 sq. Lindsay) durchaus die Antithetik von *fastus* und *nefastus* hervorheben: *fastis diebus †iocunda†²⁶ fari licebat, nefastis quaedam non licebat fari*. Und beim zweiten Beispiel Iord. *Rom.* 95 *Numa festos dies nefastosque descripsit* liegt ein wörtliches Zitat aus Florus 1, 1 vor, wo aber die Handschriften *fastos* überliefern; letztlich dürfte

²³ Vgl. Macr. *Sat.* 1, 16, 2 (*dies*) *festi dis dicati sunt, profesti hominibus ob administrandam rem priuatam publicamque concessi*.

²⁴ Grundlegend Rüpke 1995, zur Etymologie 470; ferner 1998, 435.

²⁵ Vgl. Ov. *Fast.* 1, 45–52; Suet. *frg.* p. 154 sq. Reifferscheid.

²⁶ *cuncta* Huschke : *iudicia* Rüpke 1995, 270 Anm. 86.

die Stelle auf Liv. 1, 19, 7 (*Numa*) *nefastos dies fastosque fecit* zurückgehen.

Zwar schreibt Cicero in ähnlichem Zusammenhang *Inv.* 1, 40 *publicum est, quod ciuitas uniuersa aliqua de causa frequentat, ut ludi, dies festus, bellum* (ähnlich Victorin. *Comm.* 99, 26 f.), aber die Stelle ist mit der hier verhandelten nicht vergleichbar, da dort ein Gegenbegriff nicht gesucht ist. Vielleicht schreibt man bei Fortunatian besser *fasto, nefasto*.

7.

105, 26–30 / 113, 3–8

Relatio quot modis diuiditur? Vndecim ... Quibus? A summo ad imum ... Qui sunt alii loci? A refutatione adsumptionis ...

quibus **a** : a quibus **B**

Quot modis verbindet Fortunatian normalerweise mit *feri*, nicht mit *diuidi*: es gibt 23 Belege für diese Konstruktion,²⁷ alle anderen Fälle begegnen ein- bis viermal.²⁸ Davon ist allenfalls 102, 1 / 105, 6 *quot modis diuidemus* für uns von Interesse; doch geht es dort nicht um die *diuisio* im technischen Sinne, also um die Einteilung in verschiedene τόποι, sondern lediglich um die Gliederung des Materials: *comparatiuas materias quot modis diuidemus?* Zum technischen *diuidi* gesellt sich nämlich stets *quot locis*, nicht *quot modis*: dafür gibt es 17 Belege,²⁹ alle anderen Konstruktionen können vernachlässigt

²⁷ 82, 15 / 67, 18; 87, 10 / 76, 14; 90, 3 / 82, 1; 91, 7 / 84, 7; 92, 14 / 87, 3; 92, 19 / 87, 10; 93, 20 / 89, 12; 93, 32 / 90, 5; 94, 17 / 91, 4; 94, 18 / 91, 6 f.; 94, 19 / 91, 18; 94, 19 f. / 91, 19; 95, 3 / 92, 5; 95, 32 f. / 94, 1; 96, 34 / 95, 21; 97, 11 / 96, 12; 97, 30 / 97, 11; 97, 32 / 97, 13; 98, 30 / 98, 26; 99, 1 / 99, 6; 99, 11 / 99, 20; 99, 18 / 100, 16; 100, 11 / 101, 21.

²⁸ *Quot modis occurrimus*: 98, 33 / 99, 4; 105, 17 / 112, 11 f.; *quot modis diuidemus*: 102, 1 / 105, 6; *quot modis consideratur* (oder *consideramus*): 103, 3 / 107, 8; 104, 10 / 109, 21; 104, 18 f. / 110, 10 f.; 107, 22 / 116, 11; *quot modis (principalibus) (in)ducuntur*: 109, 19 / 119, 22; 109, 20 / 119, 23; 117, 8 / 133, 8 f.; *quot modis imminuimus*: 118, 4 / 134, 24; *quot modis struimus*: 127, 14 / 153, 3.

²⁹ 105, 9 / 112, 1; 105, 20 / 112, 15; 106, 5 f. / 113, 16 f.; 106, 20 / 114, 14; 106, 28 / 114, 25; 106, 30 / 115, 2 f.; 106, 33 / 115, 6; 107, 3 f. / 115, 13 f.;

werden.³⁰ Der Sprachgebrauch Fortunatians spricht also dafür, daß er hier im Bereich der technischen *diuisio* im Sinne einer Einteilung der *status* in ihre verschiedenen *loci* nicht *relatio quot modis diuiditur?* geschrieben hat, sondern *relatio quot locis diuiditur?* Nach der Aufzählung der elf *loci* fragt der *discipulus* folgerichtig weiter: ‘Welche anderen *loci* gibt es noch (außer den schon erwähnten elf)?’

8.

118, 24–28 / 135, 23 – 136, 5

Quid ratiocinatio? Quo aliquid adprobamus. Hoc Graeci quid uocant? Ἐνθύμημα, quod differt a syllogismo, quod syllogismus philosophorum est, enthymema rhetorum; item syllogismus alte habet probationem, enthymema ex proximo; item quod syllogismus plenus est omnibus partibus probationis, enthymema non omnibus.

deest **B** quo] qua Mantegatius hoc Graeci quid uocant Ἐνθύμημα om. Pithou quod differt **D** : quo differt **Pε** : quo differunt ζ a syllogismo quod **O** : a se **α** philosophorum est **O** : philosophorum et **α**

Hoc Graeci quid uocant? Ἐνθύμημα fehlt bei Pithou und ist von Simon 1872, 22 getilgt worden, weil der griechische Terminus für die *ratiocinatio* bereits 118, 11 / 135, 7 erwähnt worden sei. Aber *Hoc / Id Graeci quid uocant?* ist eine typisch fortunatianische Frage³¹ und sollte besser nicht angetastet werden.

Schwieriger ist das Folgende. Halm schrieb: *Hoc Graeci quid uocant? Enthymema. Quo differt a se syllogismus philosophorum et enthymema rhetorum? Syllogismus alte habet proba-*

107, 7 f. / 115, 18 f.; 107, 10 f. / 115, 22 f.; 107, 14 / 115, 26; 107, 16 / 116, 3; 107, 19 / 116, 7; 107, 31 / 116, 23; 108, 7 / 117, 8; 108, 11 / 117, 13; 108, 18 / 117, 22.

³⁰ *Quot locis fit*: 105, 23 / 112, 19; *quot locis (principalibus) tractatur*: 115, 16 / 130, 6; *quibus locis diuiditur*: 106, 23 / 114, 18.

³¹ 81, 16 / 66, 9 f.; 81, 18 / 66, 11 f.; 81, 19 / 66, 13; 82, 3 f. / 67, 5; 82, 5 / 67, 6 f. und weitere ähnliche Formulierungen.

tionem, enthymema ex proximo, d. h. er folgte mit *quo differt a se* **Pe** und ließ mit den frühen Drucken und **E** *item* vor *sylogismus* aus; im Apparat empfahl er mit Capperonnier das seit der *editio princeps* gedruckte *differunt* (es findet sich handschriftlich nur in ζ bezeugt), das erst von Pithou zu *differt* geändert worden war. Die Eingriffe wären gewiß nicht gewaltsam, aber die Antwort *Sylogismus alte habet* usw. ist nach der Frage *Quo differt?* befremdlich: Fortunatian antwortet auf die Frage *Quo differt?* immer mit dem faktischen *quod*: 83, 22 f. / 69, 22–24; 84, 12 f. / 71, 6 f.; 86, 31–33 / 75, 19–21; 109, 15–18 / 119, 16–21; 113, 25–30 / 127, 2–8;³² 115, 10–12 / 129, 19 – 130, 1.³³ Einzige Ausnahme wäre 118, 6 f. / 135, 1 f. *Quo differt hypophora ab anthyphora? Hypophora est intentio aduersae partis, anthyphora responsio eius*, wo ich vorschlagen möchte, <quod> *hypophora est intentio* zu schreiben.

Nicht minder problematisch ist die Textgestaltung Calboli Montefuscos. Zwar hat sie m. E. richtig erkannt, daß **O** hier mit *a sylogismo quod* den korrekten Text gegen **a** bewahrt hat. *Quod* vor *sylogismus philosophorum* scheint auch in der Vorlage von **B** gestanden zu haben, ist also vermutlich Überlieferungsgut des **β**-Zweiges; in **B** ist zwar der Abschnitt 115, 2 f. / 129, 10 – 118, 28 / 135, 5 im wesentlichen den Kürzungen des Redaktors zum Opfer gefallen, doch findet sich statt dessen folgende knappe Zusammenfassung:

Est enim epichirema latior exsecutio. In epichiremate quippe possumus inducere locos communes et exempla et prosopopeias. Argumentorum genera duo sunt, ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗ, id est inductio, et enthymema, id est ratiocinatio, quo aliquid approbamus. Inter ΕΝΘΥΜΕΜΑ et sillogismus hoc interest, **q u o d** e n t h i m e m a r h e t h o r u m, sillogismus philosophorum et quod sillogismus plenus est omnibus partibus probationis, enthymema autem ex proximo non omnibus.

³² Calboli Montefusco druckt 113, 28 / 127, 5 irrtümlich *quo*, obwohl **a** das richtige *quod* überliefert (**B** fehlt).

³³ Ebenso *Quid interest inter X et Y? Quod X hoc, Y illud etc.*: 86, 17–20 / 75, 1–5; 89, 25–28 / 81, 9–11; 98, 23 f. / 98, 23–25. Einzige Ausnahme wäre 84, 24–26 / 71, 21 – 72, 2 *Quid interest inter ductum et modum? Ductus est totius orationis, modus uero partis alicuius in oratione*, wo man m. E. erwägen sollte, *quod* vor *ductus* zu ergänzen.

Lag also Calboli Montefusco in diesem Punkt m. E. richtig, so hat die von ihr vorgeschlagene Interpunktion *ἐνθύμημα, quod differt a syllogismo, quod syllogismus philosophorum est, enthymema rhetorum* wenig für sich: *quod* ist schlecht überliefert,³⁴ und an die Nennung des griechischen Fachworts einen Relativsatz anzukleben verstößt gegen den Stil des Katecheten. Man schlage nur die eingangs genannten Stellen für *Hoc / Id Graeci quid uocant?* nach, die sich leicht durch ähnliche Fragen vermehren ließen: immer begnügt sich der Lehrer mit der Nennung des griechischen Fachworts. Ja, wäre *quod* in allen Handschriften überliefert, würde jeder vernünftige Herausgeber *quo* durch Konjekturen herstellen. Nun ist aber *quo* handschriftlich sogar viel besser bezeugt als *quod*. M. E. sollte man daher schreiben: *Hoc Graeci quid uocant? Ἐνθύμημα. Quo differt a syllogismo? Quod syllogismus philosophorum est, enthymema rhetorum.*

Schließlich: weitere Unterschiede pflegen von Fortunatian durch *item quod* angeschlossen zu werden, gelegentlich auch durch *item cum*, *item si*, *item ut*, *item ne*, *item a*.³⁵ Man sollte daher m. E. *item* <*q u o d*> *syllogismus alte habet probationem, enthymema ex proximo* schreiben.

9.

122, 22 / 144, 18 ff.

Quae sunt mala (sc. uerba)? *Vulgaria, obsoleta, aliena, gentilia, obscura.*

obsoleta del. Pithou

³⁴ Calboli Montefusco behauptet im Apparat z. St., daß *quod* auch in **O** überliefert sei. Das ist falsch! Es handelt sich um einen isolierten Sonderfehler von **D**, der sich allerdings in **LSI**, den *descripti* von **D**, wiederfindet (die Renaissancekopien von **D** habe ich nicht gesehen).

³⁵ *Item quod*: 86, 19 / 75, 3 f.; 86, 32 / 75, 20; 118, 27 / 136, 4; *item cum*: 111, 14 / 123, 1 f.; 114, 21 / 128, 14 f. (*cum* variiert hier vorhergehendes *quando*); *item si*: 125, 16 / 149, 14; 132, 21 / 163, 8; *item ut*: 127, 29 / 154, 1; 129, 16 / 156, 18 (*ut* variiert einen vorhergehenden Ablativ); 134, 18 / 167, 9 (*ut* variiert ein vorhergehendes *ne*); *item ne*: 134, 6 / 166, 11; *item a*: 116, 17 / 132, 1. Anders ist zweimal auftretendes *item* in der Aufzählung: 125, 24 / 150, 2; 131, 21 / 161, 4.

Fortunatian handelt hier im Rahmen der *elocutio* über die *uerba mala*. Sie werden im folgenden erklärt: 122, 25 ff. / 145, 3 ff. geht es um die *uerba uulgaria*, eingeleitet mit der Frage *Vulgaria uero quae sunt?* Als Antwort erhalten wir einen Relativsatz *Quibus utitur uulgus*. Ebenso 123, 4 ff. / 145, 9 ff. im Falle der *aliena uerba*: auf eine analog konstruierte Frage *Aliena uerba quae sunt?* erhalten wir den Relativsatz *Quae non sunt oratori accommodata* als Antwort. Schließlich 123, 7 ff. / 145, 13 ff. *Gentilia uerba quae sunt? Quae propria sunt quarundam gentium* und 123, 11 f. / 145, 19 f. *Obscura uerba quae sunt? Quae nimis prisca sunt*.

Was fehlt, ist eine nähere Bestimmung der *obsoleta uerba*. Lediglich bei der Erläuterung der *uulgaria uerba* werden sie 122, 26 – 123, 2 / 145, 4–7 im Rahmen einer Einschränkung erwähnt: *nam sunt quaedam uerba, quae, quamuis obsoleta sint, tamen uitanda non sunt, si nimirum propria sint et illis melius expediatur oratio* (es folgen drei Beispiele aus Cicero). Man hat aber den Eindruck, daß *obsoleta* dort als synonym für *uulgaria* verwendet ist:³⁶ es gibt ein Auswahlkriterium (*ratio atque electio*), das den Einsatz von *uerba uulgaria* gestattet: wenn sich die abgedroschenen Wörter einfach nicht vermeiden lassen, weil sie *termini technici* sind.

Ich schlage daher vor, die Kategorie der *uerba obsoleta* mit Pithou zu tilgen: ein pedantischer Leser scheint die *uerba obsoleta*, von denen er 122, 26 / 145, 5 las, in der Aufzählung 122, 22 / 144, 18 f. vermißt und hier nachgetragen zu haben.³⁷

10.

124, 2 f. / 147, 2–4

Sunt enim quaedam (sc. uerba singula) sono litterarum aut leuia aut grauia aut splendida et plena: alia contra dura, [leuia] sordida, exilia.

dura leuia **A** : dura et leuia **B**

³⁶ Vgl. Cic. *Quinct.* 56 *uulgaria et obsoleta sunt. De or.* 3, 97 *ne uulgaris, ne obsoleta* (sc. *sit oratio*) mit Wisse–Winterbottom–Fantham z. St. („**obsoleta** ...: akin to vulgaris“).

³⁷ Simon 1872, 32 vermutet dagegen eine Lücke bei den Definitionen: *<Obsoleta uerba quae sunt? ...> Gentilia uerba quae sunt?* Aber mir scheint das angesichts 122, 26 / 145, 5 weniger wahrscheinlich.

Diese Stelle ist, wie ich nachträglich gesehen habe, schon von Schindel 1987, 55 bei seiner (sehr wohlwollenden) Besprechung der Ausgabe Calboli Montefuscos im *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* geheilt worden. Ich bin unabhängig von ihm zu demselben Ergebnis gelangt, drucke aber mein ursprüngliches Kapitel hier unverändert ab (nur am Ende heißt es jetzt „Schindel schlägt vor“ statt des ursprünglichen „ich schlage vor“), weil die Konjekturen dadurch ausführlicher begründet und mit Parallelstellen gestützt wird.

Im Rahmen der *elocutio* kommt Fortunatian auch darauf zu sprechen, was bei den *singula uerba* zu beachten ist: hier sei vor allem der Klang der Wörter entscheidend. Es folgen in Calboli Montefuscos Text insgesamt sieben Attribute für bestimmte Wortklänge. Überliefert sind allerdings acht: *leuia* taucht zweimal auf und wird von Calboli Montefusco an der zweiten Stelle getilgt, ohne daß sie ein Wort darüber verlöre, wie das getilgte zweite *leuia* in den Text gelangt sein soll.

Durch die Satzstruktur *sunt quaedam ... alia contra* wird der Gedanke vorgegeben: einer Gruppe von Begriffen wird eine zweite Gruppe mit deren Gegenbegriffen gegenübergestellt. Und in der Tat spiegelt sich diese Struktur in drei der vier Begriffspaare perfekt wider: *grauia* : *leuia*, *splendida* : *sordida*, *plena* : *exilia*. Es kann aber kaum richtig sein, daß sich schon in der ersten Gruppe mit *leuia* und *grauia* zwei Gegenbegriffe befinden. Das führt zwangsläufig zu dem Schluß, daß des Rätsels Lösung nicht im zweiten, sondern im ersten *leuia* liegt. Capperonnier versuchte es in seinen Anmerkungen 23 und 24 mit einem Trick: „23 *aut leuia, aut grauia*) a nomine *leuis* (λεῖος) per *e* longum. 24 *dura, leuia*) a nomine (κοῦφος, ἑλαφρός) *leuis* per *e* breue“. Er nahm also an, daß Fortunatian vom Leser erwartete, einmal *leuia*, ein andermal *leuia* zu verstehen. *Lēuis* vom Klang eines Wortes gesagt findet sich einige Male, am wichtigsten vielleicht Cic. *Part.* 17 (*distinguuntur uerba*) *naturā, ut sint alia sonantiora, grandiora, leuiora et quodam modo nitidiora*. Ferner Gell. 18, 9, 7 *erat lenius leuiusque* (‘insece’ quam ‘inseque’). Vgl. *ThLL* VII₂ 1222, 80 – 1223, 11.

Problematisch ist allerdings, daß *leuis* ‘glatt’ bei taktilen Dingen zwar als Gegenbegriff zu *durus* ‘hart’ (~ ‘rauh’) durchgehen mag, daß aber der *durus sonus* ‘harter Klang’ schwerlich in einem ‘glatten Klang’ gespiegelt werden kann. Wirft man einen Blick auf die *ThLL* V₁ 2310, 43 ff. gesammelten Belege zum *durus sonus*, finden

sich mehrere Beispiele, bei denen *mollis* den Gegenbegriff zu *durus* bildet, v. a. Diom. Gramm. I, 428, 22–24 Keil *syllabae, ut ait Varro, aliae sunt a s p e r a e, aliae l ē u e s, aliae procerae, aliae retorridae, aliae barbarae, aliae graeculae, aliae d u r a e, aliae m o l l e s.*

Schindel schlägt deshalb zu Recht *lenia* anstelle des ersten *leuia* vor: *lenis* vom weichen Klang ist ganz geläufig, wie die *ThLL* VII₂ 1144, 25–48 gesammelten Stellen belegen. Paläographisch ist der Fehler leicht zu erklären. Wir erhalten durch diesen leichten Eingriff vier Gegensatzpaare: *lenia* : *dura*, *grauia* : *leuia*, *splendida* : *sordida*, *plena* : *exilia*.

11.

125, 4–7 / 148, 17 – 149, 2

Quid aliud (sc. in translatione uerborum) obseruabimus? Vt obscuritatem uitemus, quam creat multitudo et continuatio translationum. Cur ita? Quoniam auditor propria intellegit, de translatis suspicatur; simul et translatum uerbum, si infrequentius positum fuerit et *excitatus*, *dices* insignius factum ac notabile.

quid aliud obseruabimus **a** : ita **B** infrequentius **a** : frequentius
B fuerit et **γ** : fuit et **P** : fuerit **B** excitatus *dices* **DP** : exercitatus
dices **Aζ** : excitat iudices **BO** : hesitatus *dices* *Mantegatius*

Im Zusammenhang geht es um den richtigen Einsatz von Metaphern. So wie oben wird der Text seit Pithous Ausgabe von 1599 gedruckt. Ich halte *dices* für schlecht motiviert und unpassend (voraus geht 125, 4 / 148, 17 *obseruabimus ... uitemus*) und bezweifle, daß *excitatus* die Bedeutung ‘etwas provokativer’ haben kann, wie Calboli Montefusco 1979, 234 übersetzt („in modo più provocante“). Darum geht es hier auch gar nicht. Fortunatian hatte empfohlen, Allegorien und Metaphernhäufungen zu meiden, um nicht unklar zu werden; die mit *simul* eingeleitete Fortsetzung des Gedankens nimmt nun die Vorzüge in den Blick, die die weniger häufige (*infrequentius*) Anwendung der Metapher bietet. Das macht den Zusatz eines weiteren Adverbs (*excitatus*) von vornherein unwahrscheinlich. Es kommt hinzu, daß *excitatus* in der Bedeutung *uehementius* bzw. *fortius* semantisch unpassend ist: *ThLL* V₂ 1263,

31–41 nennt an erster Stelle noch vor der hier verhandelten den schon von Capperonnier erwähnten Passus Plin. *NH* 37, 106, wo *excitatus fulgent* vom flackernden Funkeln der Edelsteine gesagt wird. Daneben findet sich das Wort noch an drei Stellen bei Ammianus Marcellinus von einer ausdrucksstarken Mimik und raschen Handlungen wie *clamitare* oder *exsurgere* gesagt. Wie man eine Metapher ‘auf heftige Art und Weise plazieren’ kann, verstehe ich nicht; man kann sie so plazieren, daß sie eine heftige Wirkung entfaltet, aber das ist nicht dasselbe.³⁸ Der Verfasser des Thesaurusartikels Rehm hat wohl auch aus diesem Grund zu der Fortunatianstelle vorsichtshalber den Hinweis „v. *app. crit.*“ gegeben, dem man entnehmen kann, daß **BO** statt *excitatus dices* die Wendung *excitat iudices*³⁹ überliefert, was m. E. viel besser paßt: der *si*-Satz ist, wie es der Gedankengang erwarten läßt, auf das *infrequentius ponere* beschränkt, der Vorzug des sparsamen Einsatzes von Metaphern liegt darin, daß sie den Zuhörer (*iudices* ist Variation zu 125, 5 / 148, 19 *auditor*)⁴⁰ aufwecken, weil sie durch diese Zurückhaltung ‘eher auffallen und denkwürdig sind’ (*insignius factum et notabile*). Ich übersetze den **BO**-Text folgendermaßen: „zugleich weckt eine Metapher die Richter auf, wenn sie seltener eingesetzt wird, weil sie eher auffällt und denkwürdig ist“.⁴¹

³⁸ Schon Simon 1872, 37 hatte gesehen, daß es so nicht geht, und folgenden Text hergestellt: *simul et translatum uerbum, si infrequentius positum fuerit, et excitatus dices <et> insignius factum ac notabile*. Aber *excitatus* paßt nicht in eine Reihe mit *insignius ac notabile*.

³⁹ Zu dieser Junktur vgl. noch Cic. *Planc.* 43; Quint. *Inst.* 4, 1, 73; 4, 2, 58; 9, 2, 104. Cic. *De or.* 2, 82 wird empfohlen, die ganze Rede über für Aufmerksamkeit zu sorgen *excitandis mentibus iudicum*.

⁴⁰ Der Plural begegnet bei Fortunatian noch 101, 34 / 105, 3; 110, 18 f. / 121, 12 (wenige Zeilen zuvor steht als Variation *auditori!*); 111, 19 / 123, 8; 113, 10 / 126, 9, 113, 23 / 126, 23 f.; 119, 6 / 136, 23; 119, 25 / 138, 3; 121, 19 / 142, 20.

⁴¹ Vgl. in der Sache Quint. *Inst.* 9, 3, 27 *haec schemata, aut his similia quae erunt per mutationem adiectionem detractorem ordinem, et conuertunt in se auditorem nec languere patiuntur subinde aliqua notabili figura excitatum, et habent quandam ex illa uitii similitudine gratiam, ut in cibus interim acor ipse iucundus est*.

12.

127, 10 / 152, 18

Structurae qualitas est triperitita: aut enim rotunda est ...
aut ...

Auffällig ist, daß die Frage fehlt. Ich hatte deshalb, als ich meine Fortunatianübersetzung anfertigte, zunächst folgendermaßen geschrieben: *Structurae qualitas <quae> est? Triperitita: aut enim ...* Man wird aber wohl auf die spitzen Klammern verzichten können: in der Handschrift **O**, die auffällig oft mit **B** im Richtigen übereinstimmt und offenbar Zugang zu **β** hatte, ist dieses *quae* sogar überliefert. Merkwürdig, daß es in **B** fehlt. Aber **B** formuliert das Frage-Antwort-System Fortunatians gewöhnlich in Aussagesätze um und dürfte hier das *quae* seiner Vorlage **β** redaktionell gestrichen haben.

13.

128, 24–27 / 155, 13–18

In omni memoria quid obseruandum est? Vt non tantum firme contineamus, uerum etiam cito percipiamus. Scripta sola? Immo et cogitata.

Et quae sunt ab aduersa parte dicta, semper eo quo dicta sunt ordine refutabimus? Non semper, sed opportunis locis disponere debemus.

quid *om.* **B** non tantum ... uerum etiam *om.* **B** firme *Halm* :
firme eam **DP** : tam firme **O** : eam γ : *deest* **B** sola immo *om.*
B semper eo ... debemus *om.* **B** refutabimus *Halm* : repu-
tabimus **DP** : reparabimus ϵ : (per)tractabimus ζ : reponemus
Mantegatius : *deest* **B**

Calboli Montefusco druckt den Text Halms unverändert wieder ab. Die Verteilung von Fragen und Antworten ist seit der *editio princeps* von 1493 im Grunde gleich geblieben. Allerdings muß die zweite Frage *Et quae sunt ... dicta, semper ... refutabimus?* aus zwei Gründen befremden: (1) eine Frage mit *et* zu beginnen ist ungewöhnlich für Fortunatian, normalerweise schließt er mit *Quid?* an, es wäre also *Quid? quae sunt ... dicta, semper ... refutabimus?* zu erwarten; die einzige Parallele, die ich finden konnte, ist 141, 7 *Et quid sequemur?*,

wo man schlecht *Quid? quid sequemur?* schreiben konnte.⁴² (2) Die Satzstruktur ist ungewöhnlich schwerfällig; man erwartet in normalem Latein: *Semper ea, quae sunt ab aduersa parte dicta, eodem ordine refutabimus?* Darauf die Antwort: *Non semper*. Natürlich darf ein Schriftsteller davon abweichen, aber warum sollte er das tun? Warum sollte er das in einem Lehrbuch tun? Die Doppelung von *sunt dicta* bzw. *dicta sunt* scheint unnötig, das weite Hinauszögern des Fragewortes *semper* ist bemerkenswert, wenn auch nicht anstößig.⁴³

Es kommt hinzu, daß das Stichwort (*opportunis locis*) *disponere* auf den ersten Blick eher unter der *dispositio* zu Beginn von Buch 3 abgehandelt werden müßte. Capperonnier hatte deshalb in seiner Ausgabe von 1756 vorgeschlagen, *et quae sunt ... debemus* hinter 121, 23 / 143, 5 zu versetzen, ein Eingriff, den Halm im Apparat seiner Ausgabe mit dem Hinweis zu widerlegen versuchte, Mart. Cap. 5, 538 habe Fortunatian in der überlieferten Fassung vor Augen gehabt, als er daraus folgenden Satz formte:

Cuius partis (sc. memoriae) hoc munus est, ut non tantum firma, uerum etiam celeri comprehensione res uerbaque percipiat.⁴⁴ Tenenda uero sunt non ea tantum, quae

⁴² Hinzu käme, sollte Simon 1872, 37 recht haben, 120, 17–19 / 139, 15–19 *Et cum in nostram misericordiam prouocatus est lacrimis? Etiam commotus statim debet ferre sententiam, dum pro nobis mouetur*. Allerdings wäre *et* hier eher steigernd im Sinne von ‘auch’ gemeint. Ich neige dazu, Simon zu folgen, finde aber das einfache *commotus* nach 120, 15 f. / 139, 15 *quoniam commotus iudex* problematisch. Vielleicht ist zwischen *lacrimis* und *etiam* ein Wort wie *miseria* ausgefallen, das Mart. Cap. 5, 565 *reorum afflictatione commotus* entspricht.

⁴³ *Semper* steht in vergleichbaren Fragen bei Fortunatian nicht immer, aber doch oft am Satzanfang; daß es so weit hinausgezögert wird wie 128, 26 / 155, 16 f., ist aber ungewöhnlich: 102, 16 / 106, 5 f. *diuisio eadem est semper utriusque partis? Non semper*. 105, 5 / 111, 12 f. *praescriptionem semper in prima parte tractabimus? Non semper*. 105, 13 / 112, 6 f. *semper omnibus his locis coniecturam diuidemus? Non semper*. 114, 17 f. / 128, 10 f. *semper ordinem distributionis in partitione factum in ipsa executione seruabimus? Non semper*. 117, 32 / 134, 13 *hypophoran semper inducimus? Non semper*. 121, 5 f. / 142, 3 f. *prima quaestio semper eadem ex utraque parte tractatur? Non semper*.

⁴⁴ Pace Cavarzere 2024, II, 530 neige ich eher dazu, nicht die *memoria* zum Subjekt von *percipiat* zu machen, sondern im passiven *percipiantur* eine unpersönliche Wiedergabe von Quintilians *percipere acturos oportet* (s. u.) bzw. Fortunatians *percipiamus* zu sehen.

a nobis inuenta sunt, sed etiam quae ab aduersario in agendo tractata sunt.

percipiat *Willis* : praecipiant **AR**¹ : recipiantur **G**¹ : percipiantur *cett.* sed etiam ... tractata sunt *om.* **AR**¹

Aufgabe dieses Teilstücks der Kunst ist es, Tatbestände und Worte dazu nicht nur in sicherem, sondern auch in schnellem Begriffe zu erfassen. Man muß aber nicht nur das festhalten, was man selbst zur Sache aufgefunden hat, sondern auch, was vom Gegner während der Verhandlung vorgebracht worden ist.⁴⁵

Wenn Martianus Capella hier tatsächlich Fortunatian benutzt hätte, wäre das ein wichtiges Argument gegen die von Capperonnier vorgeschlagene Textversetzung; doch ist dieses Argument alles andere als sicher. Schon wenige Jahre nach Halm zeigte Simon 1872, 5, daß Fortunatian und Martianus Capella wohl unabhängig voneinander auf Quint. *Inst.* 11, 2, 2 zurückgehen:⁴⁶

Sed non firme tantum continere, uerum etiam cito percipere multa acturos oportet, nec quae scripseris modo iterata lectione complecti, sed in cogitatis quoque rerum ac uerborum contextum sequi, et quae sint ab aduersa parte dicta meminisse, nec utique eo quo dicta sunt ordine refutare, sed opportunis locis ponere.

tantum *Laur.* 46. 9, *Fort.* : tantus **G** nec qu(a)e *Paris. lat.* 7723 : neque **G** complecti sed *Paris. lat.* 7723 : complectis et **G** cogitatis *Paris. lat.* 7723 (*cf. Fort.*) : concitatis **G** eo *Regius, Fort.* : ea **G**

Aber nicht nur fest bewahren, sondern auch schnell behalten muß das Gedächtnis, wenn man viele Fälle zu vertreten hat, und nicht allein das Geschriebene muß man bei erneutem Durchlesen im Kopf haben, sondern auch, was man an Gedanken und

⁴⁵ Übersetzt von Zekl 2005, 193.

⁴⁶ Ebenso Reuter 1893, 124 f.

Formulierungen nur überdacht hat, in der richtigen Reihenfolge wiedergeben, und alles, was von der Gegenseite gesagt wurde, im Gedächtnis behalten, bei seiner Überlegung aber nicht unbedingt der Anordnung folgen, die der Gegner gewählt hat, sondern es an passender Stelle anbringen.⁴⁷

Es ist hier nicht der Ort, die Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse im *memoria*-Kapitel noch einmal ausführlich zu untersuchen;⁴⁸ uns soll genügen, daß mit den Beobachtungen Halms, Simons und anderer die Textversetzung Capperonniers widerlegt ist. Doch verschwinden damit nicht die Anstöße, die wir zu Beginn unserer Erörterung angeführt haben. Quintilian zeigt allerdings eine auffällige Dichtotomie des Gedankengangs, die uns vielleicht auch bei Fortunatian helfen kann: *non modo scripta complecti, sed cogitata quoque sequi et quae sint ab aduersa parte dicta meminisse*. Die Frage jedoch, wo die Widerlegung der gegnerischen Argumente zu plazieren sei, wird bei Quintilian mit *nec utique ... sed ...* gleichsam angeklebt und von Martianus Capella ganz weggelassen. Das legt doch die Vermutung nahe, daß wir bei Fortunatian *Immo et cogitata et quae sunt ab aduersa parte dicta* zu einer Antwort zusammenziehen müssen, eine Interpunktion, die übrigens auch alle wichtigen von mir herangezogenen Handschriften DPAOEF nahelegen. In **B**, wo der Rhetorikkatechismus Fortunatians bekanntlich fast durchgehend in einen Traktat umgewandelt worden ist, liest man: *in omni memoria obseruandum est, ut cito percipiamus scripta et cogitata et quae sunt ab aduersa parte dicta*. Auch dieser Bearbeiter der fortunatianischen Rhetorik hat also, was er in seiner Vorlage las, so zusammengezogen, daß den *scripta* die *cogitata* und *inuenta aduersarii* gegenübergestellt wurden. Ich schlage daher vor, auf die Frage *Scripta sola?* die Antwort *Immo et cogitata et quae sunt ab aduersa parte dicta* folgen zu lassen. Daran schließt sich eine weitere Frage nach der Reihenfolge an, in der man die Worte des Gegners berücksichtigen sollte: *Semper eo quo dicta sunt ordine refutabimus? Non semper ...*

Daß Halms *refutabimus* für einhellig überliefertes *reputabimus* richtig sein muß, hat schon Simon 1872, 5 durch Verweis

⁴⁷ Übersetzt von Rahn ³1995, II, 587.

⁴⁸ Cavarzere 2024, II, 528 gibt einen ausführlichen Überblick über die verschiedenen bisher vorgetragenen Hypothesen.

auf das *refutare* der Quintilianstelle zu erweisen gesucht. Allerdings muß die Quintilianüberlieferung, die am Anfang des Kapitels XI, 2 der *Institutiones* im wesentlichen auf **G** (einem Supplement zu Bamberg, Staatl. Bibl., Class. 45 aus dem 10. Jahrhundert) beruht, nicht mit mathematischer Gewißheit richtig sein, zumal **G**, wie man dem oben abgedruckten Apparat leicht entnehmen kann, in diesem Abschnitt mehrere abwegige Fehler aufweist. Wenn man *reputare* in der Bedeutung ‘sich (gedanklich) wieder vornehmen’, ‘berücksichtigen’ versteht,⁴⁹ käme man ohne Halms Konjektur aus. Umgekehrt könnte man vielleicht sogar erwägen, *reputare* bei Quintilian herzustellen: *refutare* ‘widerlegen’ ist sehr speziell für den Kontext, in dem es ja um die *memoria* geht und die Fähigkeit des Redners, was der Gegner gesagt hat wieder aufzugreifen bzw. sich noch einmal vorzunehmen; die Widerlegung dagegen gehört eher in den Bereich der *argumentatio*;⁵⁰ zudem bilden *refutare* und *ponere* ein etwas unpassendes Gegensatzpaar. Allerdings kann ich beim echten Quintilian *reputare* nicht noch einmal finden, nur einige Male in den pseudepigraphischen *Declamationes maiores*.

Schließlich soll nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß **G** bei Quintilian *ea quo dicta sunt ordine* überliefert und *eo* erst durch Regius hergestellt worden ist.⁵¹ Man könnte die Auffassung vertreten, daß die Konjektur durch das Zitat des Fortunatian eine Bestätigung erfahre. Zwingend nötig ist diese Konjektur aber natürlich nicht; ja, man könnte umgekehrt vielleicht sogar erwägen, bei Fortunatian *ea* statt *eo* zu schreiben: *Semper ea* (sc. *dicta aduersariorum*) *quo dicta sunt ordine refutabimus?* würde jedenfalls auch guten Sinn ergeben und wäre durch die Angabe eines direkten Objekts zu *refutabimus* (bzw.

⁴⁹ Siehe OLD 1624 s. v. *reputo* 1b „to take into consideration“; ThLL XI₂ 1328, 38–41 „*ferre i. q. in animo volvere, cogitare (praeverbium spectat fort. ad id, quod cogitatur de praeteritis [sic Don. Ter. Eun. 632, 2 putamus ... instantia, -amus praeterita. ...], aut ad id, quod denuo cogitatur*“.
Vgl. v. a. Sall. *Catil.* 52, 2 *quom res atque pericula nostra considero et quom sententias nonnullorum ipse mecum reputo* (es antwortet Cato auf Caesar).

⁵⁰ Rahn scheint das bei seiner Übersetzung gespürt zu haben, denn er schreibt nicht ‘bei seiner Widerlegung’, sondern ‘bei seiner Überlegung’.

⁵¹ Regius schrieb lediglich: „*eo legendum uidetur potius quam ea*“. Ich habe das Digitalisat des Exemplars der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek verwendet (2° Inc. c. a. 2909b), dort auf f. 180.

reputabimus) etwas geschmeidiger. Es ist allerdings zuzugeben, daß *eo ordine quo* idiomatischer zu sein scheint, wie z. B. Quint. *Inst.* 4, 2, 83 *namque ne iis quidem accedo qui semper eo putant ordine quo quid actum sit esse narrandum* und weitere Stellen dieser Art nahelegen. Vielleicht ist es doch ratsamer, an der Fortunatianstelle beim überlieferten *eo* zu bleiben und an der Quintilianstelle die Konjektur des Regius zu übernehmen.

14.

129, 9–14 / 156, 10–16

Quae melior et simplicior memoriae ratio est? Vt si longior fuerit oratio, per partes ediscatur. Cur ita? Quoniam dandi sunt quidam termini, ut contextum uerborum, qui est difficillimus, *c o n t i n u a* et crebra meditatio, partes deinde ipsas repetitus ordo coniungat, et his, quae difficiliter haeserint, aliquas adponamus notas et eas saepe repetamus, et iisdem ceris ediscamus, quibus scripsimus.

deest **B** melior et ... ratio est γ : melior est et ... ratio **P**
 ediscatur **PO** : discatur **DA** ζ sunt quidam γ : quidam sunt **P**
 continua et **D^{pc}A** ζ : continuet **D^{ac}O** : continue et **P**

Fortunatian erklärt hier, warum es bei längeren Reden einfacher sein kann, sie zunächst in einzelne Teile zu zerlegen und diese dann separat zu memorieren. Schon die *editio princeps* druckte *continua et crebra meditatio*, und derselbe Text findet sich auch noch bei Calboli Montefusco. Ich muß bekennen, daß ich beim Übersetzen darüber gestolpert bin, weil sich das weite Zeugma *contextum uerborum ... meditatio* (sc. *coniungat*), *partes deinde ipsas ... ordo coniungat* nicht leicht ins Deutsche übertragen läßt. Handschriftlich ist *c o n t i n u a* et relativ schlecht bezeugt: die älteste Handschrift **D** bietet *continuet^a*, das *a* wurde von einer recht unbeholfenen Hand über der Zeile nachgetragen; ursprünglich stand dort wie in **O** *continuet*, in dieselbe Richtung deutet gewiß auch das von **P** bezeugte *continueet*; **O** zeigt auch sonst an vielen Stellen Kenntnis von **B**, hat also in textkritischen Entscheidungen immer ein besonderes Gewicht.

Ich kann für die Junktur *contextum continuare* keine exakten Parallelen anführen, für *contextum coniungere* aber auch nicht. Jedenfalls kann man *contextum continuare* im Sinne von 'einen Zusammenhang

herstellen⁵² nicht schlechter verstehen als *contextum coniungere*: *continua* und *coniungere* werden im Zusammenhang mit Wortfügungen häufig synonym verwendet und gerne kombiniert.⁵³ Es spricht m. E. nichts dagegen, das besser bezeugte *continuet* aufzunehmen.

Fortunatian zitiert hier einen längeren Abschnitt aus dem 11. Buch der *Institutiones* Quintilians (11, 2, 28):

Dandi sunt certi quidam termini, ut contextum uerborum, qui est difficillimus, continua et crebra meditatio, partis deinceps ipsas repetitus ordo coniungat. Non est inutile iis quae difficilius haereant aliquas adponere notas, quarum recordatio commoneat et quasi excitet memoriam.

quidam *Vind.* 3135, *Fort.* : quadam **G** continua et *Halm ex Fort.* : *continuet* **G** ipsas *Paris. lat.* 7723, *Fort.* : ipsa **G** inutile iis *Spalding* : inutilis **G**

Doch bestimmte Grenzpunkte muß man ansetzen, damit den Zusammenhang der Worte, der das Schwierigste ist, hintereinander immer wieder unser Denken herstellt, die Abschnitte dann aber die sich aus dem Gegenstand selbst ergebende Abfolge⁵⁴ zusammenfügt. Nicht unnütz ist es, an den Stellen, die schwerer haften, irgendwelche Merkzeichen einzutragen, durch die, wenn sie uns wieder in Erinnerung kommen, unser Gedächtnis gemahnt und gleichsam angefeuert wird.⁵⁵

Schlägt man in Winterbottoms Ausgabe nach, stellt man fest, daß auch dort *continua et crebra meditatio* gedruckt wird. Ein Blick in den Apparat zeigt allerdings, daß es sich bei *continua et* um eine durch Fortunatian inspirierte Konjektur Halms handelt. Der einzige Textzeuge **G** schreibt ebenfalls *continuet*!

⁵² *ThLL* IV 722, 45 „continuum facere, sine intermissione coniungere“, v. a. 723, 9–35.

⁵³ Vgl. z. B. Quint. *Inst.* 8, 2, 14 *plus tamen obscuritatis in contextu et continuatione sermonis et plures modi*; 9, 2, 46 *ut quem ad modum ἀλληγορίαν facit continua μεταφορά, sic hoc schema (sc. εἰρωνείας) faciat τρόπος ille contextus*.

⁵⁴ Besser: ‘die Wiederholung der Reihenfolge’.

⁵⁵ Übersetzt von Rahn ³1995, II, 599.

Auch in der *constitutio textus* weist die Ausgabe Calboli Montefuscos also mehrere Schwächen auf. Vor allem hat man den Eindruck, daß ihr Konservatismus ein ums andere Mal eine naheliegende Lösung verhindert hat. So ist sie an vielen Stellen hinter das im 19. Jahrhundert Erreichte zurückgefallen. Ihr Kommentar hat natürlich bleibenden Wert und wird auch in Zukunft ein wichtiges Hilfsmittel für all diejenigen sein, die Aufklärung in allen doxographischen Fragestellungen benötigen. Ich hoffe aber gezeigt zu haben, daß es höchste Zeit ist, daß wir eine neue kritische Fortunatianausgabe bekommen, in der nicht nur das Stemma vom Kopf auf die Füße gestellt, sondern auch die wichtigsten Fragen der Textkonstitution noch einmal durchdacht werden müßten.

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This article contains reflections on selected passages from the *Ars rhetorica* by the late antique teacher of rhetoric Consultus Fortunatianus. Based on my own collations of the oldest manuscripts, I propose some emendations of my own or attempt to evaluate old solutions that were rejected by the last editor.

В статье содержатся размышления над избранными местами из *Ars rhetorica* позднеантичного учителя риторики Консульты Фортунатиана. На основе собственной колляции наиболее старых рукописей автор предлагает несколько собственных исправлений и рассматривает несколько прежних решений, отвергнутых последним издателем.

KEYWORDS

DORANDI

excerpta C; manuscript tradition of *Ad se ipsum*; Marcus Aurelius; Stobaeus, *Anthology*.

Марк Аврелий; рукописная традиция *Ad se ipsum*; Стобей, *Антология*; *excerpta C*

FINGLASS

editorial technique; Greek language; Greek literature; Greek papyri; Sappho

греческая литература; греческие папирусы; греческий язык; издательская техника; Сапфо

KASTER

ancient philosophy; archetype; Cicero; textual criticism; textual transmission; *Tusculanae Disputationes*

античная философия; архетип; история текста; критика текста; *Тускуланские беседы*; Цицерон

KEYER

crista; Juvenal; Martial; massage; virago
Марциал; массаж; Ювенал; crista; virago

KOSTYLEVA

Euripides; *Iphigenia Taurica*; textual criticism
Еврипид; *Ифигения в Тавриде*; критика текста

LAPINI

Chariton of Aphrodisias; Chaereas and Callirhoe; Greek romance; textual criticism

греческий роман; критика текста; Харитон Афродисийский; Херея и Калироя

LIBERMAN

Bucolics; literary composition; textual criticism; Theocritus; Vergil
Буколики; Вергилий; критика текста; композиция литературного произведения; Феокрит

PONTANI

Aeschylus; allusion; Electra; Euripides; intertextuality
аллюзия; интертекстуальность; Эврипид; Электра; Эсхил

PRAUSCELLO

Addition D to *Esther*; LXX; πρῶω
дополнение D к книге *Есфири*; Септуагинта; πρῶω

REEVE

Augsburg; dating of manuscripts; Enoch of Ascoli; F. Hauthal; J. Häussner
Аугсбург; датировка рукописей; Енох д'Асколи; Ф. Хауталь;
Й. Хойсснер.

RIESENWEBER

Consultus Fortunatianus; critical edition; rhetoric; textual criticism
Консулт Фортунатиан; критика текста; критическое издание;
риторика

SHUMILIN

Cicero; conjectures; interpolations; speeches; textual criticism
интерполяции; конъектуры; речи; критика текста; Цицерон

STRAMAGLIA

declamation; fish; Petronius; Philostratus; proverbs
Петроний; пословицы; риторика; рыбы; Филострат

ZAGO

Catullus; elegy; intertextuality; textual criticism; Tibullus
интертекстуальность; Катулл; критика текста; Тибулл; элегия

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