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**THE FIRST ELEGY OF MAXIMIANUS:
A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY
BASED ON AN ANALYSIS
OF POSSIBLE EARLIER LATIN INFLUENCES
FOUND BY A COMPUTER SEARCH ON THE PHI CD-ROM DISK**

by Margaret Tyson, B.A.

Universitas Ottaviensis MCMXCVI

Margaret Tyson, Ottawa, 1996.



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0-612-20957-1

ABSTRACT

This thesis comprises an assessment of the introductory poem of a book of six, known as the "first elegy by Maximianus". The authorship of the poem is uncertain, and a principal objective of the study is to shed light on this puzzle. A review of the poem's quality and its historical context leads to the thesis that it could have been authored as a school exercise by one or a group of students of Latin literature writing in the 6th century A.D.

The influence of earlier writers on the composition of the poem has been examined by performing a thorough search through classical Latin literature for phrases that are similar to those found in this "first elegy by Maximianus". Such a study would have been prohibitively time-consuming until recently, when the introduction of high-speed computers has made the exercise feasible. In the present work, the PHI CD-ROM collection of the complete Republican and early Imperial Latin literature was used as the primary reference for phrase-matching. A methodology has been developed and described for classifying the probability of earlier influence on phrases in the poem.

A complete translation of the poem is followed by a commentary on the influence of previous writings on phrases in the first 220 lines of the poem that have been found in the course of the computer search to be similar to phrases used by previous authors. It is shown that 62 phrases and half-lines are likely to have been influenced by the Latin literature of the period from 250 B.C. to 200 A.D. The evidence is consistent with the suggestion in this thesis that the elegy could have been a school exercise written by an immature student or group of students.

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PREFACE

Although the first elegy of Maximianus is 292 lines long, this commentary stops at line 220 to keep within the specifications of an MA thesis.

The basic assumption in this research is that the best way to perform a thorough search of ancient literature is with the use of modern computing tools in conjunction with a suitable data base, in this case the PHI CD-ROM disk. On examining the results of this document, the reader can decide for himself whether or not this is true.

With this type of research I found two disadvantages: first, being tied to a machine I was essentially cut off from the normal interactions amongst fellow students, and, second, the sheer volume of the data and the accompanying problem of evaluation. I would like to thank Professors Richard Burgess and Eleanor Dickey for their advice in assessing the material and improving the translation. I am also grateful to Richard Levis for careful and critical review of parts of the manuscript, and to Trudy Seliger, Susan Wheat and Theresa Fruhwirth for assistance in the interpretation of German texts.

This research experience has forced me to become computer-literate or, at least, computer-acquainted. For this I am grateful to my husband Bill and my youngest daughter Emily who have patiently guided me in the use of the computer and unfailingly responded with first aid in many crises. My family's moral support all along has been exceptional.

24 Feb. 1997

Margaret Tyson

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the text:

Lewis & Short = Lewis, C.T. and Short, C. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford, 1879.

OLD = *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford, combined edition 1982, rep. 1990.

R. = Ratkowitsch, C. *Maximianus Amat: Zu Datierung und Interpretation des Elegikers Maximilian*. Vienna, 1986.

Sp. = Spaltenstein, F. *Commentaire des Élégies de Maximien*. Rome, 1983.

W. = Webster, R. (ed.) *The Elegies of Maximianus: Text and Commentary*. Princeton, 1900.

Latin authors and their works are generally abbreviated as in the Oxford Latin Dictionary. The exception is the *Aeneid*, referred to as *Aen*.

As much as possible, all citations have been checked in either the Oxford Classical Texts or the Teubner Editions and reference given to these editions.

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INTRODUCTION

This elegy, almost three hundred lines long, is the introductory poem of a book of six, the last one a short epitaph. The authorship of the six poems is something of a mystery. The poet is given the name Maximianus (referred to in this thesis as M.), because that is the name of the dramatic character in the fourth elegy.¹ Nothing is known of his character and interests except what can be inferred from a careful study of the poems in which he comes across as a self-centred cynic. If the poems are autobiographical, we learn that he was born in Etruria, he was a poet, a teacher and an advocate in Rome who was sent as a legate to the east.

The elegies are probably best known for the fact that they were once mistakenly attributed to Cornelius Gallus, the first Roman elegist of note and a friend of Vergil and

¹ W., p.9.

Octavian. Pomponius Gauricus, who edited the elegies in Venice in 1501, is given the credit for this attribution, which was accepted in some quarters² as late as 1879, e.g. Lewis and Short cite Gallus as the author. There was always debate on the matter. In 1836, Jules Grenouille made reference³ to *éditions et traductions les plus rares et les plus estimées de Maximien et de Gallus*. Aside from the fact that the text has a superficial resemblance to classical Latin, the main reason for the original designation is that right in the first line of the second elegy is an address to one *formosa Lycoris*, the name of Gallus' lover. Other factors contributed as well: the fifth elegy opens with *missus ad eoas legati munere partes*, indicating the poet held a high post in the East, and in lines 10 to 14 of the first elegy he tells of his brilliant youth in Rome.⁴ These autobiographical details could apply to Gallus, who, early in the principate, was favoured by Augustus at Rome and was sent to govern Egypt.

The best-known text is that edited by Emil Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores V*⁵, published by Teubner in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, C. Ratkowitsch, F. Spalteustein and R. Webster (referred to in this thesis as R., Sp., and W.) conducted their research using this text. W.'s edition is published with a text, a full *apparatus criticus*⁶ and a commentary. (Further discussion of the commentaries of W. and Sp. is given below under "Methodology".) I had at my disposal both the Teubner text and

² Dominicus Marius Niger, Franciscus Floridus Sabinus and Gyraldus, scholars of the sixteenth century, did not accept the attribution. W., p.14.

³ Grenouille, J., *Gallus, Poésies, traduction nouvelle, Bibliothèque lat.-francs.*, tome I, Panoucke, Paris, 1836, p.xxvi.

⁴ W., p.15.

⁵ Baehrens, E., *PLM V* (Leipzig, 1883).

⁶ See p.21ff. for W.'s text and critical appendix.

W.'s edition; it is the latter that I used. With regard to the manuscript tradition there follows a brief summary based on W. (p.17-21): although it is not complete, it focuses on the important manuscripts and two that I cite.

In the manuscript tradition the first position is usually assigned to A, *Etonensis*, of the 11th century. Unfortunately the manuscript has no title, but it alone transmits the correct readings at 1.225, 272 and 292. A, however, has some problems. There are frequent misspellings. For example, the *h* is misplaced at 1.6, 41, 109, 215 and 258, and the *b* and the *v* are interchanged at 1.76, 109, 123, 133, 135, 186. Both errors seem to be due to the original of A. W. gives examples of three errors attributed to tachygraphy: 1.207, *plaudent*; 1.253, *aequet*, and 1.273, *consumat*. W. believes that M. 1.11 is demonstrably corrupt, and that A cannot be considered a sole guide for reconstructing the text. Next chronologically comes a fragmentary codex S, *Reginensis* 1424, of the 11th century, but which is also untitled. Many of its readings are the result of careless mistakes. (I refer to S in the commentary at M. 1.50 and 99.) The following two manuscripts, F and V, are considered indispensable for the restoration of A. F, *Florentinus* or *Riccardianus* 1224, 12th century, is inscribed *Incipit liber Maximiani*. It is remarkable for careful corrections of miswritings, e.g. 1.157 and 279. Its errors in company with A seem "to prove a new relationship" (F also has some misplaced *h*'s), and in the fourth and fifth elegies it keeps the true reading along with A at 4.8; 37; 5.59, and 67. However, in the fifth elegy line 28 seems to indicate "several removes" from A, and the differences from A at 3.81 and 5.26 suggest that it may have been copied from two different MSS. V, *Palatinus* 24, 13th or 14th century, is headed

Maximianus, but stops at 4.44. It has many agreements with A and F; all three keep *rabidi* against *rapidi* of the other MSS. However, V has an isolated reading at 1.286.

There are four codices of the 13th or 14th century which W. classes together under the title *docti*: B, Barberinianus VIII 41 lacks a title and omits 3.57-4.25. G, *Leidensis* (*Gronovii*) 87, is entitled *Maximianus*; its spellings show some accuracy and an "ancestor" must have passed through the hands of a syntactician (see my comment on M. 1.63). L, *Leidensis* (*Lipsii*) 36, has many *variae lectiones* often coinciding with the better MSS. Finally, M, *Regius* 15 A VII, has the heading *Maximianus*; the manuscript is possibly a curriculum anthology as it contains works from Cato, Theodulus, and Avianus - all four were popular in schools.⁷ Similar in quality to the four above are Bo1, *Bodleianus* 38, 11th or 12th century, which lacks 1.1-54 and 3.2-4.59; Bo2, *Bodleianus* auct. 5, 6, 13th century and Br, Britannicus add. 21.213, 13th century, headed *incipiunt nuge Maximiani*. The scribe who added *nugae* to the title must have considered the work childish in part because it was used for the abecedarians in the schools. Of the excerpted MSS the oldest is Man., *Parisinus* 2832, of the ninth century, with the title *Eugenius de Sene*. This text shows marked variance from the nearest approach that can be made to a fundamental text. W., however, finds Man. useful for the dating of M.⁸

The dating of M. is a puzzle. The fact that Boethius is mentioned in the third elegy - *solus, Boeti, fers miseratus opem* (1.48) - does not necessarily make him a contemporary. Boethius could have preceded him, or the name could have been made up, or the Boethius of

⁷ Curtius, p.464.

⁸ W., p.17-21.

the poem could have been someone else of the same name as the celebrated Boethius of the sixth century A.D. W. in fact dates M. in the 6th century, but he bases his conclusion partly on the MS evidence. He argues that because of the deterioration of Man. it must be a long way from its archetype and, in addition, the fact that Man. is a quotation in an anthology points to a popularity of some length of time. W. believes that there is at least a century and a half of text history before it. Because of the imitations of Eugenius of Toledo (whose name heads the six lines of Man. and who died in 657 A.D.) in the tenth and eleventh poems of his minor works and the many verbal likenesses to the *Consolatio* of Boethius, he believes the date of writing to be between 524 A.D. and 657 A.D.⁹ E.R. Curtius (p.636), Pierre Riche (p.68), and Barry Baldwin (p.350) are also agreed on the 6th century.

On the other hand, R. assembles a great deal of evidence in favour of setting the date in the ninth century. She has found in medieval Latin literature many parallels with M. A most interesting one is the line *quin etiam virtus fulvo pretiosior auro* (l.19), for which I have listed two parallels with *pretiosior auro* in Ovid, but she also has discovered two parallels with *fulvo pretiosior auro* from writers of the ninth century A.D.: Alcuin (735 - 804 A.D.) c. 55.1.5 *argento melior, fulvo pretiosior auro*, and Florus of Lyon (ca. 860 A.D.) c.14.2 *purior argento, fulvo pretiosior auro*.¹⁰ M. was not necessarily a contemporary of these two writers. He could have preceded them and influenced their works. M. is known to have been read zealously in the Middle Ages, for his poems were included in anthologies, as noted above, and were part of school curricula.¹¹

⁹ Ibid. p.12-13.

¹⁰ R., p.33. Note the similarity of these two lines.

¹¹ Curtius, pp.50 and 464.

Although the century in which M. wrote is disputed, no one can argue the fact that society was Christian at the time. M.'s poems, however, have no Christian themes. W. therefore believes that M. was not a Christian, and that any hint of Christianity is ruled out by the author's general cynicism.¹² R. states that he imitates Christian poets. For example, *has inter virtutis opes tolerantia rerum* (l.33) has the same verse beginning as Sedulius (ca. 435 A.D.) c.p.5.1 *has inter virtutis opes iam proxima paschae / coeperat esse dies*.¹³ Moreover, R., in the same chapter, draws a parallel with a pentameter hemistich in Prudentius (348-410? A.D.) at *Tit. hist.* 79, *omnia conveniunt Christo chlamys atque corona*. In *Secular Latin Poetry* Vol. 1,¹⁴ M. is listed with the Latin poet, Ennodius, and the claim is made that "there is no trace of Christianity" and that he is the product of secular schools, although "a few turns of phrase ... may be unconscious adaptations of Christian thought". Barry Baldwin states in his anthology that M. "is to be compared with Luxorius in Vandal Africa and Greek epigrammatists of sixth century Constantinople. All were Christians (genuine or nominal), often pretending to be pagans in a pagan world".¹⁵ Such a dichotomy is not surprising in the fifth or sixth century, when education was still based on the classical authors recommended by Augustine (354 - 430 A.D.) and Apollinaris Sidonius (ca. 430 - 437 A.D.)¹⁶ in spite of a Christian society.

¹² W., p.14.

¹³ R., p.69-70. W. in his commentary on this line claims that the like opening in Alcuin, *Avitus* 6.380 *has virtutis opes* "makes it probable that the phrase is a poetic commonplace".

¹⁴ Raby, p.125.

¹⁵ Baldwin, p.350.

¹⁶ Among the poets listed are Vergil, Silius Italicus, Terence, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, Lucan, Statius; among the writers of prose are Cicero, Sallust, Caesar and Valerius Maximus (Riche, p.79).

Traditionally, scholars have made the claim that the author of these elegies was greatly influenced by the Latin literature of the Silver and Golden Ages, the poetry of Ovid in particular.¹⁷ Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to determine as far as possible these influences by searching through the literature of the republic and early empire for Latin antecedents of the phrases, vocabulary, grammatical usage and some poetic conventions in the first elegy of M. with the aid of the PHI CD-ROM disk. The PHI CD-ROM disk covers Latin literature from its beginnings, approximately 250 B.C., to the end of the second century A.D., the same period covered by the Oxford Latin Dictionary. The approach is different from that of other studies, however, because a computer search for words and phrases in Latin via the PHI CD-ROM disk is more thorough than has been feasible in the past. The result is a more comprehensive listing of the parallels in M. with the four hundred and fifty years of Latin literature and language from 250 B.C. to 200 A.D.

The initial proposal for this thesis¹⁸ was "to settle once and for all the period in literary history to which M. belongs". Although I found many parallels with the earlier period of Latin, it is impossible to fix a date without treading on perilous ground. At least three hundred years had passed between the end of the second century A.D. and the earliest date during which scholars have agreed that these elegies on the miseries of old age were written. Therefore, even if a phrase in M.'s poem is identical to one used in, for example, Augustan elegy, it is impossible to say for certain that M. was directly influenced by the earlier poem. The phrase may have entered the vernacular and been used generally by

¹⁷ Lind p.315. W. p.106, R. p.64-69, Raby p.125.

¹⁸ Suggested by J. Yardley.

everyone without knowing from where it came: for example, nowadays people often say "there's nothing new under the sun" without realizing that the expression comes from the Bible.¹⁹ There are, moreover, numerous other possibilities. A similar phrase may have appeared in another poem, now lost, or may have become a common proverb much like our "he who pays the piper calls the tune". Finally, the phrase could well have been M.'s own and by coincidence was the same as that of a previous writer. The likelihood of this happening is especially possible here since the rules for the elegiac metre are so restrictive.

Historical Background

To understand the elegies of M., it is necessary to know something about his cultural background. For a summary of Roman education during the late empire, one need turn only to the writings of Augustine (354 - 393 A.D.), which tell of his experiences as a student and teacher; the *Confessions* contain memories of his own schooling in the authors, and in his *de Utilitate Credendi* he cites the grammarians Asper, Cornutus and Donatus.²⁰ In elementary studies, grammar was morphological in nature and dominated by the notion of classicism, i.e. the Latin taught was not contemporary speech, but the language of ancient books. From these language studies, the student went on to literature under the tutelage of the *grammaticus*. Vergil was at the top of the list, and then *proximo sed longo intervallo* came Terence; Horace, Lucan, Persius, Ovid, Catullus and Juvenal are cited by Augustine, and

¹⁹ Ecclesiastes I, 9.

²⁰ Marrou, H.I. *St. Augustin et la Fin de la Culture Antique*, p.11.

Marrou wonders if only chosen pieces of their works were assembled in anthologies. Amongst the writers of prose, Cicero is first, both for eloquence and philosophy; other writers retained are Seneca, Sallust and possibly Apuleius.²¹ This programme conforms to a tradition steeped in the past. In Roman schools, during the first century A.D., the works of Vergil, Ovid, Statius, and Lucan were read during their lifetime or shortly afterwards.²² In the latter half of the first century A.D., Quintilian advised that Vergil and Cicero be a major part of the school curriculum.²³ The influence of Quintilian and the tradition of teaching poetry and Cicero continued into the late Empire, even as Christianity grew as a force in society.²⁴

The study of the classics under the *grammaticus* proceeded in four phases: *lectio*, *emendatio*, *enarratio*, *iudicium*. *Lectio* was the reading aloud of great literature to practice diction, which was important for oratory; in conjunction with *lectio* was *recitatio* - the young student learned by heart the best passages of the authors. For *emendatio*, he was required to criticize the style of texts (morphology, figures of speech and thought, metre, rhetorical procedures) and do compositions of his own in the ancient manner, some of the most important exercises in Augustine's view. For *iudicium*, a short review of an entire work was made and constituted an aesthetic judgment. Commentaries, e.g. Servius on Vergil, and Macrobius on the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, became available to aid the student.²⁵

²¹ Ibid. p.11 19.

²² Marrou, H.I. *A History of Education in Antiquity*, p.277.

²³ Ibid. p.278.

²⁴ Ibid. p.324.

²⁵ Marrou, *Augustin*, p.20.

The schema for the teaching of rhetoric consisted of five divisions: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *actio*. The subject matter for the art of rhetoric comprised three kinds of eloquence: judicial oratory, deliberative oratory (originally political oratory in a public assembly) and panegyric or epideictic oratory. After the loss of freedom in the empire, the first two branches had no practical value and became exclusively school exercises. During the Hellenistic period, epideictic eloquence became very important; for it was politically wise to praise a ruler and "praise of the ruler" became a separate genre. Other genres included funeral, consolatory, birthday orations. One of the most important stylistic techniques in epideictic oratory was the elaborate *descriptio* of people, places, works of art (late antique and medieval poetry used it lavishly).²⁶ There were rules for the choice and collocation of words and figures of speech, rules which were based on Augustine's interpretation of Cicero. Thus were recommended isocolon (the coupling of period members of equal length), antitheton (connection of two period-members which contain contrasting ideas), and homoioteleuton (isocolon with rhyme at the ends of the cola).²⁷

In the 5th century, the Germanic invasions destroyed, for the most part, the Roman schools and culture throughout the empire. The only two exceptions were Vandal Africa and Italy. Italy was fortunate in that the Ostrogoth king, Theodoric (493 - 526 A.D.) appreciated the greatness of classical culture. Because of his interest in education, "Latin literature and thought had their last brief spell of glory - a real renaissance, thanks to the work of Boethius and Cassiodorus".²⁸ Teachers' salaries were actually paid by the state and there was still

²⁶ Curtius, p.68-71.

²⁷ Ibid., p.74.

²⁸ Marrou, *History*, p.345.

teaching in rooms around Trajan's forum, where there were public recitations as well. Although Rome was the main university town, academic life flourished in Milan and Ravenna as well.²⁹ Therefore, in Italy, students continued to learn the art of speaking well in the manner of the great poets and writers of the past, and, according to the records of Ennodius and Arator, the authors studied included those already recommended by Augustine and Sidonius Appollinaris.³⁰ When students performed the practical exercises of rhetoric, the *suasoria* and the *controversia*, they followed the advice of Seneca the elder. However, it is to be remembered that this effort to master the secrets of ancient poetic metres and rhythmic prose was made in order to speak with elegance a language that was not current in society. The scholar achieved this elegance, but his inspiration was impoverished.³¹

Given the status of the texts and the historical background, scholars conclude that the poems are not autobiographical, but are dramatic descriptions of old age,³² with many erotic allusions. R. is largely of the same opinion, but believes that M. has written a parody of a monk's life by taking over phrases and situations from Ovid's erotic poetry (*Amores*, *Ars Amatoria*, *Heroides*), and transforming them into the outward appearance of lamentations. There are those who accept the autobiography, among them L.R. Lind, who published a translation in 1988.³³ Sp., moreover, tends to deny an erotic interpretation to many phrases (these are noted in the commentary). If the poems are autobiographical the argument runs along the following lines. Considering the educational milieu of the author of M., if he lived

²⁹ Ibid., p.345-6.

³⁰ Riche, p.79.

³¹ Ibid., p.83.

³² W., p.8.

³³ Prof. Lind belittles W.'s arguments against an autobiographical interpretation, p.315.

in Rome in the 6th century A.D. he would have been familiar with at least what the schools required a student to study of classical poetry and Cicero, and the techniques of rhetoric. All of this literature that he had either read, recited, or heard recited, would have been in the back of his mind when he wrote his poems. Some phrases, particularly those that appear frequently at the end or beginning of a verse or those that have a particularly memorable sound or unusual vocabulary, he would have remembered, at least in part. This is a natural result of a school system based on the recitation of authors.

The above assessments all attribute a certain earnestness to the elegies and infer a single author. There are reasons, however, to doubt this picture. The poem bears the trademarks of a school exercise on the topos of *vituperatio senectutis*,³⁴ written by a student or even a group of students. Possibly several students constructed a parody of the topos for the fun of lampooning someone they were supposed to respect: a senator, perhaps, or a rhetor. M. may even have been the rhetor.³⁵ In any case, the persona of the elegies is someone who thinks of himself as being important, but who is reaping the effects of a dissipated life and constantly bemoaning the wretchedness of his old age. Since the writing style is mostly an exercise in metre, rhetorical phrasing and various types of wordplay, with snippets of lines from earlier authors, one can easily attribute it to students, who were fed up with a superior's grumbling and decided to brighten a dull assignment with a joke.

When the young consider old age, they view the condition of a grouchy old man partly with horror and partly with the disbelief that they could ever find themselves in such a

³⁴ The *Vituperatio Senectutis* goes back as far as Theophrastus and is found in Seneca and Varro in his Menippean Satires. Lind, p.313.

³⁵ Teuffel's interpretation of M., l.283, is that he was perhaps a schoolmaster, p.551. According to Riche, *rhetor* was synonymous with *orator* in this period, p.68.

condition. This elegy displays no empathy for age and systematically makes fun of an old man. Much like Alceste in the first three acts of Moliere's *Le Misanthrope*, he shows only one side to his character. He displays ridiculousness in his egotistic assumption that he alone is always right (*se solum doctum, se iudicat esse peritum* (1.199)), suspiciousness of others (*efficior custos rerum magis ipse mearum / conservans aliis, quae periere mihi* (1.187-8)), and arrogance which he betrays in his eulogy (1.9-100). There is no evidence of philosophy or depth of thinking that might come from maturity, but bald cleverness abounds: ancient writers are pillaged for phrases, and this lament on old age is a barely concealed excuse for eroticism. All the techniques of irony are fully exploited to reveal the dissolute nature of the "respected" M. The name "Maximianus" may itself be a sobriquet; W. has suggested "Mr. Oldster",³⁶ but I incline to "the Big Shot" or "the Big Blow".

The poem is modelled on the *consolatio*,³⁷ a sub-species of epideictic oratory, and is divided according to the five parts that make up an oration.³⁸ The persona of the poem is contrasting his illustrious youth with his lonely old age, an old age so miserable that he wishes for death. His introduction (*exordium*) opens the elegy with an apostrophe to a personified Senectus, requesting that she free his tired body from its wretched life. Then, from lines 9 to 100, he gives his own eulogy (*narratio*): first, he lets his mind wander over the accomplishments of his youth up to l.44; second, after a brief interlude on morality, in which he says he has coveted nothing, he describes his success in society especially among

³⁶ W, p.10. The name Maximianus appears only in the fourth elegy, which is not about old age. "The Big Shot" is a more appropriate interpretation since the persona is not always senile, but does always have an inflated ego.

³⁷ W. suggests that the third elegy may be a parody of the *consolatio*, p.12.

³⁸ These were originally established for judicial orations and adapted to the other oratorical genres. Curtius, p.70.

women (l.59-74); third, he claims he is unmarried because he couldn't find anyone worthy of himself and goes on to explain why (l.75-100). After panegyricizing himself in this manner, he muses on the differences between childhood, youth, and old age (l.101-16). An extensive list of the physical ailments of old age follows (l.117-64), along with a brief complaint that no medicines help the old (l.165-74). Finally there is a long description of himself in old age, weakening and enduring more and more the mockery of the young (l.175-220). All of this is evidence (*probatio*) that it is time for Senectus to stop *instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam* (l.171) and let him die. He then turns to the earth "his mother" and prays to her to take him back, expressing opposition (*refutatio*) to her unmotherly behaviour in line 234, *non est materni pectoris ista pati*, and, in line 231, reminding her that his eminent life deserves better *explevi munera vitae* (l.221-34). From lines 235 to 292, he recites another, more graphic list of the indignities of his living death, gives a grudging acceptance to the authority of Time, *ipsa etiam veniens consumit saxa vetustas* (l.273), and closes (*peroratio*) with the theme *felix qui meruit tranquillam ducere vitam / et laeto stabiles claudere fine dies: / dura satis miseris memoratio prisca bonorum, / et gravius summo culmine mersa ruit*, which harks back to *mors est iam requies, vivere poena mihi* (l.4) in the introduction.

Themes typical of the *consolatio* are present. One example of this is the consolation in the thought that even the mighty must die.³⁹ The anonymous writer of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* in elegiac verse, for example, derives comfort from the belief that a life is not judged glorious by its length: *quid numeras annos? vixi maturior annis: / acta senem faciunt: haec*

³⁹ Curtius, p.80. Achilles knows he'll die young and finds consolation in the thought that even Heracles did not escape death. *Iliad*, 18.117.

numerandi tibi / his aevum fuit implendum, non segnibus annis, (Epic. Drusi 447- 449).

Similarly, M. eventually accepts the first consolatory theme that "all must die" *et nullum est quod non tempore cedat opus* (1.274). However, although his glorious days (1.9-100) have ended, he is nonetheless stuck with *segnibus annis* and can only bemoan the fact that the second consolatory theme does not apply to him. Being in a state of "non-death", he is absolutely inconsolable. Thus the author has turned the *consolatio* on its head and created an *inconsolatio*. The self-pitying M., whose power and lust are gone, declares that he cannot even look back on his own eulogy with pleasure, because the contrast of his present state has no relief except the elusive *mors*. The comic irony is obvious.

Methodology

In this study, which I conducted using the PHI CD-ROM disk, I also referred regularly to two commentaries of note that have been mentioned above. Richard Webster's (W.'s) work, which is both scholarly and interesting, was published (in English) at the turn of the century. The second, a recent publication by François Spaltenstein (Sp.), includes a great deal of literary criticism. Both examine the poems for medieval, late Latin and classical sources and reveal an interesting number of the latter. W. identifies exact parallels, gives citations that illustrate that a phrase or usage is common, and cites passages that recall an idea found in the poem. Sp. clearly evaluates W.'s commentary, following similar procedures, but, in addition, he comments extensively on the style - even on individual

words. I did consult another translation, published by L.R. Lind in 1988, and W. lists one published in English in the 17th century,⁴⁰ but this was not obtainable.

The advantage of the PHI CD-ROM disk is that the computer can do a word search through several centuries of Latin literature in a quarter of an hour (the speed varies with the quality of the computer). This is extremely useful for finding previous examples of some poetic devices, of a turn of phrase, or of grammatical usage, and for checking the validity of emendations. There are, however, some errors and difficulties. For example, the poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana* are attributed to Vergil; the anonymous *Ilias* and *Epic. Drusi* (*Consolatio ad Liviam*) are attributed respectively to Homer Latinus and Ovid, the *Declamationes Maiores* to Quintilian and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to Cicero. Fragments are run together in a misleading way, e.g. Acc., *Trag. 315, Item ac maestitiam mutam infantum quadrupedum* comes up on the screen as the line immediately before *Mors amici subigit, quod mi est senium multo acerrimum*, although, according to the Teubner edition, they are two quite separate fragments. Unfortunately, the disk includes nothing from *CIL* or any other collection of inscriptions, an omission that is something of a handicap in studying M., as both W. and Sp. often cite the tombstone epitaphs for antecedents of M.'s phrases that have death themes or are eulogies. A big problem is that, in spite of its amazing speed and memory, the computer has no common sense whatever and the result is that a search usually turns up a plethora of citations and much time is spent in eliminating what is not useful. Probably the most frustrating aspect is that it cannot deal with ideas, so that it is

⁴⁰ The only English translation mentioned in Richard Webster's bibliography is by H. Walker, *The Impotent Lover, accurately described in six elegies upon Old Age...made English from the Latin of Cn. Cornelius Gallus*, London, 1689.

impossible to find the source of a poetic image or a philosophical truth unless the same vocabulary is used; the extent to which this is a disadvantage cannot be underestimated, for ideas and imagery are the essence of poetry and the fact of not being able to fully investigate them makes the research very dull indeed.

In planning my approach, I felt it would be useful to examine previous Latin research conducted on the PHI CD-ROM disk or one similar to it. However, because the technology is relatively new, the literature does not contain any directly useful papers. Hence, it was necessary to develop a methodology, described below.

Since the programme used in this research can only do a search for one or two words at a time, I generally selected such pairs of words as a noun and its epithet, e.g. *aemula ... senectus* (l.1); a verb and its subject, e.g. *occurrit pagina* (l.146); a verb and its completion, e.g. *circumdare ... saltus* (l.23); an ablative absolute, e.g. *compage soluta* (l.173); two nouns, e.g. *mens sensusque* (l.9) or *mater amoris* (l.84); prepositional phrases, e.g. *in amplexu* (l.87); contrasting words, e.g. *libet ... pigebit* (l.159); paronomasia, e.g. *ut vivamus vivere* (l.156); repetition, e.g. *iam ... iam* (l.153-54); polyptoton, e.g. *diversos ... diversa* (l.103); rhyme, e.g. *levitate ... gravitate* (l.105); paradox, e.g. *vincere ... victus* (l.44); alliteration, e.g. *quoque ... quondam* (l.47); antithesis, e.g. *una ... duas* (l.46); and the pair of words at verse end, e.g. *amoris habet* (l.84), and verse beginning, e.g. *desuper incumbens* (l.140). When hunting for antecedents of line beginnings and endings, I searched exclusively through the poets. Some searches I conducted out of curiosity. For example, l.45 *haut facile est animum tantis inflectere rebus* struck me as a dull line with a particularly uninteresting ending and so I researched the ending *-ere + rebus* to find that it actually

occurs three times in the Aeneid. Occasionally, I initiated a search for one word only, if it seemed to me unusual or interesting, e.g. *garrulitate* (l.108), or if W. or Sp. label it uncommon, e.g. *deplangunt* (l.138).

My search found that the poem has an abundance of phrases and half-lines used in the literature of the period from 250 B.C. to 200 A.D. In my commentary many of the citations are simply illustrative, i.e. they are examples of similar grammatical usages, word combinations, figures of speech, poetic conventions, philosophical thoughts or proverbs. They give an indication of the extent to which the poem is written in the classical style. Phrases and figures of speech that appear in more than one author are usually considered to belong to the conventions of Latin poetry, and they serve to give the poem a place in the long tradition of Latin poetry. Moreover, some phrases seem to have been selected for a specific purpose. Those from epic poetry and panegyrics, for example, tend to give a mock heroic flavour, most appropriate for the hero M., who thinks he's a "Big Shot". Those from Ovid are ironic, because of the sexual undercurrent that betrays the genuine truth about M. Often a borrowed phrase contributes to assonance, antithesis or word play - devices so popular in late Latin.⁴¹ Finally, sometimes the choice is inexplicable, perhaps because of the difficulty in understanding the times, or because the students have put in something simply for ease of comparison or to fit the metre.

The phrases found in previous literature were divided into four categories.

The first category includes phrases that are identical in both M. and another author. A phrase must appear exclusively in one author (in addition to M.) and at least twice in that

⁴¹ Roberts, p.15-16.

author, in the same position in the hexameter or pentameter. (Position does not apply to prose). The phrase may have come directly from the author, but not necessarily, for it could have come from a "phrase-book" or from another poet (either unknown, or of a later period than my study) who used the phrase. For example, *artis opus* (l.30) is placed in category I because it occurs in Ovid alone five times, always at the end of the pentameter. It is entirely reasonable to say that it is "Ovidian". Such phrases are labelled as follows (e.g.):

{1 - Ovidian}

The second category includes phrases that seem to have been quoted for a special, humorous effect. M. gives a twist to the meaning of the original in order to suit the stated theme of old age, but the reader is expected to remember the original sense and therein lies the humour. There may be only one antecedent. In the commentary an explanation is given for the choice of each phrase for this category, and each is identified as follows (e.g.):

{2 - Humour, Ovidian}

The third category includes phrases that seem to have taken their shape from an earlier poet; they are strongly similar to their models (there may be only one antecedent) in grammar, metre and vocabulary. There are several possible explanations for how this could have occurred. In some cases the changes create assonance, or alliteration, or some other word play (l.129). Occasionally the result of the poetic choice is mock heroism (l.93) or irony (l.142). Whatever the purpose of the altered phrases, I identify them as follows (e.g.):

{3 - Model, Ovidian}

The fourth category has two sections: section A consists of phrases or stylistic techniques found in more than one elegiac poet, i.e. the poetry of Propertius, Tibullus or

other elegists as well as Ovid, and section B consists of phrases that were used by at least two of the poets within the 450 year period that I am studying. Those phrases belonging to one or the other group are labelled either: {4 A - Elegiac Tradition}
or {4 B - Poetic Tradition}.

The ratings are grouped together in the concluding section by author according to these four categories in order to evaluate the extent to which the literature of antiquity may have influenced the elegies of M.

CONSPECTVS CODICVM

- A** = Etonensis.
B = Barberinianus.
Bo.¹ = Bodleianus 38.
Bo.¹ = Bodleianus, Auct. 5, 6.
Br. = Britannicus Add. 21, 213.
Exc. Vor. = Excerpta Vorauensia.
Exc. Leid. = Excerpta Leidensia.
F = Florentinus.
G = Leidensis Gronovii 87.
Gad. = Gaddianus.
L = Leidensis Lipsii 36.
M = Britannicus Reg. 15, A. 7.
Man. = Parisinus 2832.
P = Palatinus 1573.
Par. = Parisinus 8319.
R = Reginensis 2080.
S = Reginensis 1424.
V = Palatinus 242.

I

AEMULA quid cessas finem properare senectus?
 cur et in hoc fesso corpore tarda venis?
 solve precor miseram tali de carcere vitam:
 mors est iam requies, vivere poena mihi,
 non sum qui fueram: periit pars maxima nostri; 5
 hoc quoque quod superest langor et horror habent.
 lux gravis in luctu, rebus gratissima laetis,
 quodque omni peius funere, velle mori,
 dum iuvenile decus, dum mens sensusque maneret,
 orator toto clarus in orbe fui. 10
 saepe poetarum mendacia dulcia finxi
 et veros titulos res mihi ficta dabat.
 saepe perorata percepi lite coronam
 et merui linguae praemia grata meae.
 quae cum defectis iam sint immortua membris, 15
 heu senibus vitae portio quanta manet!
 nec minor his aderat sublimis gratia formae,
 quae vel si desit, cetera multa placent,

1 cessas finem: tardas mortem **Man.** 2 cur et] an et **Par. Gad.**
Man.; cur **P R** | hoc fesso] effesso **Man.**; hoc izzo **G** | tarda] pigra
Par. Gad. Man. 3 tali de] de tali **F L V** | carcere] corpore **L exc.**
Vor. R in gloss. 4 nam mors est **Man.** 5 sim **S** | quod **F** | perit **Par.**
 6 restat **P** | horror et langor **F** | habent **A S G V exc. Vor.**: habet *cett.*
 7 lux e gr. **F** | gravis est luctu **exc. Vor.** | luctu est letis gr. rebus **M**
 8 omne **exc. Vor.** | omni peius **R**; o. p. est **A B G L**; o. est. p. *cett.* |
 munere **exc. Vor.** 9 maneret **A B F**; manebat **M V**; manerent *cett.*
 11 et 12 *om.* **S** 11 mendacia carmina fixi **A** 12 ficta *om.* **M** | dedit **B F**
 13 pergrata **S** | precepi **B** 14 grata] magna **V** 15 defunctis **B P R V** |
 sunt **B G R** 16 quanta] quarta **F** 18 quae mihi si **G L P**; que si ve
M | desint **B G P S**; desunt **M** | multa] membra **V**

I 19-46

quin etiam virtus fulvo pretiosior auro,
 per quam praeclarum plus micat ingenium. 20
 si libuit celeres arcu temptare sagittas,
 occubuit telis praeda petita meis.
 si placuit canibus densos circumdare saltus,
 prostravi multas non sine laude feras.
 dulce fuit madidam si fors versare palaestram, 25
 implicui validis lubrica membra toris.
 nunc agili cursu cunctos antecire solebam,
 nunc tragici cantus exuperare melos.
 augebat meritum dulcis mixtura bonorum,
 ut semper varium plus micat artis opus. 30
 nam quaecumque solent per se perpensa placere,
 alterno potius iuncta decore placent.
 has inter virtutis opes tolerantia rerum.
 spernebat cunctas insuperata minas:
 vertice nudato ventos pluviasque ferebam, 35
 non mihi solstitium, non grave frigus erat:
 innabam gelidas Tiberini gurgitis undas.
 nec timui dubio credere membra freto.
 quamvis exiguo poteram requiescere somno
 et quamvis modico membra fovere cibo; 40
 at si me subito vinosus repperit hospes
 aut fecit laetus sumere multa dies,
 cessit et ipse pater Bacchus stupuitque bibentem
 et, qui cuncta solet vincere, victus abit.
 haut facile est animum tantis inflectere rebus, 45
 ut res oppositas mens ferat una duas:

20 plus micat] premicat (plus *supra* pre) L 21 temptare] tractare
 R; intempt. V; *rasuram inter arcu et temptare habet* F 22 telis *supra*
lin. F; celeris B *per ditlographiam.* 23 si libuit B M R V 25 sors
 G L P R V 27 cunctis F 28 tragico B G P; traico F S; traici
 A; tragicos *cell.* | cantus A M R; cantu *cell.* (c. tragicos V; cantu
 tragico L | melo M B Br.; melos *cell.* 30 ut *om.* F; et B L 32 vincita
 M R V | micant (*supraser.* nitent placent) L 34 spernebant F; -bant
 B | insuperira S 37 hiberini F *m. 1*; hiberni M | gelidis—undis L
 38 non—fretu G | metui B R 39 exigui F 40 ac M; et G 41 ceperit
 L 44 victus] vicam A | habiit F; erat L 45 aut B; non exc. Leid.
 inflecterebus S.

I 47-74

hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum
 Socratem palmam promeruisse ferunt,
 hinc etiam rigidum memorant valuisse Catonem:
 non res in vitium, sed male facta cadunt. 50
 intrepidus quaecumque forent ad utrasque ferebar:
 cedebant animo tristia cuncta meo.
 pauperiem modico contentus semper amavi
 et rerum dominus nil cupiendo fui.
 tu me sola tibi subdis, miseranda senectus, 55
 cui cedit quicquid vincere cuncta potest.
 in te corruimus, tua sunt quaecumque fatiscunt,
 ultima teque tu conficis ipsa malis.
 ergo his ornatum meritis provincia tota
 optabat natis me sociare suis: 60
 sed mihi dulce magis resolutio vivere collo
 nullaque coniugii vincula grata pati.
 ibam per mediam venali corpore Romam
 spectandus cunctis undique virginibus.
 quaeque peti poterat, fuerat vel forte petita, 65
 erubuit vultum visa puella meum
 et modo subridens latebras fugitiva petebat
 non tamen effugiens tota latere volens,
 sed magis ex aliqua cupiebat parte videri,
 laetior hoc potius quod male tecta fuit. 70
 sic cunctis formosus ego gratusque videbar
 omnibus, et sponsus sic generalis eram,
 sed tantum sponsus; nam me natura pudicum
 fecerat, et casto pectore durus eram.

48 Socratem S | fertur F 49 hunc S | et F | caluisse S, ex Hor. carm.
 III xxi 12 et cf. Martial. VIII xlv 6. [50 vitio S] 51 ad utrasque A F:
 ad utraque B L; adversa G; ad utrumque cell. | ferebar] ferebam F
 53 contemptus B F G m. | semper contentus M 54 dominus rerum L R
 58 teque F S: te quoque A; quaeque cell. 59 E lit. initialis maior A |
 totam S 62 grata] colla S per ditlographiam 63 iuvenili G 65 quaecumque
 peti F | fuerat vel forte] f. v. ante F; vel quae fuit ante V 66 vultum—
 meum A: vultus—meos cell. 70 laetior F | foret G 71 sed G L | ego]
 eram B R

nam dum praecipuae cupio me iungere formae, 75
 permansi viduo frigidus usque toro.
 omnis foeda mihi atque omnis mihi rustica visa est
 nullaque coniugio digna puella meo.
 horrebam tenues, horrebam corpore pingues,
 non mihi grata brevis, non mihi longa fuit. 80
 cum media tantum dilexi ludere forma;
 maior enim mediis gratia rebus inest.
 corporis has nostri mollis lascivia partes
 incolit, has sedes mater amoris habet.
 quaerebam gracilem, sed quae non macra fuisset: 85
 carnis ad officium carnea membra placent.
 sit quod in amplexu delectet stringere corpus,
 ne laedant pressum quaelibet ossa latus.
 candida contempsì, nisi quae suffusa rubore
 vernarent propriis ora serena rosis. 90
 hunc Venus ante alios sibi vindicat ipsa colorem,
 diligit et florem Cypris ubique suum.
 aurea caesaries demissaque lactea cervix
 vultibus ingenuis visa sedere magis.
 nigra supercilia, frons libera, lumina nigra 95
 urebant animum saepe notata meum.
 flammea dilexi modicumque tumentia labra,
 quae gustata mihi basia plena darent.
 in tereti collo visum est pretiosius aurum,
 gemma et iudicio plus radiare meo. 100
 singula turpe seni quondam quaesita referre;
 et quod tunc decuit, iam modo crimen habet.

75 me *om.* A | me p. c. dum V 77 mihi est atque V | omnis mihi
 rustica FS; o. puella r. A 80 grata] pulcra L | non *alterum*] nec RV |
 fuit] placet M 83 nostra F 84 edes F 85 quae non A M PS: non
 quae *cell.* 87 sic G M R V; sed P | delectat B L | stringere corpus] in
 amplexu F 89 tenerum B G R | q; libet A; cumlibet S F 90 vernaret
 A 91 viad. FS: vend. *cell.* 92 cipris B F L PS; cirrus M 93 dim.
 A B F G 94 ult. A; volt. G M | placere G (*et F suprascr.*).; decere R
 95 libera *om.* S | clara B P R 96 sepe animum F 98 plena] grata M 99 in
 teriti A B; intecti S | est *om.* S | vis. pret. aurum est F | pretiosior auro S
 100 et A: -que F (stemmaque S) 101 seni est M | dilecta (quaesita

I 103-128

diversos diversa iuvant: non omnibus annis
omnia conveniunt: res prius apta nocet.
exultat levitate puer, gravitate senectus: 105
inter utrumque manens stat iuvenile decus.
hunc tacitum tristemque decet, fit clarior ille
laetitia et linguae garrulitate suae.
cuncta trahit secum vertitque volubile tempus
nec patitur certa currere quaeque via. 110
nunc quod longa mihi gravis est et inutile aetas,
vivere cum nequeam, sit mihi posse mori.
o quam dura premit miseros condicio vitae:
nec mors humano subiacet arbitrio.
dulce mori miseris, sed mors optata recedit: 115
at cum tristis erit praecipitata venit.
me vero heu tantis defunctum in partibus olim
vivum Tartareas constat inire vias.
iam minor auditus, gustus minor; ipsa caligant
lumina; vix tactu noscere certa queo 120
nullus dulcis odor, nulla est iam grata voluptas:
sensibus expertem quis superesse putet?
en Lethaea meam subeunt oblivia mentem,
nec confusa sui iam meminisse potest:
ad nullum consurgit opus, cum corpore languet 125
atque intenta suis astupet illa malis.
carmina nulla cano: cantandi summa voluptas
effugit et vocis gratia vera perit.

suprascr. L) 103 iuveant A | annis] horis *exc.* Leid. 104 nocent G
106 utramque M 107 hunc] hec Br. | sit F | gratior M | ille] illa Br.
108 leticie *exc.* Vor. 110 quaeque A B G L S *exc.* Leid., Vor.;
quemque *cell.* 111 quod A: quia *cell.* 112 posse] velle G V 116 ac
M; ast *exc.* Vor.; et G. 117 perfuntum F; perfunctum M | in] et B;
om. F G M P 118 vivum tartareas A L: tart. viv. *cell.* 119 gustus minor]
gustatus F | ipsa] atque B G L P 120 cuncta F G P *et (suprascr. certa)*
L 121 nulla est iam] nulla iam F; iam nulla G; nulla mihi B L M
122 putat G L R 123 subeunt] sum veunt A 124 valet *exc.* Vor.
126 astupet F L M P Bo.¹: obstupet *cell.* | ipsa M P R V 127 nullo A |
cantando (i *supra* o) A 128 hec fugit *exc.* Vor. | gratia vera] gr.
summa G R; gloria tota B

I 129-154

non fora sollicito. non blanda poemata fingo,
 litibus haut rabidis commoda iura sequor. 130
 ipsaque me species quondam dilecta reliquit
 et videor formae mortuus esse meae.
 pro niveo rutiloque prius nunc inficit ora
 pallor et exanguis funereusque color.
 aret sicca cutis, rigidi stant undique nervi, 135
 et lacerant uncae scabida membra manus.
 quondam ridentes oculi nunc fonte perenni
 deplangunt poenas nocte dieque suas;
 et quos grata prius ciliorum sarta tegebant,
 desuper incumbens hispida silva premit, 140
 ac velut inclusi caeco conduntur in antro:
 torvum nescio quid heu furiale vident.
 iam pavor est vidisse senem, nec credere possis
 hunc hominem humana qui ratione caret.
 si libros repeto, duplex se littera findit, 145
 largior occurrit pagina nota mihi.
 claram per nebulas videor mihi cernere lucem,
 nubila sunt oculis ipsa serena meis.
 eripitur sine morte dies: caligine caeca
 septum tartareo quis neget esse loco? 150
 talia quis demens homini persuaserit auctor
 ut cupiat voto turpior esse suo?
 iam subeunt morbi, subeunt discrimina mille,
 iam dulces epulae deliciaeque nocent.

129 nec—nec B G; non—nec M R 130 haud A; and F; aut B G P; hanc V | rapidis B G L M P R | commodis (a iura *supra* is) sequor A 132, 131 *ponit* A 131 reliqui A F G P; relinquit B 132 forma—mea M 133 hora F; orer A 134 exsanguis G M; exiguus R 135 ardet F; arent exc. Vor. | cu(*rasura*) tis A 136 scabida F M 137 incubens hispida A | tegit B G 141 clauduntur L exc. Vor. Br.; clud. Bo.¹ 142 nescio quid torvum B F G P R | heu B F G L M V; cu A; seu P exc. Vor.; vel R 143 quis cr. possit L | possum P exc. Vor. 144 huma qui A 145 libro A | fingit B P fidit A; reddit M 149 morte A F Br.: luce V nocte *cell.* 150 loco tartareo F | negat G 153 nam exc. Vor. | discrimine A 154 dulces] duplices Bo.¹

I 155-182

cogimur a gratis animum suspendere rebus, 155
 atque ut vivamus vivere destitimus.
 et me, quem dudum iam nulla adversa nocebant,
 ipsa quibus regimur nunc alimenta gravant.
 esse libet saturum: saturum mox esse pigebit;
 praestat ut abstinenceam: abstinuisse nocet. 160
 quae modo profuerat, contraria redditur esca:
 fastidita iacet, quae modo dulcis erat.
 non Veneris, non grata mihi sunt munera Bacchi,
 nec quicquid vitae fallere damna solet.
 sola iacens natura manet, quae sponte per horas 165
 solvitur et vitio carpitur ipsa suo.
 non totiens experta mihi medicamina prosunt,
 non aegris quicquid ferre solebat opem.
 sed cum materia pereunt quaecumque parantur,
 fit magis et damnis tristior urna suis. 170
 non secus instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam
 diversis contra nititur obicibus,
 donec longa dies omni compage soluta
 ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium.
 quid quod nulla levant animum spectacula rerum, 175
 nec mala tot vitae dissimulare licet?
 turpe seni vultus nitidi vestesque decorae,
 quis sine iamque ipsum vivere turpe seni.
 crimen amare iocos, crimen convivia, cantus:
 o miseri, quorum gaudia crimen habent. 180
 quid mihi divitiae, quarum si dempseris usum,
 quamvis largus opum, semper egenus ero?

157 et me quem **V exc. Vor.**: et me que **A**; et me quidem **F**; et me
 iam *cell.* | nullum dudum **F** | iam **V exc. Vor.**: cui **G M**; quem *cell. (om.*
B | nulla diversa **B** 159 saturum *alterum* sat tum **A** 160 abstineas **F Bo**¹.
 163 sunt—non **F** 165 oras **APV** 166 illa **M** 168 quicquid miseris *f.*
 solebat opem **L**; aegris *queq*; *f.* solebant opes **F** 170 fitque magis *d.* **F**
 171 haut **L** 174 lapsum **F** 175 iuvant **M**; aiunt (*suprascr.* levant) **F** |
 miserum (*suprascr.* animum) **L** | spectaculum (*a supra um*) **A** 177 senes
exc. Vor. | vestisq; **F exc. Vor.** 178 sine] sis **M** | seni **exc. Vor.**:
 sene **A**; senem *cell.* 180 o] proh **exc. Vor.** 181 usus **L M** 182 opis
A | eris **FP**

I 183-212

immo etiam poena est partis incumbere rebus,
 quas cum possideas est violare nefas.
 non aliter sitiens vicinas Tantalus undas 185
 captat et appositis abstinet ora cibis.
 efficior custos rerum magis ipse mearum
 conservans aliis, quae periere mihi;
 sicut in auricomis dependens plurimus hortis
 pervigil observat non sua poma draco. 190
 hinc me sollicitum torquent super omnia curae,
 hinc requies animo non datur ulla meo.
 quaerere quae nequeo, semper retinere laboro,
 et retinens semper nil tenuisse puto.
 stat dubius tremulusque senex semperque malorum 195
 credulus, et stultus quae facit ipse timet,
 laudat praeteritos, praesentes despicit annos,
 hoc tantum rectum, quod sapit ipse, putat.
 se solum doctum, se iudicat esse peritum
 et quod sit sapiens desipit inde magis. 200
 multa licet nolis referens eademque revolvens
 horret et alloquium conspuat ipse suum.
 deficit auditor, non deficit ipse loquendo.
 o sola fortes garrulitate senes!
 omnia nequicquam clamoris vocibus implet: 205
 nil satis est: horret, quae placuere modo.
 arridet de se ridentibus, ac sibi plaudens
 incipit opprobrio laetior esse suo.
 hae sunt primitiae mortis, his partibus aetas
 defluit et pigris gressibus ima petit. 210
 non habitus, non ipse color, non gressus euntis,
 non species eadem quae fuit ante manet.

183 est *om.* A 187 efficiar *exc.* Vor. | rerum *supra* ipse A 189
 dependens A B F V: pendentia *cell.* | plurimis A 193 quaerere] vin-
 cere M 196 stultis F 197 actus F 198 facit B | ipse] esse G L M
 B V 200 quo B | decipit B; despicit M P R V L | inde] ille P L R;
 ipse M V. 201 nolis B M¹ Br. Bo.¹ Bo.²: nolit L; nobis *cell.* 202
 horret] narrat M 203 ipse] ille G M P R 204 senex F 205 implet
 B F M R 206 horret] horrent B F M 207 plaudent A 212 eadem

labitur ex umeris demisso corpore vestis.
 quaeque brevis fuerat iam modo longa mihi est.
 contrahimur miroque modo decrescimus: ipsa 215
 diminui nostri corporis ossa putes.
 nec caelum spectare licet, sed prona senectus
 terram, qua genita est et reditura, videt
 fitque tripes, prorsus quadrupes, ut parvulus infans,
 et per sordentem (flebile) repit humum. 220
 ortus cuncta suos repetunt matremque requirunt,
 et redit ad nihilum, quod fuit ante nihil.
 hinc est quod baculo incumbens ruitura senectus
 assiduo pigram verberare pulsatur humum
 et numerosa movens certo vestigia plausu 225
 talia rugato creditur ore loqui:
 'suscipe me, genetrix, nati miserere laborum:
 membra peto gremio fessa fovere tuo.
 horrent me pueri, nequeo velut ante videri:
 horrendos partus cur sinis esse tuos? 230
 nil mihi cum superis: explevi munera vitae:
 redde precor patrio mortua membra solo.
 quid miseros variis prodest extendere poenis?
 non est materni pectoris ista pati.'
 his dictis trunco titubantes sustinet artus, 235
 neglecti repetens stramina dura tori.
 quo postquam iacuit, misero quid funere differt?
 heu tantum adtracti corporis ossa vides.

species **M** | quae ante fuit manet **F** 213 dimisso **A F** 214 modo] man
F; mihi **L M** | mihi est] manet **L M G** 215 ipsi **G L M P V R** 216
 subminui **G** | putes] placet **M** 218 qua] quam **A R** | et] qua **L vv.**
 218-II 50 om. **R** 219 prorsus] rursus **Bo.** 220 repit] serpit **B G L**
M P V R 222 reddit (et *mg. add.*) **F** 223 hic **A** | est] et **F** 225 certa
G | plausu **A**: planta **G**; pulsu **L**; passu **B F M P V** 226 rugoso
G L P | ora (e *supra* a) **A vv.** 228, 229 in *margin.* habet **P**; 228 habet 229
 om. **F**; 228, 29 om. *cell.* 228 peto **F**: puto **P** | favore **P** 231 munera]
 tempora **M** 233 extendere **G**: expendere **A V Bo.** ¹ **Br**; suspend. *cell.*
 235 attracti **B F**; abstracti **M**; astricti **G**; fracti **P**; contracti **L**

I 239-266

cumque magis semper iaceam vivamque iacendo,
 quis sub vitali computet esse loco? 240
 iam poena est totum quod vivimus: urimur aestu,
 officiunt nebulae, frigus et aura nocet,
 ros laedit modicoque etiam corrumpimur imbre,
 veris et autumnus laedit amoena dies.
 hinc miseros scabies, hinc tussis anhela fatigat: 245
 continuos gemitus aegra senectus habet.
 hos superesse reor, quibus et spirabilis aer
 et lux, qua regimur, redditur ipsa gravis?
 ipsa etiam cunctis requies gratissima, somnus
 avolat et sera vix mihi nocte redit, 250
 vel si lassatos umquam dignabitur artus,
 turbidus in quantis horret imaginibus!
 mollia fulcra tori duris sunt cautibus aequa,
 parva licet magnum pallia pondus habent.
 cogor per mediam turbatus surgere noctem 255
 multaque, ne patiar deteriora, pati.
 vincimur infirmi defectu corporis, et qua
 nolui, infelix hac ego parte trahor.
 omnia naturae solvuntur viscera nostrae,
 et tam praeclarum quam male nutat opus! 260
 his veniens onerata malis incurva senectus
 cedere ponderibus se docet ipsa suis.
 ergo quis has cupiat per longum ducere poenas
 paulatimque anima deficiente mori?
 morte mori melius, quam vitam ducere mortis 265
 et sensus membris hic sepelire suis.

239 iac. semp. **L P** (semper *supra* viv. **V**) | iaceant semper vivamque
B; semp. iaceat vivatque **FG** 240 computet **AFGV**: me putet **BLM**
Bo.¹ **Bo.**² **Br.**; me putat **P** 242 offendunt **GM** | nocent **BFG** **L** 247
 rear **BV** | est spir. **M**; inspir. **M**; inspir. **B** 249 ipsa **AV**: ipse *crit.* |
 sonus **A** 250 avolat **L**; advolat **F**; devol. **M**; evol. **BP** | reddit **F**
 252 turbidus lux in **A**; t. heu in **M**; t. heu **L** 253 fulcra] filtra **AG** |
 dari **A** | sunt duris **G** | calcibus **F** | aequet **A** 257 vivimus **G** 260¹ nutat
GMPV 266 hic sep. **AV**: ac sep. **F**; quam sep. **M**; sic sep. **BGL**;
 insep. **P** *post* 266 iterat 279 **F**

I 267-292

non queror heu longi quod totum solvitis anni:
 improba naturae dicere iussa nefas.
 deficiunt validi longaevo tempore tauri,
 et quondam pulcer fit modo turpis equus. 270
 fracta diu rabidi conpescitur ira leonis
 lentaque per senium aspera tigris erit.
 ipsa etiam veniens consumit saxa vetustas,
 et nullum est quod non tempore cedat opus.
 set mihi venturos melius praevertere casus 275
 atque infelices anticipare dies.
 poena minor certam subito perferre ruinam,
 quod timeas gravius sustinuisse diu.
 at quos fert alios quis posset dicere casus?
 hoc quoque difficile est commemorasse seni. 280
 iurgia, contemptus violentaque damna secuntur
 nec quisquam ex tantis praebet amicus opem.
 ipse me pueri atque ipsae sine lite puellae
 turpe putant dominum iam vocitare suum.
 irrident gressum, irrident iam denique vultum 285
 et tremulum, quondam quod timuere, caput.
 cumque nihil videam, tamen hoc spectare licebit
 ut gravior misero poena sit ista mihi.
 felix qui meruit tranquillam ducere vitam
 et laeto stabiles claudere fine dies: 290
 dura satis miseris memoratio prisca bonorum,
 et gravius summo culmine mersa ruit.

267 nec **FL** | totum quod **M** 268 iussa **ALM**: om. **P**; viva iura
G 271 rabidi **AFV**: rap. *cell.* 272 aspera **A**: caspida **V**; caspia *cell.*
 273 consumat **A**: consumet **BV** 274 est om. **M** 275 quam exc. **Loid.**
L | quod pertimeas sust. **L** | gravius om. **L**; gravis (*cum rasura*) **A** 279
 at] ad **G**; et **PV** | posset *codd. omnes praeter F qui exhibet posiet* 284 iam]
 me **BM** 285 irrident *primum per haplographiam* om. **A** | gressum **A**:
 gressus *cell.* | iam **A**: om. *cell.* | vultum] vultus **BGM P** 286 tremuere
P; tenuere **V** 287 nihil] parum **M** | haec **G M** 289 meruit] potuit **L**
 290 laetos stabili **FV**; leto instabiles **G** 292 ruit **A**: ruunt *cell.*

CRITICAL APPENDIX

I 1 *aemula*: *a, mala* B. (cp. CIL X² 8131, 1) less picturesque; see comm. *cessas*: *tardas* Man. (from *tarda* below?—same confusion IV 35.) *finem*: *mortem* Man.—a gloss. 2 *hoc fesso* more likely original than *effesso* Man. (but cp. Traube; still *hoc f.*; *hec f.*; *ec f.*; *eff.*; is possible—cp. exc. Vor. I 128); *effeto* (Traube corr.) is better, but Boet. de cons. I metr. 12 (not 9, as he cites), is not parallel, as there the personal pronoun has already been expressed (1, 3, etc.), here *hoc* is personal. *tarda venis*: *t. manes* Sittl (A L L 1—1884 S. 482); *tardueris* B.—tetrasyllabic close! *pigra* Par. Gad. Man. came in after *tardas* was written in 1 (cp. Pacuvius Herm. 179, Ov. Mett. X 396; Hrabanus Maurus XXXVII 7, Eugenius Tol. opusc. I xii 87.) 3 *qui* (Propertius I xii 11): *quod* B. and Ehwald (F; cp. Ov. Tr. III xi 25, V i 40; CIL VI² 13528, 15. 11 *mendacia dulcia* (see Broer. p. 9); *mend. carmina* A, from gloss—Heege (p. 4, Anm.) cites *mend. blanda*—I 129. 18 *multa*: *muta* Barth (Ov. ex P. II vii 52); *nulla* Petsch. *quae vel si desint cetera multa*, (sic!) *placet* (or comma after *cetera*) Broer. 28 *melos*: *melo* M B and Ellis; *meis* B. (cp. Comoediae Horatianae T. P. 68.) 42 *multa*: *mulsa* Ellis. 48 *Socrātem* (Sidonius Ap. carm. II 178, XV 96 *Socrāticus*): *te Sōcratē* Ellis. 63 *venali* (see comm.): *iunili* G (EL I 9, Comoediae Horatianae N. S. 88—same vs. place; in inscr.—e. g. CIL VI¹ 1975, 3); *iuniali* Petsch. (Verg. V 475) 68 *effugiens*: *et f.* Barth (Verg. Buc. III 65), *effugiis* B., *e facie* Ellis: see comm. 96 *nigra* alterum; *clara* B (B P R; cp. Comoediae Horatianae N. S. 39); *pigra* Petsch. If any change were necessary, *lima* would be better than *pigra*, as it suggests innocent coquetry. 107 *hunc . . . ille*: *haec . . . illa* Br. (and Ellis). *clarior*: *carior* vulgate (and Ellis). 113 *condicio*: *contritio* or *descriptio* Ellis. 117 *defunctum partibus* (omitting *in*) Ellis. 119 *cāligant*: *vacillant* Ellis. 126 *obstupet* (A etc.) unclassical; *a! stupet* B.; *ars stupet* Owen, Ov. Tristia proleg. p. xcii; cp. Ov. Tr. I ii 32—an almost certain conjecture; see comm. however. 130 *commoda iura* Broer. p. 13 sq. 141 *condantur* Ellis. 152 *esse*: *ecce* B., *ipse* Withof (and Ellis). 154 *dulces*:

CRITICAL APPENDIX

duplices Bo.¹ (from Ausonius XXIII App. iv 2?) 157 *quem: cui* (G M) plainly interpolated; see Rönsch, It. u. Vulg. S. 441. *iam nulla: non ulla* Heege (from Verg. II 726.) *en me quam crudum, quem nulla adversa nocebant* ("auffällig ist die Wortstellung"—Huemmer) Petsch. 163 *Veneris: Cereris* Withof (and B.). 168 *aegris: curis* Petsch. 169 *sic: sed* Petsch. 170 *damnis: donis* Ellis. *tristior: strictior* Ellis. *herba: urna* B. 177 *cultus*, Ommerenus (and Ellis) for *vultus*. 178 *quis sine iam: quinetiam est* Ellis. *quin sine maestitia (tristitia)* B. 189 *dependens: se tendens* B. 193 *quaerere, quae nequeo semper retinere, laboro* Ommerenus (and Broer.) *quaerere qui nequeo*, Petsch. 201 *nulla: stulla* B. *licet nolis* (same metrical position Lucan II 512, Martial IX prol. 1): *licet notis* (h. e. qui ea noverunt) B; *nobis* (A etc.) is corrupt. 216 *diminui: dem.* B. 219 *prorsus: rursus* Ellis from Bo.¹; see comm. 225 See comm. on I 289. 228, 229 original; 229 dropped (F), because it and 230 were *ἑνωμένοι*, then 228 omitted. 233 *extendere* G (Petsch. and Ellis); *expendere* probably due to the presence of *poenis*. 238 *adtracti: attriti* Wernsdorf; *adtacti* Ellis. 240 *sub vitali* (see comm.): *funus tali* (B.; *subdivali* Ellis. *computet: non putet* B., Ellis, Broer. *me putet* Ellis (B L M Bo.¹ Bo.² Br.) *loco: rogo* Ellis. 252 *turbida nox quantis* Petsch. 259 *viscera: vincula* Ellis. 265 *morte: Marte* B. 266 *consepelire* B. for *hic s.* 271 *dix* (Ellis, Broer, p. 22): *die* Ommerenus (and B.) 272 *aspera* (Hor. Carm. I xxiii 9): *caspia* (Ellis: so Keller: Thiere des classischen Alterthums, S. 130 cites this vs. and omits to refer to Ennodius XLIII [Carm. I ix] 63), "docti cuiusdam interpolatio est"—Petsch. 279 *at: ac* B. 290 *leto instabiles* (G) may hide a better reading than *laeto stabiles*. 292 *mersa* (see comm.): *missa* vulgate (and B.).

TRANSLATION OF MAXIMIANUS I

Address to Senectus

Jealous Old Age, why do you hesitate to hasten the end?

And why do you come slowly upon this tired body?

Free, I pray, my wretched life from such a prison:

death is now a respite, living is punishment for me,

I am not what I used to be: the best part of me has perished; 5

also, stiffness and enfeeblement control what remains.

(Life's) light is grievous in mourning, most pleasant in happy times,

and what is worse than any death is to be wanting to die.

The Accomplishments of His Youth

While my youthful beauty, while my mind and senses lasted,

I was an orator, famed throughout the whole world. 10

Often I have composed agreeable poetic deceptions

and the panegyric fashioned by me brought true honours.

Often after pleading a case I received a garland

and I earned pleasing rewards for my oratory.

Since these skills have no vitality in my weakened body- 15

alas, how small the crumbs of life that remain for the old!

No less than these the pleasure of a handsome body was mine,
 and should that be lacking, many other qualities are very pleasing,
 yes, more precious than yellow gold is the skill
 through which one's brilliant talent sparkles the more. 20
 If I wanted to try (shooting) swift arrows from a bow,
 the sought-for prey fell by my weapons.
 If I wanted to encircle a dense wood with dogs,
 I felled, not without merit, many wild animals.
 If, by chance, I had the pleasure of engaging a sweaty wrestling partner 25
 I tangled up his slippery limbs with my powerful muscles.
 Sometimes I used to go ahead of all by my agile running,
 sometimes to excel in the melodies of tragic song.
 The sweet *mélange* of talents increased my worthiness,
 as a work of art with *variatio* always sparkles with more life. 30
 For those thoughtful words which usually give pleasure on their own,
 give greater pleasure when conjoined with a connecting figure of speech.
 Amongst these riches of talent an unconquerable patience
 spurned all threats:
 my head uncovered I would endure wind and rain, 35
 neither summer heat, nor cold weather was bothersome to me:
 I used to swim the icy water of the Tiber River
 and I did not fear to entrust my body to its dangerous water.

However scanty my sleep I could refresh myself,

and however modest my food nourish myself;

40

but, if unexpectedly a wine-bibbing friend found me

or a happy day made me consume many (drinks),

even father Bacchus himself yielded and was astonished at my drinking,

and he, who customarily conquers everything, goes away conquered.

Content with Modest Means

It is not easy to bend one's thinking to such great ideas

45

that one mind may harbour two opposing modes of thought:

they say that in this struggle also of the virtues

great Socrates once earned the palm,

from this struggle they recall that even puritan Cato drew strength.

Circumstances do not lead to vice, but evil deeds do.

50

Fearless I was carried both ways whatever happened:

all sad thoughts yielded to my mind.

Content with modest means I have always embraced poverty

and I have been a master of my life by coveting nothing.

You alone subdued me, wretched Old Age,

55

whatever can conquer everything yields to you.

We are wrecked on you, whatever wearies is yours;

you, the actual end, end yourself by your own evil (way).

Social Success

Therefore the whole province used to hope

to marry me, blessed with ability, to their children. 60

but it is sweeter for me to live with my neck unyoked

and to avoid the pleasurable chains of marriage.

I used to go through the middle of Rome, my body for sale,

to be admired from all sides by all the young girls.

A girl who could be sought, had perhaps been sought, 65

when she came into my sight, blushed at the sight of my face

and sometimes smiling, she sought hiding places, a fugitive,

not escaping, however, nor wishing to hide completely,

but rather she was yearning to be seen from some angle,

happier rather for the reason that she was badly protected. 70

Thus I seemed handsome to all and pleasing to each,

and thus I was a fiancé' to all,

but only a fiancé'; for nature had made me

chaste, and I was obdurate in my pure heart.

No Woman is Worthy of Him

For so long as I yearned to bond myself to an outstanding beauty, 75

I constantly remained cold on my bachelor's bed.

To me every girl seemed repugnant and every girl unrefined
and none worthy of marriage to me.

I used to shudder at the skinny girls, shudder at the plump ones,
the short was not pleasing to me, nor the tall. 80

I loved to play only with a medium frame;
for the greater pleasure is contained in moderate things.

Soft lust inhabits these parts of our body,
the Mother of Love is mistress of these abodes.

I used to seek a slender female, but the sort who was not skinny: 85
fleshy limbs are pleasing for the business of the flesh.

let it be a body which it is delightful to squeeze in an embrace
so that no bones whatever harm the squeezed side.

I was contemptuous of white faces, unless, pink-flushed,
they bloomed cheerfully with their own roses. 90

Venus, herself, asserts her title to this colour before any others,
and in all places the Cypriot Goddess loves her own flower.

Golden hair and a milky-white, lowered neck
seemed to be more becoming to noble faces.

I often noticed their black eyebrows, clear forehead, black eyes, 95

and they used to burn my soul.

I loved flaming, full lips,

which, when tasted, would give me full kisses

on a shapely neck. Gold seemed more precious

and, in my judgment, a gem to shine more.

100

Childhood, Youth and Old Age

It is degrading for an old man to itemize formerly sought pleasures;

what was fitting in the past, now only has reproach.

Different things delight different people: not everything is suitable

for every age: a pastime, previously appropriate, becomes harmful.

Child(hood) exults in frivolity, old age in seriousness:

105

between the two (extremes) youthful dignity stands (solid).

It becomes the old to be silent and sad, let the young be brighter

in joyfulness and the chit-chat of their tongues.

Flowing time drags with it everything and turns it around

and does not allow anything to run on a sure path.

110

Now because long life is grievous and useless to me,

since I cannot live, may it be possible for me to die!

O how harsh are the terms of life that oppress the wretched (old):

and Death does not lie under human jurisdiction.

It is sweet for the miserable to die, but hoped-for death recedes:

115

but, when it will be sad, it comes prematurely.

Physical Ailments of Old Age

Indeed, alas it is apparent that I, already

dead in such significant ways, travel Hell's paths alive.

Now less acute is my hearing, my sense of taste; my very eyes

are dim; I can scarcely recognize familiar objects by touch 120

no fragrance is sweet, now no pleasure is agreeable:

who would think that I, bereft of sense-impressions, remain alive?

See, Lethe's oblivion undermines my mental prowess,

and, confused, it can no longer remember itself:

It rises to no challenge, it languishes with my body 125

and preoccupied with its own afflictions is amazed by them.

I sing no songs: the supreme joy of singing

has fled and the true pleasure of my voice has perished.

I importune no public spaces. I compose no poetry,

I pursue easy lawsuits without energetic litigation. 130

And my physical beauty itself, formerly beloved, has abandoned me

and I seem to be dead as far as my beauty is concerned.

Now a pallor and a bloodless, funereal colour

cover my face instead of the peaches and cream complexion of the past.

My dry skin is moistureless, my muscles are stiff all over, 135

and my crooked hands scratch my itchy body.
 From a perennial font my once laughing eyes
 now weep their torments day and night;
 and over those eyes, which handsome garlands of eyebrows used to protect,
 a shaggy bush, hanging down, presses, 140
 and, as if hidden, (the eyes) are shut in a dark cave:
 alas, they see a wild and raging mien.
 Now, to have seen an old man is a fright, and you could not believe
 that he who lacks human reason is a human being.
 If I reread books, the lettering splits itself in two, 145
 the familiar page, expanding, rushes at me.
 I seem to discern bright light through mist,
 even clear weather is cloudy to my eyes.
 The light of day is snatched away without death:
 who would deny that he who is enclosed in a blinding darkness is in a 150
 Tartarean place?
 What mad counsellor could persuade a man of such miseries
 that he would desire by his own prayers to be more ugly?
 Now diseases undermine him, a thousand dangers,
 now delicious banquets and indulgences harm him.
 I am forced to withdraw my mind from pleasant things, 155
 and I stop living in order to live.
 and me, whom for a long time no adversity harmed,

now, the very nourishments by which my (health) is governed oppress.

It is pleasant to be full: soon I will regret it;

it is better that I abstain: it is harmful to have abstained.

160

The food, that at one time had been a boon, is returned undigested:

Food, which at one time was delicious, lies despised.

Neither the gifts of Venus, nor of Bacchus are pleasing to me,

nor anything else that usually disguises the deprivations of life.

No Medicines Help the Old

One's nature, lying alone, remains, which of its own accord

165

decays through time and is, itself, eaten away by its faults.

Oft-proven medications are no help to me,

nor anything which used to bring help to the sick.

But whatever is prepared, its efficacy perishes with its substance,

and our physique becomes more and more wretched from its own deficiencies. 170

It is not different from one who, anxious to prop up a building threatening to collapse,

leans props against it from the opposite direction,

until advancing time, with every joint loosened,

undermines the support itself with the structure.

The Old Man Grows Weaker and Endures the Mockery of the Young

What about the fact that no social life alleviates one's mind, 175

and it is not permissible to disguise the numerous setbacks of one's life?

Disgraceful for an old man are radiant faces and comely garments,

without which even living is now a disgrace for the old man.

It is a reproach to love jokes, a reproach to love banquet and song:

O they are wretched whose joys harbour rebukes. 180

What value is wealth to me, if you have snatched away its use?

Although endowed with riches, shall I always be destitute?

Nay, it is even a hardship to take possession of any acquired things

which, although you are the owner, it is wrong to violate.

No differently does thirsting Tantalus grasp for 185

the waters close by and holds back his mouth from the food beside him.

I actually am made the guardian of my own possessions

conserving, rather, for others what has perished for me.

Likewise the huge snake, hanging in the golden orchards

and watchful, guards apples not his own. 190

From this cares torture me above all, make me anxious,

from this no rest is given to my soul.

I always struggle to hold onto what I cannot acquire,

and holding I always suppose that I have held nothing.

The old man stands hesitant and trembling, always prone to believe 195

in misfortune, and, foolish, he fears his own actions,
praises the past years, despises the present,
thinks that only that which he himself knows is right.

He judges that he alone is learned, is skilled,

and he is most foolish in thinking that he is wise.

200

He, relating many things and repeating them again, although you don't want to hear them,
has a dreadful appearance and splutters his verbiage.

No listener is present, yet he keeps on talking.

O old men, strong in talkativeness alone!

Vainly he fills everything with his raucous shouts:

205

nothing suffices: he shrinks in horror at what just now gave pleasure.

He smiles at those making fun of him, and while applauding himself

he begins to be more joyful on account of the insult to himself.

These are the first signs of death, from these portents life

slips down and seeks the depths with sluggish steps.

210

Neither his bearing, nor his colour, nor his steps as he goes,

nor his appearance remain the same as before.

With my body stooped over, my garment slips from my shoulders.

What had been short only now is long for me.

I am huddled up and I shrink in an amazing way:

215

you would think the very bones of my body are diminished.

Nor is it allowable to look at heaven, but prostrate Old Age

sees the earth, her source and destination,
and becomes three-legged, then four-legged, like a tiny baby,
and crawls, bringing tears to your eyes, over the dirty ground. 220

Prayer to Mother Earth

All things seek out their roots again and look for their mother,
and that which previously was nothing returns to nothing.
From this is derived the fact that old age, leaning on a cane and on the point of falling,
strikes the unfeeling ground with persistent tapping
and moving numerous steps in a regular beat 225

from his wrinkled mouth he is believed to utter such (as follows):

"take me, Mother Earth, pity the struggles of your child:

I ask that you embrace my tired body in your bosom.

Children dread me, I cannot be seen as I was before:

why do you allow your offspring to become frightening? 230

Nothing is left for me with the living: I have fulfilled the duties of life:

return, I pray, my dying body to the ancestral soil.

What is the point in extending wretched lives by various torments?

To allow that is not characteristic of a mother's heart."

Indignities of Living Death and Grudging Acceptance of the Tyranny of Time

These words spoken, he supports his tottering limbs on a staff 235

while returning to the hard straw of his neglected bed.

After he has lain down upon it, what separates him from a pitiful corpse?

Alas you only see the bones of a curled-up body.

And while I rest more and more and I live by resting,

who would think that I am in the realm of the living? 240

Now the torment is entirely the fact that I am alive: I am roasted in the summer heat,

the clouds harm me, the cold and wind hurt,

the dew is chilling and I am even wasted by a light rain,

a lovely day of spring or fall is chilly.

From this itchiness exhausts me in my misery, 245
from this breathless coughing exhausts me:

sick Old Age has continuous groans.

Do I think those to be still alive to whom both the life-giving air

and the light, by which we are ruled, actually become burdensome?

Even rest itself, which is also most pleasing to all, and sleep

fly away and scarcely return to me late in the night, 250

even, if it ever blesses my tired bones,

troubled, it trembles in such awful dreams!

Soft bedposts are like hard pointed rocks,

blankets, though small, have great weight.

Disturbed, I am forced to rise in the middle of the night 255

and to endure many things, lest I endure worse.

I am conquered by the failing of my weakened body,

and unhappily I am dragged, by that part by which I will have regretted.

All the centre of my nature is disintegrating,

and how badly so splendid a creation totters!

260

Bent over Old Age, weighed down by these burdens as she comes,

herself teaches him to yield to her oppressive loads.

Therefore who would desire to bear these torments for long

and to die gradually while one's reason deteriorates?

It is better to die with death than to lead a life of death

265

and to bury one's senses in one's own body here (on earth).

Alas, I do not lament because you, long years, unravel all :

it is forbidden to say that the dictates of nature are immoral.

Strong oxen grow weak in old age,

and the horse, once beautiful, is just now made ugly.

270

The angry lion, aggressive for a long time, is broken and subdued

and the fierce tigress will be slowed by age.

Advancing time actually consumes even rocks,

and there is no creation that does not yield in the face of Time.

But it is better for me to anticipate the coming disasters

275

and to look ahead to the unhappy days.

It is a lesser punishment to endure abruptly a certain death

(than) to have sustained for a long time what one more grievously fears.

But who could say what other disasters (Old Age) brings?

This also is difficult for the old man to have recounted. 280

Quarrels, contempt and violent injury follow

and not any one friend out of so many numbers offers help.

The very children, boys and girls without a quibble,

think it vile to keep calling me "Sir" now.

They mock my gait, now finally they mock my face 285

and my twitching head, which they once feared.

And although I see nothing, yet I shall be allowed to see this

so that that despicable punishment may be even more demoralising
for me in my misery.

Happy is he whose reward has been to lead a tranquil life

and to terminate his strong days with a blessed death: 290

The remembering of former good times is hard enough for the miserable

and, having plunged, rushes too heavily from its high peak.

COMMENTARY

aemula...senectus. Both W. and Sp. quote Verg., *Aen.*, 5.415-16, aemula *necdum / temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus* and indicate that the idea is common. *Aemula* was not found with *senectus* elsewhere. See note on 217.

finem properare. There were no examples of *properare* with *finem*, though the verb is found with *mortem* at Verg., *Aen.* 9.401, *pulchram properet per vulnera mortem*? (W.) and Tib., 3.7.205, *seu matura dies celerem properat mihi mortem*. W. considers *properare* to be technical of premature death, citing several examples from *CIL* including 2.1413.4, *properantur tempora fati*, and 14.3723.5, *immatura mors properata*, but it does not appear in Lattimore's essay on "The Untimely Dead" pp.184-87.

1-2 senectus...tarda. *Tarda* is an ancient epithet for old age; see Enn., *Trag.* 300, *tarda in senectute*; Hor., *Sat.* 2.2.87-88, *seu / dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus*? (W.); Tib. 2.2.19, *Vincula, quae maneant semper, dum tarda senectus* (W.); Ov., *Tr.* 4.8.23, *tarda vires minuente senecta* (W.), and Sil. Ital. 10.103, *nec tarda senectus* (at verse end), and 11.358, *tardam ne sperne senectam*.

2 **in hoc fesso corpore.** In classical Latin *in* or *ad* + the accusative is usual after *venio* (OLD #3d). According to Blaise, "*in* + ablative" may answer the question "*quo*" instead of "*in* + accusative" in late or medieval Latin. To express motion in a direction M. has *in* + accusative once at l.50 and *ad* + accusative once at l.222, but he seems to prefer compounds of *eo* + the accusative e.g. *Tartareas ... inire vias* (l.118) and *Lethaea meam subeunt obliviam mentem* (l.123).

fesso. *Fesso* commonly occurs on tombstones (W.) and frequently in literature with *corpore*: Cat. 64.188-89, *non tamen ante mihi languescent lumina morte/nec prius a fesso secedent corpore sensus*; Tac., *Ann.* 2.71, *Caesar paulisper ad spem erectus, dein fesso corpore, ubi finis aderat*, and 6.46 *incertus animi fesso corpore consilium cui impar erat fato permisit*.

tarda venis. The phrase begins the hexameter in Verg., *G.* 2.58, *tarda venit seris factura nepotibus umbram*, and the pentameter in Ov., *Fast.* 3.350, *tarda venit dictis difficilisque fides*. In addressing *Senectus*, M. may be putting *venis* with the vocative adjective at verse end - like the addressee; he also avoids having *tarda venis* in the same position in the line as *aemula ... cessas*. For a similar verbal pattern, W. cites Prop. 2.13.50, *O mors cur mihi sera venis*.

3 **de carcere vitam.** A similar idea, using this vocabulary, occurs in Cic., *Rep.* 6.14, *Immo vero, inquit, hi vivunt, qui e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero, quae dicitur, vita mors est*. The concept of the body as a prison-house goes back to Orphic

belief (Williams, R.D. *The Aeneid of Vergil* V.1, p.504); W. cites Plato, *Phaedo* 6 B, and Luc. 6.721 *invisaque claustra timentem / carceris antiqui*. See also Verg., *Aen.* 733-733, *hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras / dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*.

4 *mors ... requies*. The theme "death is a rest from the trials of life" is a sepulchral commonplace, according to W., who cites several examples from *CIL*. The following has the same theme as the poem: *poenam non sentio mortis / poena fuit vita, requies mihi morte parata est* (11.207.5-6). He notes that it occurs also in Sall., *Cat.* 51.20, *in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem non cruciatum esse*. Ovid has a different need for the relief of death at *Met.* 10.377-78, *nec modus et requies, nisi mors, reperitur amoris / mors placet*.

vivere poena. For the theme, see Sen., *Contr.* 10.5.17, *nec aliter illum Philippus vendidisset nisi putasset illi poenam esse vivere* and *CIL* 11.207.5-6, cited above.

5 *non sum qui fueram*. Nearly the same phrase begins the hexameter in Prop. 1.12.11, *non sum ego qui fueram: mutat via longa puellas*, and Ov., *Tr.* 3.11.25, *non sum ego quod fueram; quid inanem proteris umbram?* (W.) Occasionally, Propertius uses the pluperfect as equal to the preterite or imperfect to express, apparently, sudden or rapid action (Butler and Barber). According to Richardson (ad loc.), the sentence seems subsequently to have become a catchphrase, if it was not so already. {4A - Elegiac Tradition}

pars maxima nostri. W. has noted the verbal echo of Ov., *Am.* 3.7.69, pars pessima nostri - Ovid's euphemism for his misbehaving *mentula*. On the surface the reader can take the definition of the phrase from l.9 *dum iuvenile decus, dum mens sensusque maneret* (cf. Hor., *Carm.* 3.30.6, *multaque pars mei*). However, I believe the reader is intended to remember the Ovidian original and make the interpretation that sex was the best part of M.'s life. The replacement of *pessima* by *maxima* is a joke, a pun on the name, Maximianus. The phrase then sets the tone for the poem: the theme of the miseries of old age is an excuse for erotic jokes at the expense of the said Maximianus. {2 - Humour, Ovidian}

6 horror habent. Sp. says that *horror* means trembling, but it also means stiffness; a blend of both meanings seems more appropriate when it is coupled with *languor*. Cf. Ov., *Met.* 9.290-91, *quin nunc quoque frigidus artus, / dum loquor, horror habet, parsque est meminisse doloris.*

7 lux. This is a common figure for life, e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 4.31, *o luce magis dilecta sorori*, and *G.* 4.255, *tum corpora luce carentum / exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt*. It forms an oxymoron with *gravis*, a set epithet for old age and death, e.g. Cic., *Sen.* 2, *quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim*; Sen., *Oed.* 594, *gravis senectus* (W.), and Ov., *Met.* 7.299, *quoniam gravis ipse senecta est*. Cf. Mart., *Ep.* 10.23.5, *Nulla recordanti lux est ingrata gravisque.*

8 *velle mori*. See Ov., *Met.* 10.132, *velle mori statuit* where the phrase begins the hexameter. W. cites Luc. 4.279-80, *cadat impetus amens, / perdant velle mori*, and 485, *velle mori* at verse beginning. The phrase, with reversed word order, is found at Sen., *Contr.* 7.3.3.8, *cum se mori velle dicat, vitam roget*; *Contr. Exc.* 8.4.1.8, *quid est in vita miserius quam mori velle*, and frequently in Quintilian: *Decl.* 1.335.2, *ipsum sit calamitatis genus mori velle*; 1.335.3, and 337.4.

mens sensusque. See Cic., *Cat.* 1.17, *dubitas quorum mentis sensusque volneras*; *de Orat.* 1.224, *mentis sensusque degustet*; *Marc.* 10, *te vero quem praesentem intuemur, cuius mentem sensusque et os cernimus*, and *Luc.* 66.17, *mentem sensumve*. That this is a Ciceronian phrase is certainly probable, as Cicero's writings were an essential part of the school curriculum (Riche p.79, n.166). See also *Sen.* 72, *spondisse dicitur: "senectute." sed vivendi est finis optumus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit, natura dissolvit*, which exemplifies Cicero's much more optimistic view of old age.

{1 - Ciceronian}

10-14 These verses resemble ancient epitaphs in which the dead are made to list their own great qualities in a short autobiographical sketch, e.g. *Francus ego cives, Romanus miles in armis, egregia virtute tuli bello mea dextera semper* (CE, 620 [Aquineum]), and *studia amavi, obsequens magistris fui, observavi parentorum praecepta, me([os] [a])micos colui, patronos, bonos (omnes)*, (CE, 1568, 9-10 [Rome]). On the subject of the tombstone panegyric see Lattimore, p.285-90.

10 **toto clarus in orbe.** The phrase was found only once, at Sen., *Oct.* 935-36, *cuius nomen clarum toto fulsit in orbe*.

11 **poetarum mendacia dulcia finxi.** The idea is old. Plautus sees poetry as *mendacia* at *Ps.* 401-4, *sed quasi poeta, tabulas cum cepit sibi, / quaerit quod nusquam gentiumst, reperit tamen, / facit illud veri simile, quod mendacium est, / nunc ego poeta fiam*. Cicero writes about the difference between poetic imagery and *veritas*; he sometimes used the former to further an argument; see Cic., *Leg.* 1.4, *Et mehercule ego me cupio non mendacem putari, sed tamen nonnulli isti, Tite noster, faciunt imperite, qui in isto periculo non ut a poeta sed ut a teste veritatem exigant*. Sp. cites Ov., *Am.* 3.6.17, *mendacia vatum*; *Fast.* 6.253, *mendacia vatum*; and *Tr.* 2.355, *magnaue pars mendax operum est et ficta meorum*.

12 **res...ficta.** This phrase was used by Cicero at *Inv.* 1.27, *argumentum est ficta res, quae tamen fieri potuit*, and *Amic.* 24, *stantes plaudebant in re ficta*. See also Quint., *Decl.* 342.7, *nam ipsa statim scaena rem fictam esse testatur*.

13 **perorata...lite.** W. claims that this is a Ciceronian expression, but the search turned up no examples. The simple verb *oror* is used with *lis*, occurring twice on the PHI CD-ROM disk: Cic., *Off.* 3.43, *orandae litis tempus*, and *de Orat.* 2.43, *in lite oranda*.

14 **linguae praemia.** For the theme Hor., *Ep.* 1.3.23-25, *seu linguam causis acuis..../ prima feres hederæ victricis praemia*.

15 **defectis...membris.** See Luc. 4.600, *iam defecta vigent renovato robore membra*. This appears to be the only occurrence of *membra* with the past participle of *deficio* on the PHI CD-ROM disk.

16 **vitae portio.** From the time of Plautus *portio* is used in the expressions *pro portione* (OLD 1) and *ex, pro portionibus* (OLD 2). On the PHI CD-ROM disk there were no examples of *portio* with the genitive and without the preposition until the first century A.D., and only once did the phrase *vitae portio* appear: Juv. 9.127-28, *angustae miseraeque brevissima vitae / portio*, already noted by Sp.

19 **fulvo pretiosior auro.** The verse ending is Ovidian: *Ars* 2.299 *aurata est? ipso tibi sit pretiosior auro* (W.). See also *Am.* 3.8.3, *ingenium quondam fuerat pretiosius auro*. The same phrase occurs midline in reverse order at *Met.* 8.79, *illa mihi est auro pretiosior*. At *Met.* 1.115, *fulvo pretiosior aere*, is actually the closest match to M.'s line, and see the introduction for matches in Alcuin and Florus of Lyon.

{3 - Model, Ovidian}

20 **praeclarum...ingenium.** Note Cic., *ad Br.* 23.9, *praeclara illa quidem ingenia quae gloria invitantur*.

21 **celeres...sagittas.** W. indicates that this is a stock phrase of Augustan poetry and he gives as examples Verg., *Aen.* 1.187; 5.485; 9.590, and Hor., *Carm.* 3.20.9. See also *Aen.*

12.394, *augurium citharamque dabat celerisque sagittas*; Tib. 3.7.89, *Quis tardamve sudem melius celeremve sagittam / iecerit*; Ov., *Met.* 5.367, *inque dei pectus celeres molire sagittas*; and *Met.* 8.380, *dum levat hunc Peleus, celerem Tegeaea sagittam / imposuit*. *Sagitta* is almost invariably the ending of the hexameter.

22 *prāedā^u petita meis*. *Petita meis* preceded by a trochee is an Ovidian verse ending. W. cites Ov., *Am.* 3.7.2, *At non formosa est, at non bene culta puella, / at, puto, non votis sāepē^u petita meis*, and *Pont.* 2.2.14, *ullā^u petita meis*. See also *Ars* 2.2, *Decidit in casses prāedā^u petita meos*. W. also cited *Am.* 1.8.92 *et soror et mater, nutrix quoque carpat amantem: / fit cito per multas prāedā^u petita manus*; where the old crone, Dipsas, using a hunting metaphor, lists the assortment of servants who benefit from hunting through the pockets (fleecing) their lady's lover. For the use of *petere* in this sense see Hor., *Ep.* 5.10, *petita ferro belua* (W.) and Cic., *de Orat.* 3.102, *haud praedam petit*.

{1 - Ovidian}

23 *circumdare saltus*. This hunting term is used by Vergil at *Ecl.* 10.57, *Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus*, and *G.* 1.140, *inventum et magnos canibus circumdare saltus* (W). Seneca refers to the latter citation from Vergil at *Ep.* 90.11 and at *Dial.* 7.14, *latos canibus circumdare saltus*.

25 *dulce fuit*. Cf. Hor., *Ep.* 2.1.103, *Romae dulce diu fuit et sollemne reclusa / mane domo vigilare*, and Ov., *Tr.* 3.4b.54, *quicquid et haec nobis post duo dulce fuit*.

madidam...palaestram. W. cites similarities with Luc. 9.661, *liquidaeque palaestrae*.

si fors. The phrase holds the same position in the hexameter at Verg., *Aen.* 12.183, *cesserit Ausonio si fors victoria Turno* (W). There are two more examples at Ov., *Met.* 1.297, *figitur in viridi, si fors tulit, ancora prato*, and *Met.* 11.751, *proximus, aut idem, si fors tulit, "hic quocque", dixit*.

26 implicui. W. translates this line "I have grappled with strong men", citing Luc. 3.695 *implicitis ... membris*. Certainly that is the imagery of the verb which is used regularly to describe vines growing around a tree at Cat. 61.35, *ut tenax hedera huc et huc / arborem implicat errans*, the entanglements of lovers' arms, Cat. 61.108-9 *implicabitur in tuum / complexum*; Ov., *Am.* 2.18.9, *implicuitque suos circum mea colla lacertos*, and, also at verse-beginning, *Ars* 1.561, *implicitamque sinu*, the winding of snakes around their victims, Verg., *Aen.* 2.214-15, *corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque / implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus*, and hand to hand combat, Verg., *Aen.* 11.631-32, *tertia sed postquam congressi in proelia totas / implicuere inter se acies legitque virum vir*. R. considers *implicuitque* (Ov., *Am.* 2.18.9) the source (p.66), but I think it difficult to pinpoint with accuracy the source of a single word that is used in a not irregular way. If I were to choose a specific antecedent, I would incline to the Vergilian *implicuere* (*Aen.* 11.632) for a mock heroic effect.

lubrica membra. *Lubricus* is a natural way to describe an active body doused with olive oil: this phrase occurs once at Stat, *Silv.* 4.2.47-48, sic lubrica ponit / membra Therapnaea resolutus gymnade Pollux.

30 **artis opus.** The pentameter ending is Ovidian; see *Ars* 1.266, *dicere praecipuae molior artis opus*; 2.214, *casus inest illic; hoc erit artis opus*; *Fast.* 1.268, *ipse meae movi callidus artis opus*; 6.662, *quod subito gratae frangeret artis opus*, and *Pont.* 2.11.2, *Naso, parum faustae conditor Artis, opus.*

{1 - Ovidian}

33-38 M.'s "lifestyle" is reminiscent of that attributed to Cato. See Plutarch, *Marcus Cato* 20.4-7.

33 **has inter.** The phrase occurs at the beginning of the hexameter in Verg., *Aen.* 12.318, *has inter voces, media inter talia verba*, and *G.* 1.237, *has inter mediamque duae mortalibus aegris*; in Prop. 1.16.13, *has inter gravibus cogor deflere querelas*; in Luc. 9.734-35, *has inter pestes duro Cato milite siccum / emetitur iter*; and five times in Silius Italicus at 6.512; 9.632; 10.185; 13.601; 14.442. With all these citations the phrase looks like a poetic tradition originated by Vergil.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

tolerantia. The noun is not common in the period before 200 A.D., but W. cites two examples: Cic., *Parad.* 4.27, *tolerantia rerum humanarum*, and Quint., *Inst.* 2.20.10. Other examples are found in Col., 8.16.3; Gel., 11.18.17, and 12.5.3; Quint., *Inst.* 5.10.33, and

Sen., *Ep.* 31.7; 66.13; 67.5, and 115.3. *Tolerantia* is listed by neither Du Cange nor Souter but is defined by Blaise as "the courage to endure" and "resignation".

34 *spernebat...minas*. Cf. Ov., *Met.* 5.669, *rident Emathides spernuntque minacia verba*, Luc. 5.578, "*sperne minas*" inquit "pelagi ventoque furenti / trade sinum", and Tac., *Ann.* 14.36, *miscebat ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanis minas*.

35 *vertice nudato*. There is no exact parallel. Sp. notes Verg., *Aen.* 12.312, *nudato capite*, and W. Sil. 1.250, *tum vertice nudo*. Compare Ov., *Fast.* 3.753, *milia crabronum coeunt, et vertice nudo / spicula defigunt*, and Col. 10.11.334, *nudo / vertice trunca iacent tristis consumpta veneno*.

ferebam. With the sense of enduring the weather, see Stat., *Silv.* 1.6.27, *dum nostri Iovis hi ferantur imbres*.

35-36 The theme of the couplet recalls Tib. 1.2.31-32, *non mihi pigra nocent hibernae frigora noctis, / non mihi, cum multa decidit imber aqua*.

36 *non mihi*. With this phrase Tibullus begins one pentameter at 1.2.32 (cited just above), Propertius one at 2.7.16, *non mihi sat magnus Castoris iret equus*, and Ovid three at *Pont.* 1.1.48, *non mihi, sed magno poscitur ille deo*; 3.5.12, *non mihi quam primo grata fuere magis*, and 4.12.22, *non mihi quam fratri frater amate minus*. It also occurs at the beginning

of the hexameter twice in Vergil at *G.* 2.43, and *Aen.* 6.625-26, *non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum, / ferrea vox*, thirteen times in Ovid, and three in Lucan. This verse-beginning likely belongs to poetic tradition; however, it does not appear in Horace or Propertius.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

37 *innabam*. This verb is used in hexameter verse with a direct object e.g. Verg., *G.* 2.451, *nec non et torrentem undam levis innatat alnus*; 3.142 *carpere prata fuga fluviosque innare rapacis*; *Aen.* 6.134, *bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra vlere*; 6.368-69, *ostendit (neque enim, credo, sine numine divum / flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem)*; 8.651, *et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis*, and Sil. 4.363-64, *et tandem bellis innare subactis / Eurotan patrium*.

gelidas. *Unda* is often modified by this epithet in the Augustan period and later. It occurs 4 times in the same line position: Ov., *Met.* 5.433, *nam brevis in gelidas membris exilibus undas / transitus est*; Sil. 17.314, *at tu, qui gelidas Ticini primus ad undas*; Stat., *Theb.* 1.357, *Inachus et gelidas surgens Erasinus in undas*, and 9.573, *ante diem gelidas ibat Ladonis ad undas*.

Tiberini gurgitis undas. W. notes that this recalls the verse end at Pers. 2.15, *Tiberino in gurgite mergis*, which is metrically equivalent. Another similar line is Verg., *Aen.* 10.833, *interea genitor Tiberini ad fluminis undam*. The adjective *Tiberinus* occurs regularly in this position of the hexameter with *gurgis* or *flumen*: e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 11.49, *instructos acie*

Tiberino a flumine Teucros, and Hor., *Ep.* 1.11.4, *cunctane prae campo et Tiberino flumine sordent*? The rhythm of the line from the long syllable before *Tiberini* resembles the waves of the sea, rising to crests in the dactyls and sinking to troughs in the spondees. These undulations are lost in the following citations where two spondees precede *gurgitis undas*: Ciris 416, *vinctane tam magni tranabo gurgitis undas* (R., p.56); Sil. 12.750, *corpora nunc viva sparguntur gurgitis unda*, and 15.485, *fluminei veluti deprensus gurgitis undis*. The Vergilian phrase *Tiberini ad fluminis undam* may have been a model for M., for, as well as the metrical similarity, it has two genitives and the accusative of *unda*.

{3 - Model, Vergilian}

38 *nec timui*. Ovid begins the hexameter with this phrase at *Her.* 16.74, *nec timui vultu quamque notare meo*, and the pentameter at *Fast.* 3.617, *nec timui de morte tamen: metus abfuit iste*.

dubio...freto. The only occurrence of *dubium* with *fretum* is at Sen., *Thy.* 292, *dubiumque Libycae Syrtis intrabit fretum*.

40 *modico...cibo*. This seems to be a medical term used fourteen times by Celsus.

40 *membra fovere cibo*. *Fovere* with the accusative *membra* occurs first in Tib.1.8.30, *ut foveat molli frigida membra sinu*. The phrase is found in Ovid at *Her.* 16.224, *membra superiecta cum tua veste foveat* and 21.190, *aegra superposita membra fovere manu*; the last

example, as noted by R. (p.66) is parodied by M., who places his phrase in exactly the same place in the line. The meaning of *fovere* in M. is overtly "to nourish", but in the context of their citations, the elegiac poets clearly have the erotic sense "fondle". Thus, although the line ostensibly depicts the Catonian regimen that M. says he followed, the Ovidian phrase *membra fovere manu* is called to mind and throws doubt on the claim.

{2 - Humour, Ovid}

multa dies. No examples of this phrase at verse-end were found, but it is used to begin the hexameter as early as Ennius (Macr. *Sat.* 6.2.16.127k2) *multa dies in bello conficit unus*; Hor., *Ars* 293, *multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque*, and Verg., *Aen.* 11.425, *multa dies variique labor mutabilis aevi*.

43 pater Bacchus. *Bacchus (Liber)* is often referred to as *pater* in classical authors, but the title follows the name in these two examples in the vocative case: Hor., *Carm.* 3.3.13, *hac te merentem, Bacche pater*, and Ov., *Met.* 13.669, "*Bacche pater, fer opem*".

44 vincere, victus. W. notes that the paradox recurs at lines 56 and 257 and is found at Hor., *Ep.* 2.1.156, *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit* ; Prop. 3.11.16, *vicit victorem candida forma virum*; Ov., *Met.* 9.250, and *Fast.* 3.101-2, *nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes / Graecia*. It is a stock expression with regard to Greek cultural influences in Rome.

victus abit. The phrase is Ovidian and occurs as a pentameter ending at *Ars* 1.394, *Perprime temptatam, nec nisi victor abi*; hexameter ending at *Ars* 2.197, *cede repugnantibus cedendo victor abibis*, and hexameter beginning at *Fast.* 5.649, *victor abit, secumque boves, Erytheida praedam*, and *Her.* 1.57, *victor abes, nec scire mihi, quae causa morandi*. The readers or listeners, who know Ovid, expect the departing character to be the winner, as in all of these examples, but M. makes him the loser - a humorous twist achieved by replacing the noun with the past participle of the cognate verb. {2 - Humour, Ovidian}

45 *haut facile est*. The phrase begins the hexameter at *Lucr.* 3.328, *haut facile est, quin intereat natura quoque eius*.

animus...inflectere. *flectere* with the accusative of *animus* seems more common: *Ter.*, *Hec.* 608, *istuc est sapere, qui ubiquomque opus sit animum possis flectere*; *Cic.*, *Brut* 142, *nulla res magis penetrat in animos eosque fingit format flectit*; *Leg.* 1.29.4, *si...non inbecillitatem animorum torqueret et flecteret*, and *Ov.*, *Met.* 2.482, *neve preces animos et verba precantia flectant*.

46 *una duas*. The Ovidian antithesis and pentameter ending very likely influenced M.: *Ov.*, *Her.* 7.138, *poenaeque conexos auferet una duos*; 16.70, *vincere quae forma digna sit una duas*; 18.126, *unaque mens, tellus non habet una duos*, and *Fast.* 6.100, *Pergama: plus laedunt, quam iuvat una, duae*. Note that in *Her.* 18.126 the fact that *una* modifies *mens* makes a close resemblance to M.'s line. {1 - Ovidian}

47 **quoque virtūtū quondam.** The alliteration occurs three times in Classical elegy in the same position in the hexameter at Tib. 1.1.19-20, *Vos quoque, felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri / Custodes*; Ov., *Met.* 4.281, *te quoque nunc adamas quondam fidissime parvo*, and *Tr.* 3.1.7, *id quoque, quod viridi quondam male lusit in aevo*. See also Sil. 8.146, *tu quoque, nostrarum quondam fiducia rerum*. The poets seem to want *quoque* at the verse-beginning, but metrical requirements necessitate a preceding monosyllable. Tibullus appears to be the originator of this phrasing.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

48-49 **prōmērūissē...vālūissē.** This is a common rhyme in classical elegy. However, it only occurs four times in this order (1st in the pentameter, then in the hexameter), but usually in a triple rhyme as in the following three quotations: Tib. 1.8.8-10, *Quos videt invitos subcūbūissē sibi / Quid tibi nunc molles prodest colūissē capillōs / Saepeque mutatas disposuisse comas*; Ov., *Her.* 9.72-74, *ne pigeat molli succūbūissē virō / Inter Ioniacas calathum tēnūissē puellās / diceris et dominae pētimūissē minās*, and *Epic. Drusi* 46-48, *Altius et vitiis exērūissē caput? / Nec nocuisse ulli et fortunam habūissē nocendi, / Nec quemquam nervos extimūissē tuos?* It is worth noting that in these three authors there are three successive lines, starting with the pentameter, ending in 2 syllables + *-uisse* + 2 syllables, 1 syllable + *-uisse* + 3 syllables, and 2 syllables + *-uisse* + 1 syllable so that each phrase has 7 syllables. M. has only the first two lines of this pattern. There is a precedent for this in Ov., *Fast.* 4.804-5, *et cessaturae subposūissē casae / per flammas salūissē pecus, salūissē colonos*. Here, Ovid puts the third rhyme two syllables before the caesura in the hexameter; however *saluisse* has only four syllables instead of the five

expected in the third rhyme, but is followed by the two as is usual in it - the effect is emphatic. An analysis of the Tibullan quotation on the basis of Wilkinson's study of verbal music (*Golden Latin Artistry*, p.9-11) reveals a plethora of unpleasant sounds; there are fully twenty sibilants in the three lines, several short i's and consonantal u's. The result is a hissing sneer, and the other three quotations are almost as ugly. One can only hazard a guess as to what M. is doing: assuming that the first two citations from ancient elegy are the most familiar to M. and noting that the rhymes pace a deepening involvement with a lover, perhaps one can credit M. with a humorous effect from using this pattern to progress from the high morality of Socrates to that of Cato. Unfortunately, his hexameter lacks the emphasis that Ovid's gains by the repeated past infinitive at *Fast.* 4.805 and his second pentameter line (l.50) falls flat. The influence of classical elegy is most probable.

{4A - Elegiac Tradition}

rigidum. This is a common epithet for Cato (W.), although it does not occur in Cicero. Plin., *Ep.* 3.21.5, *Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones*; Juv. 11.90-92, *cum tremere autem Fabios durumque Catonem / et Scauros et Fabricium, rigidique severos / censoris mores etiam collega timeret*, and Sen., *Ep.* 11.10, *Elige itaque Catonem; si hic tibi videtur nimis rigidus*.

50 W. asks, "Can the verse be intended as a citation from Cato, by confusion of Cato Dionysius (Catunculus), author of the collection of moral apophthegms *Disticha de Moribus ad Filium*, and the earlier moralist? Cf. *Dist.* 2.21, *nulla etenim vini culpa est, sed culpa*

bibentis." Catunculus (the diminutive became common as his works were studied by abecedarians, [Curtius, p.464]), who lived in the 3rd century A.D., is one of the old curriculum authors in the late Latin and medieval schools. (Curtius, p.51)

in vitium. This is the only time in this elegy M. uses *in* with the accusative (one manuscript (S) has *vitio*).

male facta cadunt. The same pentameter ending occurs at Ov., *Tr.* 2.1.148, *spes mihi, respicio cum mea facta, cadit.* {3 - Model, Ovidian}

51 intrepidus. This adjective begins the hexameter at Ov., *Met.* 9.107, *intrepidum pro se, curam de coniuge agentem*, and also at Luc. 2.207; 5.658; 6.219; 10.15; Sil. 4.460, and Stat., *Theb.* 11.687, but nowhere in Vergil.

53 modico contentus. See Juv. 9.8-9, *unde repente / tot rugae? certe modico contentus agebas*. The protestation of poverty is conventional (Baldwin, p.319), and, here, it is to be taken ironically. The irony may be potent, if the audience recalls Juvenal's line, which mocks a formerly well-groomed and now unkempt dandy (Courtney, p.425).

{3 - Humour, Juvenalian}

54 rerum dominus. Cicero uses this phrase at *Fin.* 2.37, *deinde adiunctis virtutibus, quas ratio rerum omnium dominas, tu voluptatum satellites et ministras esse voluisti*. See also Ov.,

Pont. 2.2.11-14, *nec nos Enceladi dementia castra secuti / in rerum dominos movimus arma deos*, where it occurs in the same position in the pentameter. (*Pont.* 2.2.14 is cited on Max. 1.22) Sp. noted Verg., *Aen.* 1.282, *Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam*, which, in Austin's view, is "magnificent, full of justifiable Roman pride" (Austin, ad loc.). Cf. Luc. 5.698, *non rector ut orbis nec dominus rerum* (to Caesar), and 6.505, *vel dominus rerum vel tanti funeris heres* (to Pompeius). If ancient epic, especially the Vergilian phrase, influenced M.'s line, it is a clever mockery of the remembered heroism of M.'s life.

{3 - Humour, Vergilian}

55-56 W. says "the paradox common of death (cf. Sen. *Herc Fur.* 726 and Vulg. 1 *Cor.* 15.26) is here applied to *senectus*, living death, with a trace of the erotic paradox" (see below). M. is acknowledging who is boss.

55 *tu me sola tibi subdis*. The irony is potent, if this is modelled on the classical elegiac address to a lover or friend; Sp. cites Tib. 3.19.3, "*tu mihi sola places*", and Prop. 1.11.23, "*tu mihi sola domus*". Also note Prop. 2.7.19, *tu mihi sola places*; Ov., *Ars* 1.42, *Elige cui dicas "tu mihi sola places"*, and Rem. 464, "*tu mihi solus eras*".

{4A - Elegiac Tradition}

57 *fatiscunt*. W. points out that this is a Vergilian line ending at *Aen.* 9.809, *et saxis solida aera fatiscunt*. It is also found at *Aen.* 1.123, *accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt*.

In the first century it is common, being used, for example, by Silius Italicus at 2.316 and 9.323, and by Statius at *Silv.* 5.1.35, and 5.5.21.

59 **provincia tota.** See Apul., at *Met.* 3.11.5, *et provinciam totam inclitae vestrae familiae nobilitas complectitur*. There has been some question of the exact meaning of *provincia*; however, according to W. "it is not necessary to make the scene of 59, 60 the same as that of 63 ff., though all the critics have done this, and so created, to a large degree, the difficulty in *provincia*." The phrase simply gives an exaggerated notion of his popularity as a youth.

60 **sociare.** In the classical period it is regularly the penultimate word in the hexameter, e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 4.16, *ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali*; Tib. 3.3.7; Ov., *Met.* 10.635; *Her.* 3.109; Stat., *Theb.* 1.460; 574 (W.). See also Verg., *Aen.* 12.27, *me natam nulli veterum sociare procorum / fas erat*, and 4.16. (See *coniugii vincula* 1.62).

63 **ibam.** See the same verse-beginning at Hor., *S.* 1.9.1, *Ibam forte via sacra, sicut meus est mos*, and Verg., *Aen.* 6.268, *Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*. (W. and Sp.) The subjects of *ibant* are Aeneas and the Sibyl, walking through the underworld.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

venali corpore. W. and Sp. interpret the phrase as meaning that he was up for sale - *un homme à prendre*. W. quotes the old proverb *omne Romae / cum pretio* (Juv. 3.183).

However a reasonable emendation is possible: **iuvenali corpore**. The third foot is changed from a spondee to a dactyl; this suggestion has already been made by Petschenig, citing Verg., *Aen.* 5.475, *et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires*, where it is in the same position in the hexameter (W., Critical Appendix, p.113). The idea is supported by G, though W. indicates that *iuvenili* is a syntactician's correction (p.19). Perhaps the fact that my search found that the phrase occurs twice in Ovid (in the same position) at *Met.* 2.150, *occupat ille levem iuvenali corpore currum*, and 4.50, *verterit in tacitos iuvenalia corpora pisces* is enough evidence to assume that *iuvenali corpore* could be correct. However, I prefer to read the Baehrens text unaltered, as I consider that *venali corpore* is a crude pun on *iuvenali (in) corpore*, a mockery of the phrase in Augustan epic. By this interpretation, the tone of off-colour humour is imparted to *spectandus...virginibus* as well (l.64).

{2 - Humour, Ovidian or Vergilian}

64 **spectandus**. This gerundive begins the verse at Hor., *Ars* 37, *spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo*; *Carm.* 4.14.17, *spectandus in certamine Martio*; Juv. 10.67 *Seianus ducitur unco / spectandus, gaudent omnes. "quae labra, quis illi / vultus erat"*. The Horatian ode is an epinikion for Drusus, brother of Tiberius, and is written in Horace's grandest style (Fraenkel, p.432). Juvenal's poem is satirical.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

65 **forte petita**. This also appears at the end of the hexameter in Sil. 13.637, *sola die caperem medio cum forte petitos*.

67 **fugitiva petebat.** The two ideas are frequently juxtaposed. See Verg., *Aen.* 12.263, *petet ille fugam*; Ov., *Met.* 5.460, *fugit anum latebramque petit*, and Sen., *Ep.* 44.7, *illam dum petunt fugiunt*. W. cites Verg., *Ecl.* 3.64-65, *malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella, / et fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri*.

67 & 68 **subridens...effugiens...volens.** The rhyme and flow of the participles extend the image of the flirting girl. Ovid uses three present participles at *Met.* 5.459, *mirantem flentemque et tangere monstra parantem* in conjunction with "seeking flight". In the first century a series of present participles was used in a number of descriptive passages: Luc. 9.722 -25, *oraeque distendens avidus fumantia prester, / ossaque dissoluens cum corpore tabificus seps; / sibilaque effundens cunctas terrentia pestes, / ante uenena nocens*, and Sil. 4.517-20, *agmina magno / respectans clamore uocat, quaque obuia densos / artat turba globo rumpens iter aequore fertur, / ut torrens celsi praeceps e uertice Pindi*. (Although *torrens* has become a noun, it carries on the sound and movement of its original present participle status.) Note that, although all these examples are found in epic poetry, none is found in Vergil. In late Latin the present participle can replace a relative clause (Norberg, p.145).

70 **male tecta.** See Ov., *Her.* 3.103, *Per tamen ossa viri subito male tecta sepulchro*, and *Tr.* 4.2.41, *cornibus hic fractis viridi male tectus ab ulva*.

71-72 **cunctis...omnibus.** Cicero uses *cunctus* in conjunction with *omnis*; *cunctus* seems to deal with a smaller unit and the sentences build up to a climax embracing something larger with *omnis*, e.g. Cic., *Vat.* 8, *Sed nihil sit factum mea causa: omnia illa senatus consulta, populi iussa, Italiae totius, cunctarum societatum, conlegiorum omnium decreta de me*, and *Fam.* 1.9.16, *te ferente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus hominibus incumbenibus, omnibus denique suis viribus recipavisset*. Servius' comments on the two words at *Aen.* 1.518.8 are as follows: *Cicero saepe ait "cuncti atque omnes", quia omnes non statim sunt cuncti, nisi idem simul sunt iuncti*. M. puts *cunctis* with *formosus* and *omnibus* with *gratus*. If he is thinking of building a climax as Cicero does, he spoils the progression with the conjunction.

72 **omnibus.** W. notes that there is a similar break at the end of the first foot in the pentameter at 1.196.

73 **natura pudicum.** The same ending in the hexameter is found at Ov., *Tr.* 3.7.13, *nam tibi cum facie mores natura pudicos, / et raras dotes ingeniumque dedit*. Ovid's poem is addressed to Perilla, a young girl of innocence who may have been his stepdaughter (Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* p. 345-6). The words *natura pudicum* recall her in an unusual setting; they are squeezed between M.'s flirtations with the girls on the streets of Rome (1.63 - 72 1/2) and his intimate knowledge of *amor* which he discloses while explaining that no woman is worthy of him (1.77-100). The phrase serves to point out that M. "doth protest too much" (*Hamlet* 3.2.242), when he credits himself with a *casto pectore* (1.74).

{2 - Humour, Ovidian}

74 **casto pectore.** *Castus* does not appear with *pectus* before Ovid. See *Her.* 13.30, *pectora legitimus casta momordit amor*, and *Sen., Phaed.* 130, *nefanda casto pectore exturba ocus*.

pectore durus. From the time of Homer an insensitive person was said to have a heart as hard as *ferrum*, *saxum*, etc. (see McKeown on *Ov. Am.* 1.11.9), e.g. *Pont.* 4.12.31, *quae nisi te moueant, duro tibi pectora ferro*. Here M. says he's *durus* because of a *castum pectus*!

75 **formae.** For *forma* as "beautiful woman" Sp. cites *Prop.* 2.3.32, *post Helenam haec terris forma secunda redit*. See also *Prop.* 2.28.53. This usage may have originated in comedy, since three of the five OLD citations are Pl., *Mer.* 405, *illa forma matrem familias flagitium sit sei sequatur*; *Ter., Eu.* 297, *taedet cotidianarum harum formarum*, and 361, *estne, ut fertur, forma?*

76 **viduo fr̄igidus̄ usquē toro.** *Viduo* + word(s) of 5 syllables + *toro* is an Ovidian ending for the pentameter, occurring at *Ov., Am.* 3.5.42, *frigidus in viduo d̄estit̄uērē toro*; *Her.* 5.106, *nunc iacet in viduo cr̄ed̄ul̄us̄ ill̄ē toro*; *Her.* 10.14, *membraque sunt viduo pr̄ācip̄it̄at̄ā toro*, and *Tr.* 5.5.48 *iustaque de viduo p̄āen̄ē qūer̄el̄ā toro*. *Prop.* 2.9a.16, *Scyria nec viduo Deid̄am̄iā toro* is worth mentioning here, though *toro* is an emendation (Butler and Barber, ad loc.). See also *Ov., Her.* 16.318, *in viduo iaceo solus et ipse toro*. Note that in the Augustan elegists *viduus torus* is the unhappy result of separation from a lover whereas M. chooses the empty bed.

{1 - Ovidian}

77-100 This catalogue of women contrasts with those of Ovid at *Am.* 2.4.9 ff.; *Ars.* 2.657 ff., and *Rem.* 327 ff. (Sp.). There is a great difference between the attitude of Ovid toward women and that of M. Ovid savours with relish the infinite variations in feminine charms and personalities. He introduces his catalogue with the statement that he has no specific idea of beauty in mind: *Am.* 2.4.9, *non est certa meos quae forma invitet amores*. His conclusion is that young women of any stripe attract him: 4.47-48, *denique quas tota quisquam probat Urbe puellas, / noster in has omnes ambitiosus amor*. M., on the other hand, has imagined an ideal woman whose beauty must be somewhere in the middle, without extremes: *cum media tantum dilexi ludere forma; / maior enim mediis gratia rebus inest* (l.81-2).

77 **omnis...omnis**. In the classical period this repetition is not joined by a conjunction; e.g. Verg., *Ecl.* 3.56, *et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos*. Such usage continues into the first century A.D., e.g. Stat., *Silv.* 5.1.25-26, *omnis pariter matertera vatem, omnis Apollineus tegeter Bacchisque sacerdos*. Statius postpones the conjunction at *Theb.* 4.557-58, *manus omnis in armis / omnis et in capulo*. The conjunction causes it to lose its rhetorical punch, unless it is repeated too as at Ov., *Met.* 7.198, *dique omnes nemorum, dique omnes noctis adeste*.

78 **coniugio digna**. See Prop. 3.12.16, *moribus his alia coniuge dignus eras*, Ov., *Met.* 8.131, *te vere coniuge digna est*, and 8.704-5 *dicite, iuste senex et femina coniuge iusto / digna*. Note Verg., *Aen.* 3.475, *coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo*, which is quoted at Gel. 15.13.10.

79 **tenues...pingues.** In the first century A.D. these adjectives were used together in natural science literature, e.g. Sen., *Nat.* 3.2.2, (*aquae*) *quaedam tenues quaedam pingue*, Plin., *Nat.* 18.123.3, *lens amat solum tenue magis quam pingue*, and Col. 2.10.15, *Lentim modo semediata luna usque in duodecimam solo tenui et resoluta vel pingui*.

horrebam. The imperfect of *horrere* begins the hexameter at Stat., *Silv.* 4.3.31, and three times in Silius Italicus at 4.741, *horrebat glacie saxa inter lubrica summo*; at 6.695, and 8.570; it is the first word in the pentameter at Ov., *Rem.* 664, and *Fast.* 2.348, *horrebant densis aspera crura pilis*.

80 **brevis...longa.** Sp. noted this reminiscence of Ov., *Am.* 2.4.35-36, *corrumpor utraque; / conveniunt voto longa brevisque meo*. Unlike M., Ovid loves these extremes, but compare Hor., *S.* 1.2.92-93, "*O crus! O brachia!*" *verum / depugis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est*, where Horace, with his usual wit, describes a woman with both "faults".

81 **media...forma.** W. notes the "golden mean" theme, adding that the lines evoke Martial at 1.57.1-3, *qualem, Flacce velim quaeris nolimve puellam? / nolo nimis facilem difficilemque nimis, / illud quod medium est atque inter utrumque probamus*, and he also cites Gellius at 5.11.11, *Inter enim pulcherrimam feminam et deformissimam media forma quaedam est*. Quintilian used the phrase to describe an oratorical style at *Inst.* 12.10.11, *Mediam illam formam teneant L. Crassus, Q. Hortensius*.

84 **mater amoris**. W. noted this phrase at the end of the hexameter in Ov., *Am.* 3.1.43, *rustica sit sine me lascivi mater Amoris*. That it is an Ovidian phrase is most probable, as it occurs twice as an address in the same place in the pentameter at *Ars* 1.30, *Vera canam: coeptis, mater Amoris, ades!*, and *Her.* 16.16, *hoc mihi quae suasit, mater Amoris, iter. Mater Amorum* terminates the hexameter at *Fast.* 4.1, "*Alma, fave*", dixi "*geminorum mater Amorum*"; *Her.* 7.59, *praecipue cum laesus amor, quia mater Amorum*, and 16.201, *Phryx etiam Anchises, volucrum cui mater Amorum*. {1 - Ovidian}

mater amoris habet. This pentameter ending of a two-syllable word + *amoris habet* appears once in Tibullus at 1.4.9-10, *O fuge te tenerae puerorum credere turbae, / Nam causam iusti semper amoris habent*. However, Ovid's influence is most probable as he uses it eleven times, eight in the same way as M., i.e. a two-syllable noun precedes *amoris* and is the subject of it: *Am.* 3.10.18, *rustica nec viduum pectus amoris habet*, *Ars* 2.16, *Nunc Erato, nam tu nomen amoris habes*; 2.176, *Et iocus, et causas quicquid amoris habet*; 2.242, *Curam mansuri quisquis amoris habes*; *Fast.* 4.195-96, (*mensis Cythereius illi / cessit, quod teneri nomen amoris habet*); *Fast.* 4.720, *Iunone invita munus amoris habet*; *Her.* 4.100, *illa ferae spolium pignus amoris habet*; 7.190, *ille locus saevi vulnus amoris habet*, 9.162, "*hic,*" dixit, "*vires sanguis amoris habet*"; *Tr.* 2.1.382, *haec quoque materiam semper amoris habet*, and 2.1.498, *qui semper vetiti crimen amoris habent*.

{1 - Ovidian}

86 **carnea**. Postclassical word meaning "of flesh" (Lewis and Short).

ad officium. The phrase occurs first in Plautus at *Trin.* 818, *Eo ego igitur intro ad officium meum* and frequently in Cicero (eighteen times). Petronius returned it to its ironic potential, as it is used here, at 26.1, *igitur ne maiorem iniuriam in secreto frater acciperet, consurrexi ad officium nuptiale*, and 74.7, *Trimalchio "quid vos" inquit "adhuc non cenastis? abite, ut alii veniant ad officium"*.

87 in amplexu. In Ovid *in* + the ablative of this noun occurs at *Am.* 3.8.12, *huius in amplexu, vita, iacere potes?*, and *Pont.* 1.9.19, *haesit in amplexu consolatusque iacentem est*. Ovid uses the accusative case with verbs of movement at *Ars* 3.732, *in amplexu uxoritura viri*, *Fast.* 4.171, *seu quod in amplexum sex hinc venere deorum*; *Her.* 5.100, *quae sit in amplexu tam cito versa tuos*, and *Rem* 668, *venit in amplexu*. See also Sen., *Phaed.* 705, *etiam in amplexu ruit*; *Thy.* 976, *hic esse natos crede in amplexu*; Stat., *Silv* 1.1.97, *ibit in amplexu*, and *Theb.* 5.73, *nullus in amplexu sopor est*.

stringere corpus. Compare the unique hexameter ending in Verg., *Aen.*, 10.331 *inrita, deflexit partim stringentia corpus*, / *alma Venus*, where Venus deflects the enemy weapons so that they just lightly graze or stroke Aeneas' body. Menelaus was protected in the same way by Athene (Il. 4.130). In M.'s phrase we have the picture of his hands stroking the body of a woman because of Venus' inspiration (l.84). The fact that the infinitive of *stringo* had to replace the present participle, so that *in amplexu* could be fitted into the line, doesn't prevent the audience from recalling the divine intervention in the military setting of the great epic;

M's "hands on" exploration of women, which, he implies, is inspired by Venus (l.84), is a grotesque caricature of the Vergilian line. {2 - Humour, Vergilian}

89 **candida...rubore.** *Candida* begins the hexameter when Corinna is presented as an epiphany at Ov., *Am.* 1.5.10, candida *dividua colla tegente coma*, for "the epithet is often attributed to deities" (McKeown). The white skin with the blush of rose is the choice of the poets and W. cites Verg. *Aen.* 11.68; Prop. 2.3.12, and Ov., *Am.* 2.5.37. Sp. notes *Am.* 3.3.5, candida, *candorem roseo suffusa rubore.*

90 **vernarent...rosis.** W. notes that this use of the verb seems rare, but cites *CIL* 9.4756.7, *flore genas tenero vernans*, and *Comoediae Horatianae T.P.* 37, *vernabunt roseae circum caput inde coronae*. Spring and roses are regularly associated: Sen., *Thy.* 947, Vernae *capiti fluxere rosae*; Ov., *Fast.* 5.194, (*dum loquitur, vernas efflat ab ore rosas*) and Prop. 3.5.22, *et caput in verna semper habere rosa*. (*De Tribus Puellis* in the anthology *Comoediae Horationae* is edited by R. Jahnke, who says on p.51 that the author and date of writing are unknown.)

ora serena. Compare Stat., *Theb.* 11.459, *non habitu quo nota prius, non ore sereno.*

91 **Venus...vindicat.** Ovid has Venus possess the spring month of April rather than the spring rose at *Fast.* 4.89-90, *Aprilem... / quem Venus iniecta vindicat alma manu*. W. suggests that the line may give added point to *rosea cervice refulsit* in the theophany of

Verg., *Aen.* 1.402. Apuleius covers Venus in roses at *Met.* 6.11, *Venus remeat totumque revincta corpus rosis micantibus*. Aside from the tradition associating Venus with roses, M.'s line is likely his own; the subject and verb are chosen for their alliterative effect, and alliteration is something of a fixation with him, e.g. 1.5, 13, 22, 31, 35, 40, 44, 55, 56-7, 58, 65, 89, 94, 101, 102, 107, 109, 110, 115, 125, 127, 136, 141, 144, 149, 154, 156, 175, 179, 190.

93 *aurea caesaries...lactea cervix*. This recalls, as noted by W., Verg., *Aen.* 8.659-60, *aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea uestis, / virgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla* (*vestis* = beard [Fordyce, *Aeneid VII - VIII*, ad loc.]). The Vergilian lines describe the solemn procession in the pageant of Roman history etched on the shield, which was given to Aeneas by Venus. They may be the model for 1.93. For *lactea cervix*, see also Apul., *Met.* 5.22.19, *videt capitis aurei genialem caesariem ambrosia temulentam, cervices lacteas genasque purpureas pererrantes*, where the same fashionable idea of beauty is found - golden hair, milk-white neck and blushing cheeks. {3 - Model, Vergilian}

demissa...cervix. Sp. cites Prop. 2.14.11, *at dum demissis supplex cervicibus ibam*. M. likes his women to be submissive.

94 *vultibus ingenuis*. For this adjective with *vultus* W. notes Juv. 11.154, *ingenui vultus*. See also Petr. 107.7, *vultus ingenuos*.

95 **lumina nigra**. For this Propertian oxymoron see Prop. 2.12.23, *qui caput et digitos et lumina nigra puellae / et canat ut soleant molliter ire pedes?*, and 4.3.14, *quae mihi deductae fax omen praetulit, illa / traxit ab everso lumina nigra rogo*. The phrase is not at verse-end, as in M.

{2 - Humour, Propertian}

96 **urebant animum**. The verb is used with *animus* in the accusative at Sen., *Oct.* 792, *Hinc urit animos pertinax nimium favor*.

97 **tumentia**. The epithet is found in the same line position of the hexameter at Stat. *Theb.* 6.484, *vela tumentia ponto*, and 3.443, *generisque tumentibus haerens*. It is commonly used for body swellings, including in a sexual sense, e.g. Hor., *Epod.* 8.9, *venterque mollis et femur tumentibus / exile suris additum*, and Sen., *Dial.* 5.39.4, *dum tumentem mammam leniter fovet*. In the following cases it has its original participial sense, being placed in apposition to the person and completed by the ablative of the part affected: Juv. 10.309, *utero pariter gibboque tumentem*, and Mor. 33, *labroque tumens* - the latter, mentioned by W, is the only example with *labrum*. Ovid makes "faces" subject of the verb at *Ars* 3.503, *ora tument ira*.

97-98 **labra ... gustata**. This may be a pun on what was possibly a common expression *primis labris gustare*, which is found twice in Cicero at *Cael.* 28, *non modo qui primoribus labris gustassent genus hoc vitae et extremis, ut dicitur, digitis attigissent*, and at *N.D.* 1.20, *hunc censes primis ut dicitur labris gustasse physiologiam id est naturae rationem*. In

addition to these examples, Cicero uses elsewhere the verb *gusto* in the sense of "test" or "try": *Fin.* 1.58, *animus a se ipse dissidens secumque discordans gustare partem ullam liquidae voluptatis et liberae potest*; *Tusc.* 5.13, *sic Stoicorum ista magis gustata quam potata delectant*, and *Fam.* 12.23.3. W. points out *Lucr.* 5.179, *qui numquam vero vitae gustavit amorem*, and *Cic., Tusc.* 1.93, "*nondum gustaverat*" inquit "*vitae suavitatem*".

98 *basia*. W. states "though common in Catullus, *basium* is not found in Tibullus or Propertius, but turns up again in Martial; probably it belonged to the everyday speech." My search determined that Ovid did not use it either. According to Axelson (p.35), the word is non-elegiac and coarse and is to be read as a blemish here. Catullus counts *basia* whereas M. is thinking of their quality in *plena basia*. See also *Petr.* 21, *basiis olidissimis* and 31 *spississima basia*. Martial has *molli...basia* in *Ep.* 11.22.1-2, and two similar pentameter endings, *basia pura dabunt* in 6.50.6, and *basia sola dares* in 8.46.6; in all he uses *basium* or a cognate (*basiare, basiatio, basiator*) 55 times. *Mart.* 8.46.6 may be the model for M.'s phrase.

{3 - Model, Martialian}

99 in *tereti collo*. W. cites *Ov., Met.* 10.113, *pendebant tereti gemmata monilia collo*". Another example of the epithet found with *collum* is *Stat., Ach.* 1.609, *e tereti demisit nebrida collo*.

pretiosius aurum. The similarity of this verse ending to that of l.19, *pretiosior auro* probably accounts for *pretiosior auro* in S, which must be an early attempt at correction.

100 **iudicio...meo**. Ovid uses the words of the phrase in the same pentameter position at *Fast.* 1.332, *veraque iudicio est ultima causa meo*, and *Tr.* 4.1.92, *tutaque iudicio littera nostra suo est*; 4.10.40, *otio, iudicio semper amata meo*; 5.3 54, *nullaque iudicio littera laesa meo est*, and *Pont.* 2.4.2, *Attice, iudicio non dubitande meo*. Note that there are always 5 syllables (1 dactyl, 1 trochee) between *iudicio* and the possessive adjective.

gemma...radiare. See *Ov.*, *Pont.* 3.4.103, *scuta sed et galeae gemmis radiantur et auro*.

101 **singula**. According to W., *singula* begins the line to break up a preceding catalogue. See *Ov.*, *Am.* 1.5.23, and *Martial* 11.8.11.

turpe seni. Numerous instances of *turpe* with old age exist; W. notes *Ov.*, *Am.* 1.9.4, quoted at line 177-78, which, he suggests, had become an everyday proverb. In the period to which this search is restricted, *turpe* is more often used with *senectus*: *Hor.*, *Carm.* 1.31.19, *turpem senectam*; *Verg.*, *G.* 3.96, *nec turpi ignosce senectae*, and *Sil.* 15.651, *et turpi finem donate senectae*.

102 **iām mōdō crīmen habet**. This pentameter line ending appears once in *Prop.* 2.32.2, *non cupiet: facti lūmīnā crīmen habent*, and frequently in Ovid at *Am.* 2.5.6, *nec data furtive mūnērā crīmen habent*; *Ars* 2.271-72, *turpiter his emitur spes mortis et orba senectus / a, pereant, per quos mūnērā crīmen habent!*, and the following (all of which have the verb in the singular *crīmen habet*): *Ars.* 2.634, *famaque non tacto cōrpōrē crīmen habet*; 1.586, *tuta frequensque licet sīt viā, crīmen habet*; *Fast.* 2.162, *cavit mortales; dē Iōvē crīmen habet*,

and *Her.* 18.142, *utque mihi parcat, nōmīnē crimen habet*. Note that, in most cases, the dactyl preceding *crimen habet* is a neuter noun, a practice M. imitates in line 180 *O miseri, quorum gāūdiā crimen habent*. {4A - Elegiac Tradition}

103 **diversos diversa**. The polyptoton occurs once in Lucretius at 5.646-47, *nonne vides etiam diversis nubila ventis / diversas ire in partis inferna supernis?*. M. has a penchant for this figure of speech, e.g. *carnis...carnea* (l.86), *carmina...cano: cantandi* (l.127), *hominem ...humana* (l.144) etc..

omnibus annis. See *Hor.*, *Ep.* 1.7.21, *haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis*; *Ov.*, *Pont.* 2.10.43, *haec tibi cum subeant, absim licet, omnibus annis*, and *Luc.* 7.421, *omne tibi bellum gentis dedit, omnibus annis* for the identical hexameter ending.

105 **levitate...gravitate**. Cf. *Cic.*, *Luc.* 66.24, *quam habemus de gravitate sapientis, errore levitate temeritate diiunctius*, and *Tac.*, *Ann.* 15.48.11 (noted by Sp.), *procul gravitas morum aut voluptatum parsimonia; levitati ac magnificentiae et aliquando luxu indulgebat*. This rhyming pair of opposites does not seem to have been used by the poets of the period under examination.

106 **inter utrumque**. This first occurs in *Hor.*, *S.* 1.7.9, *ad regem redeo postquam nihil inter utrumque*. Sp. considers it a formula, citing *Ov.*, *Met.* 1.50, *totidem inter utramque locavit*. W. states that it is an Ovidian line beginning and has five citations: *Ars* 2.63, *inter*

utrumque vola; *Met.* 2.140, inter utrumque tene; 8.13, inter utrumque volat dubiis Victoria pennis, 8.206, inter utrumque vola and *Tr.* 1.2.25, inter utrumque fremunt immani murmure venti. According to my search it occurs also at *Hal.* 85, inter utrumque loci melius moderabere finem.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

108 **linguae garrulitate suae.** Ovid used *garrulitas* once at *Met.* 5.678, *raucaeque garrulitas*. According to Sp. the ablative form is always the last two dactyls of the pentameter (it makes a perfect pentameter ending, when followed by an iamb); he cites *Mart.*, 5.52.8, *auctoris pereunt garrulitate sui*, and 7.18.8, *offendor cunni garrulitate tui* with the subjective genitive of *cunus*. There is also *Mart.* 7.62.4, *Et niger obliqua garrulitate cliens*. Here M. is speaking of the chatter of children, but he uses the same word for the muttering of old men, *O sola fortes garrulitate senes* (1.204). *Cunni garrulitate tui* may be the inspiration for the phrase.

{3 - Model, Martialian}

110 **currere quāēquē via.** For this Propertian pentameter ending see *Prop.* 1.2.12, *et sciat indociles currere h̄mphā vias*; 2.1.34, *Actiaque in Sacra currere rōstrā Via*, and 3.1.14 *non datur ad Musas currere lātā via*.

{1 - Propertian}

111 **longa mihi gravis est et inutile aetas.** See *Prop.* 3.5.23, *atque ubi iam Venerem gravis interceperit aetas*. Note that *gravis* and *aetas* have the same position in the hexameter and imply that great age spoils life. In contrast to the elegists, Caesar and Cicero have a different view of *gravis aetas*. In Caesar, *Gal.* 3.16.2.2, *nam cum omnis iuventus, omnes*

etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii, the adjective is not so negative and people of great age are relied on for their wisdom. Cicero uses *gravitas* with *aetas* with the meaning of "respect" or "authority": *Q. fr.* 1.2.3, *gravitas istius aetatis*, and *Sen.* 33, *gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas*. W. states that *gravis* is a set epithet of old age and death; he also suggests that the verse sounds like an imitation of Mart. 11.69.7, *Non me longa dies nec inutilis abstulit aetas*. That is possible, as both have the epithet *inutilis / inutile* with *aetas* and, also, *longa* and *aetas* have the same places in the hexameter.

{3 - Modci, Martalian}

112 *sit mihi posse mori*. This phrase ending the pentameter seems to be modelled on Ovid's use in *Ars* 2.28, *vivere non potui, da mihi posse mori*, and *Tr.* 1.1.34, *sedibus in patriis det mihi posse mori*. *Posse mori* is a graveyard tag e.g. *CIL* 6.29629.3, *si tamen haec vita est, tam cito posse mori* (W.). However, according to Lissberger p.41, Ovid is the inspiration for the epitaphs.

{3 - Model, Ovidian}

113 *condicio vitae*. This expression occurs seven times in Cicero: *Clu.* 154, *eam condicionem vitae*; *Fam.* 5.16.4, *ex iniquissima condicione vitae*; *Rab. Post.* 16.8, *illam condicionem vitae secuti*; *Phil.* 14.33, *ita pro mortali condicione vitae*; *Tusc.* 3.77, *de communi condicione vitae*; 4.63, *communis condicio lexque vitae*, and *Ver.* 2.3.98, *iniqua condicione vitae*. See also *Sal.*, *Cat.* 20.6, *condicio vitae*, and *Plin.*, *Nat.* 25.24, *condicio vitae*.

premit miseros. Cf. Ov., *Tr.* 2.450, *seque sua miserum nunc ait arte premi*.

114 humano...arbitrio. The phrase is found in Pl., *Nat.* 29.53, *tamquam congruere operationem eam serpentium humani sit arbitrii*, and Quint., *Decl.* 279.5, *alioqui enim tolerabilius et certe humanius erat arbitrium*. Seneca uses the genitive of *homo*, rather than the adjective, in a slightly more optimistic view of the theme at *Nat.* 2.38.3, *dicam quemadmodum manente fato aliquid sit in hominis arbitrio*. *Arbitrium* is found in Ovid 24 times, but never at the end of the line; however, it does not occur at all in Propertius or Tibullus.

115 dulce mori miseris. W. cites Sen., *Herc. Oet.* 111, *numquam est ille miser cui facile est mori*. For the theme cf. Ovid, *Ib.* 122, *optatam fugiat vita coacta necem*.

mors optata. The theme is discussed in philosophical writings e.g. Cic., *Tusc.* 1.117, *ut homines mortem vel optare incipiant*, and Sen., *Dial.* 10.16.3, *mortem saepe ideo optant*. See also Ovid, *Ib.* 122, cited above.

116 (mors) praecipitata. The verb is used with *prona pericula mortis* by Lucan at 5.692-94, *sors ultima rerum / in dubios casus et prona pericula morti / praecipitare solet*.

117-18 The theme "living death" introduces the catalogue of old age diseases.

118 **Tartareas constat inire vias.** Cf. Ov., *Fast.* 3.619-20, *adspexi non illo corpore digna / vulnera Tartareas ausus adire domos.* {3 - Model, Ovidian)}

119-22 M. begins with the loss of the five senses. Traditionally, possession of these is considered essential for *voluptas* in life, e.g. Gel. 19.2.1, *quinque sunt hominum sensus ... per quos voluptas animo aut corpori quaeri uidetur: gustus, tactus, odoratus, uisus, auditus*, and the lack of them is associated with death: Cic., *Fin.* 1.40, *quod mors sensu careat*, and Quint., *Inst.* 5.14.12, *mors nihil ad nos, nam quod est dissolutum sensu caret.* Cf. Cat. 64.188 - 89, cited in 1.2.

121 **est iam grata voluptas.** Ovidian hexameter ending at *Ars* 1.347, *sed cur fallaris, cum sit nova grata voluptas*, and 2.687, *quae datur officio, non est mihi grata voluptas.* In Ovid, *sit* and *est* are followed by words of two short syllables; thus, the fourth foot is a dactyl of which the quick and light beat is appropriate for the cheerful phrase *grata voluptas*. M.'s spondee *est iam* (preceded by another spondee) makes his line heavy footed and gloomy: the rhythm contrasts with the meaning of *grata voluptas* and serves to give point to the loss of it. It is interesting to note that Ovid has two spondees before the similar phrase *vera voluptas* at *Her.* 19.65, *Me miseram! brevis est haec et non vera voluptas*, in which he also expresses how wretched he is without *voluptas*. {3 - Model, Ovidian}

123 **subeunt.** W. notes that *oblivia* is the subject of this verb at Ov., *Tr.* 1.5.13, *quam subeant animo meritorum oblivia nostro.*

125 **ad nullum consurgit opus.** Sp. says that *opus* refers to a literary work. Since M. moves from the senses to the mind and its loss of memory (lines 123-24), he is saying that, with his body weakened, strenuous mental effort - *intenta* (line 126) - is stunted. However, I believe, along with W., that *consurgit* may add an erotic sense to *opus*. *Surgere* "*nonnumquam turpem habet sensum*" (Pichon, p.272); see Ov., *Am.* 2.15.25, *te nuda mea membra libidine surgent*, and *Am.* 3.7.75, *nullas consurgere posse per artes*.

languet. The verb is carefully chosen. It can simply mean to grow physically weak, e.g. *Lucr.*, 4.929-30, *unde / perturbari anima et corpus languescere possit*, where the *anima* is disturbed along with the debilitation of the body and is appropriate for a poem that makes overt claims to the theme of old age. However, the verb is also part of the amorous vocabulary in elegiac poetry (Pichon, p.183) cf. Ov., *Am.* 2.10.35-36, *at mihi contingat Veneris languescere motu / cum moriar, medium solvar et inter opus*, and this latter meaning illuminates the erotic theme under the surface.

126 **atque (mens) intenta suis astupet illa malis.** The line, as noted by W., recalls Ov., *Tr.* 4.1.4, *mens intenta suis ne foret usque malis*, with *intenta*, *suis*, and *malis* in the same positions in the hexameter.

{3 - Model, Ovidian}

127 **carmina nulla cano.** W. notes the nearly identical sentence in Verg., *Ecl.* 1.77, *carmina nulla canam, non me pascente, capellae*. The eclogue tells the story of the farmers who were dispossessed of their farms in order to give the promised land settlements to

Octavian's soldiers. Meliboeus, who must leave his pastures and flocks, will no longer sing to them and, in departing, he loses the most precious of all gifts - the inspiration to music (Coleman, ad loc.). The egocentric townsman M., who says singing was his *summa voluptas*, incongruously calls up a picture of the helpless shepherd, Meliboeus, when he repeats his "heartfelt" words.

{2 - Humour, Vergilian}

summa voluptas. The phrase occurs in the philosophical writings of Cicero and Seneca, who used it absolutely and, only rarely, with the genitive of another noun. One example was found in Cic., *Fin.* 2.89.3, *in qua quid est boni praeter summam voluptatem* (the expression is still abstract), and another in [Quint.], *Decl. Maior.* 3.6.4, *ac summa flagitiorum voluptas*.

129 *blāndā poemata pāngō*. Cf. Hor., *Ars* 416, *mīrā poemata fīngō*, a phrase with a not dissimilar sound. If M. revised Horace's line, he replaced *fīngo* and *mira* with words that give the assonance of the vowel A and the alliteration of labial consonants. Both devices are characteristic of late Latin poetry (Roberts, p.37).

{3 - Model, Horatian}

131 **species.** W. gives the translation "beauty", indicating that this "force is classic". Sp. agrees citing Juv. 10.310, and Ov., *Fast.* 5.353. However, allowing the word to carry the overtones of all its meanings, including "form" and "illusory impression" makes the loss greater and more tragic. A line with a similar sense is found in Ov., *Met.* 15.252, *nec species sua cuique manet*.

134 **pallor et exanguis.** Paleness is associated with sickness and death, e.g. Ov., *Met.*

15.627, *pallidaque exsanguis squalebant corpora morbo*, and 4.267, *partemque coloris / luridus exsanguis pallor convertit in herbas*.

136 **uncae...manus.** The claw-like hands in Verg., *Aen.* 3.216-17, are part of the description of the Harpies *foedissima ventris / proluviae uncaeque manus et pallida semper / ora fame*. In the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, Palinurus tries desperately to save himself by clutching the jagged outcroppings of a cliff: *prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis* (6.360).

scabida. Neither *scabida* nor *scabrida* (variant found in the manuscripts F and M) is in the Oxford Latin Dictionary, which means it did not appear in Latin texts until after the end of the 2nd century A.D. *Scabida* means "itchy" (Lewis & Short), "mangy", "leprous" (Souter), or "galeux", "rude", "grincant" (Blaise).

membra manus. This pair of words completes the pentameter at Prop. 3.16.6, *ut timeam audaces in mea membra manus*, and Ov., *Her.* 8.112, *ignara tetigi Scyria membra manu*, and begins the hexameter at Ov., *Met.* 4.382, *membra, manus tendens*, and Verg., *Aen.* 10.868, *membra manusque ambas*.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

137 **quondam.** W. points out that *quondam ... nunc* "is the motif for a good part of the elegy". Ovid never begins a line with *quondam*.

fonte perenni. W. says that this is "apparently commonplace" and cites Ov., *Am.* 3.9.25, *adice Maeonidea, a quo ceu fonte perenni*. The image is usually expressed with the noun *perennitas*, especially in Cicero, but see *Mil.* 34.23 *fontem perennem gloriae* for a different metaphorical use.

138 deplangunt. W. notes that the verb is not common, but is used by Ovid at *Met.* 14.580, *et ipsa suis deplangitur Ardea pennis* and 4.546, where *deplanxere* begins the hexameter. See also Sen., *Her. O.* 1851, *deplanxit una*.

nocte dieque. This common phrase occurs in the same position in the pentameter at Ov., *Pont.* 3.1.40, *et niti pro me nocte dieque decet*, Mart., *Ep.* 2.43.2, *quae tu magnilocus nocte dieque sonas*, and 11.56.6, *et brevis atque eadem nocte dieque toga*.

{4B - Poetic Tradition }

140 desuper incumbens. Statius begins the hexameter with this phrase at *Ach.* 2.151, *desuper incumbens verbisque urgere pudorem*. The hero, Achilles, in the story of his own upbringing, tells of the time he was losing his foothold in a swift stream and, while he struggled to stand firm, Chiron, looming over him (*desuper incumbens*), threatened and taunted him to keep him in his endeavour. M.'s bushy eyebrows, hanging over his eyes, taunt him in his predicament.

{2 - Humour, Statian}

141 **caeco conduntur in antro.** This closely resembles the end of the hexameter in Luc.

4.458, *caecisque abscondit in antris.*

{3 - Model, Lucanian}

142 **torvum nescioquid.** W. notes Ov. *Pont.* 2.8.22 *torvaeque nescio quid forma minantis habet?* as a parallel. Ovid says this while looking at Octavian's head on the obverse of a Roman coin.

{3 - Model, Ovidian}

furiale. W. considers *furiale* to be adverbial, but it could also modify *torvum nescioquid*.

Cf. a similar use of the neuter adjective in Hor., *Carm.* 3.11.17, *Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum / muniant angues caput eius atque*; Ov., *Met.* 4.506, *vertit furiale venenum / pectus in amborum*, and Stat., *Theb.* 11.583-84, *durus sanguine crinis / obnubit furiale caput*. For the adverbial use see also Stat., *Theb.* 6.429, *aurigae furiale minatur / efferus*, and Sil.

13.374-76, *inde minaci / obtutu torvum contra et furiale renidens / bellatorem alacer per pectora transigit ensem*. At Verg., *Aen.* 7.375, *furiale* modifies the neuter adjective *malum* in *penitusque in viscera lapsum / serpentis furiale malum totamque pererrat*.

144 **hominem humana.** This turns up frequently, especially in philosophical passages, in Cicero and Seneca, e.g. Cic., *Quinct.* 97.7, *si non hominis at humanitatis rationem haberet*;

Rab. Perd. 2.2, *cum dignitas hominis, cum ratio humanitatis defendum est*; Sen. *Dial.*

5.43.5, *dum inter homines sumus, colamus humanitatem*, and 12.8.4, *Quidquid optimum homini est, id extra humanam potentiam iacet, nec dari nec eripi potest*.

ratione caret. This vocabulary occurs at the end of the hexameter in Ov., *Am.* 1.10.25, *sumite in exemplum pecudes ratione carentes*, and *Fast.* 3.119, *ergo animi indociles et adhuc ratione carentes*.

145 libros repeto. There were no examples of *liber* in the accusative with *repeto*. The verb is used with *de* + the noun in *Rhet. Her.* 3.8.17, *argumentationis artificiose tractandae ratio de secundo libro petetur* and *3r.*13.6, *praeceptio narrandi de primo libro repetetur*.

duplex...littera. M. is saying that he "sees double" when he tries to read.

146 occurrit pagina. Martial frequently personifies *pagina*: *Ep.* 1.4.8, *lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba*; 4.10.2, *pagina dum tangi non bene sicca timet*; 5.6.15, *nigris pagina crevit umbilicis*. See also *Juv.* 7.100, *nullo quippe modo millensima pagina surgit*. A page will seem to grow larger and rush at a reader whose eyes become unfocussed.

147 claram per nebulas. Compare *Stat., Theb.* 6.388, *claraque per zephyros*, and 8.624 *claraque per somnos*, both introducing the hexameter line.

{3 - Model, Statian}

cernere lucem. This phrase is found as a hexameter ending at *Luc.* 4.568, *infudere mari despectam cernere lucem*.

148 **nubila...serena.** The oxymoron makes the statement ironic; usually when the two words are together, the context is one of hope - "clouds are cleared away", e.g. Sen., *Ep.* 107.8.2, nubilo serena succedunt, and Plin., *Nat.* 1.13.7, *hic caeli tristitiam discutit atque etiam humani nubila animi serenat*.

149 This line occurs towards the end of a long lament about failing vision and W. suggests that it means blindness with *dies* equalling *lux*; he also points to its funereal character especially as *eripio* is used of premature death e.g. Cic., *de Amic.* 102.5, *Scipio ... subito ereptus*. If one doesn't forget that *dies* means "day", *sine morte* can be read ironically, for the usual implication is "good luck", e.g. Petr. 108.9, *multi ergo utrimque sine morte labuntur*, or "timelessness", e.g. Prop. 3.2.26, *ingenio stat sine morte decus*.

caligine caeca. This hexameter ending is found, as noted by W., at Lucr. 4.456; Cic., *Arat. Phaen.* 34.478, *at vero serpentis Hydrae caligine caeca*; Verg., *Aen.* 8.253, *evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca*, and *Ilias* 308. It also occurs at Ov., *Met.* 1.70, *cum, quae pressa diu fuerant caligine caeca /sidera coeperunt*, and Sil. 5.34, *tum super ipse lacus densam, caligine caeca*.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

151 **demens homini persuaserit auctor.** The vocabulary and structure of this sentence bear a close resemblance to Verg., *G.* 2.315, *Nec tibi tam prudens quisquam persuadeat auctor*, where the *auctor* is a farm superintendant. *Auctor* does not appear as subject of *persuadeo* in the work of any poet except Vergil. (The only other occurrence of the phrase is in Quintilian

at *Inst.* 9.4.16, *magnus auctor Cicero persuaserit.*) Also W. notes that *talia quis demens* seems to be a rearrangement of Verg., *Aen.* 4.107, *quis talia demens / abnuat.*

{3 - Model, Vergilian}

152 *turpior esse suo.* R. notes the similarity of this pentameter ending to that in Ov., *Ars* 1.534, *non facta est lacrimis turpior illa suis* about the weeping Ariadne.

{3 - Model, Ovidian}

153 *subeunt morbi.* W. noted Verg. *G.* 3.67, *subeunt morbi tristisque senectus*, which was quoted by Seneca at *Ep.* 108.24 and 29. The phrase also occurs at *Ep.* 108.28, *quia subeunt morbi, quia senectus premit.*

{2 - Humour, Vergilian}

153-54 *iam subeunt...subeunt.../iam.* Catullus, on three occasions, introduces two successive lines with *iam* at 30.2-3, 46.1-2 and 46.7-8. Tibullus repeats *iam* in this way, at 1.1.70-71, *iam veniet tenebris Mors adoperta caput, / iam subrepet iners aetas, nec amare decebit*, 1.2.49-50, and 2.5.41-42; and Ovid at *Met.* 2.182-84, *et iam mallet equos numquam tetigisse paternos, / iam cognosse genus piget et valuisse rogando, / iam Meropis dici cupiens ita fertur*, where one hears the recurring *iam* and -sse sound of perfect infinitives, and also 13.764, *iamque tibi formae, iamque est tibi cura placendi, / iam rigidos pectus rastris, Polypheme, capillos, / iam libet.* This repetition is a poetic tradition and Vergil twice uses it at *G.* 2.416-17 *iam vinetae vites, iam falcem arbusta reponunt / iam car:* and at *Ecl.* 4.6-7 *iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna, / iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.* The

latter Vergilian citation is interesting, because the verb *redire* is repeated in exactly the same places as *subire*; M.'s line may actually be modelled from it.

{3 - Model, Vergilian}

154 *dulces ... nocent*. Cf. Ovid *Am.* 2.19.26 *stomacho dulcis ut esca, nocet*.

156 *ut vivamus vivere*. Sp. states that *vivere* simply means "*profiter de la vie*" and disagrees with W.'s interpretation "*vivere* has the technical sense of erotic poetry". The erotic sense is probably best exemplified by Cat. 5.1 *vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus* where *vivere* = *amare*. Note the similar paronomasia at Cat. 68.160 *lux mea, qua viva vivere dulce mihi est* with *vivere* in the same position in the pentameter. These sentiments found their way onto the epitaph *CIL* 2106.8, *felix te vivo morte ego rapta prior*, which was inspired by the just quoted line from Catullus (Lissberger p.95). W.'s interpretation is consistent with the underlying current of eroticism throughout the poem: even though the subject is *epulae* (l.154), the word is joined by a co-ordinating conjunction to *deliciae*, which means *venereae voluptates* , "*amantes*" and "*amatoria verba, amatorii lusii*" (Pichon, 125-6) and, in l.155, both are referred to as *gratis ... rebus* - *gratus* also has a sexual connotation in elegiac poetry (Pichon, 160).

ut vivamus vivere destitimus. The reverse of the theme "we stop living in order to live" is characteristic of the epithalamium, e.g. Petr. 34.10, *ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene*.

157 **dudum iam.** The reverse *iam dudum* is usual in classical Latin, but see Pl., *Mil.* 1028, *tibi uti dudum iam demonstravi*. M.'s usage is often at variance with that of the Augustan age (see on *in hoc fesso corpore...venis* [1.2]). *Dudum* with *iam* is not mentioned in any of the medieval dictionaries I consulted. *Dudum* alone, meaning "sudden", is found in Blaise. Perhaps this usage is a result of the archaizing movement that started in Quintilian's time (Williams, *Change and Decline*, p.306-12).

quem...nocebant. The transitive construction is commonplace in postclassical Latin (W., Sp.).

159-62 For the thought, cf. Ov., *Am.* 2.19.25-6, *pinguis amor nimiumque patens in tadia nobis / vertitur et, stomacho dulcis ut esca nocet* (R.).

159 **libet...pigebit.** The verbs are used for contrast, and the irony in the contrast is emphasized with the repeated *saturum*. Ovid has the same pair of verbs with a repeated word at *Met.* 9.631, *cum pigeat temptasse, libet temptare*.

160 W. notes that the break in the sense makes the hiatus less harsh. Lucan uses *praesto* and *noceo* to emphasize contrast at 10.388, *hoc praestare potest, Pompei caede nocentis*.

163 **munera Bacchi.** This phrase is often at the end of the hexameter: Ov., *Ars* 1.565, *ergo ubi contigerint positi tibi munera Bacchi*; *Met.* 4.765, *Postquam epulis functi generosi*

munere Bacchi, and *Met.* 12.578, *a sermone senis repetito munere Bacchi*. It belongs to poetic tradition, as it occurs also in *Col.* 10.1.1, *cum caneret laetas segetes et munera Bacchi*; *Man.* 4.204, *per nova maturi post annum munera Bacchi*, and *Stat., Ach.* 2.101, *haec mihi prima Ceres, haec laeti munera Bacchi*. {4B - Poetic Tradition}

164 *vitae...damna*. Cf. *Quint. Decl.* 305.16, *facile est vitae damnum*, and *Sen., Ep.* 68.8, *"o magnum virum! contempsit omnia et damnatis humanae vitae furoribus fugit"*.

166 *vitio* [˘]*carpitur ipsa suo*. W. notes the unusual pentameter ending at *Ars* 2.113-4, *forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos / fit minor, et spatio* [˘]*carpitur ipsa suo*. Ovid berates a youth for trying to impress his lover with physical beauty only; he reminds him of the importance of cultivating his mind for the later years when his beauty is gone *nec levis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes / cura sit* (121-2). The threat that youth and beauty will fade in its time is a common topos (Sharrock, p.39). M.'s poem uses the phrase to twist the theme to life itself being a victim of its own rot, but the irony is that, unlike a faded beauty, the old man has no alternative and no future. {2 - Humour, Ovidian}

167 *medicamina prosunt*. Cf. *Col.* 6.13.2, *id medicamentum candente sole inlitum maxime prodest*. For *medicamine* in the same position in the hexameter, see *Ov., Met.* 7.311, *dux gregis inter oves, agnus medicamine fiet* and 15.533, *nec nisi Apollineae valido medicamine prolis*. M. is in a bad way; in this line medications no longer help him, and in l.161 food no longer helps.

168 **ferre sōlēbāt opem.** This Ovidian pentameter ending is found at *Her.* 10.24, *ipse locus miserae ferre vōlēbāt opem*; 20.234, *quid dubitas unam ferre dūōbūs opem?*; *Pont.* 2.9.22, *supplicibus vestris ferre sōlētis opem*, and 3.6.20 *Leucothea nanti ferre nēgāvit opem*. There are two examples of the imperfect tense + *opem* at verse end: *Fast.* 5.62, *saepe ferebat opem*, and *Tr.* 1.5.76, *diva ferebat opem*. {1 - Ovidian }

171 **fulcire ruinam.** According to W., this architectural figure was common, and he cites *Ov.*, *Tr.* 1.6.5, *te mea supposita veluti trabe fulta ruina est*; 5.13.8, *quippe mea est umeris fulta ruina tuis*; *Pont.* 2.3.60, *restat adhuc umeris fulta ruina tuis*; *Luc.* 8.528, *tu, Ptolemaee, potes Magni fulcire ruinam*, also at verse end, and *Sen.*, *Nat.* 6.1.11.7, *quae in futurum ruina sua fulta sunt?*

173 **donec longa dies.** Poets use *longa dies* regularly to depict an event in which time would seem to drag, for example, Juvenal on the fall of Troy in 10.265, *longa dies igitur quid contulit?*, Ovid on old age at *Met.* 14.148, *longa dies faciet, consumptaque membra senecta* or on his suffering in exile *Pont.* 411.19, *At cum longa dies sedavit vulnera mentis*. However, W. notes an exact parallel for the full phrase in Verg., *Aen.*, 6.745, *donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe*, which also introduces the hexameter. These three words, originating in Anchises' account of the Roman view of life after death, recall the long, dreary wait of the souls that must be cleansed. They have an epic grandeur, perhaps because of the assonance of long O in *donec longa dies*, (the feminine adjective was chosen for

metrical convenience. [Austin, ad loc.]) and, set within the image of a collapsing building, i.e. within M's mundane life, they make a mockery of M. and his ego.

{2 - Humour, Vergil}

compagē soluta. W. noted *compagē* for the joints of the human body at Pers. 3.58, *laxumque caput compagē soluta*, also at verse end, and Sen., *Her. O.* 1228-29, *nec ossa durant ipsa sed compagibus / discussa ruptis mole conlapsa fluunt*. In addition consider the following hexameter endings: Luc.1.72, *sic, cum compagē soluta*, and Stat., *Theb.* 8.31, *ille autem supera compagē soluta*.

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

175 quid quod. This is a frequent introductory spondee of the hexameter in Ovid e.g. *Met.* 10.615-18

sed quod adhuc puer est; non me movet ipse, sed aetas.

quid, quod inest virtus et mens interrita leti?

quid, quod ab aequorea numeratur origine quartus?

quid, quod amat tantique putat conubia nostra,

which occurs 15 times in his poetry. Juvenal has the same construction at 3.86, 6.45, and 3.147, *quid quod materiam praebet causas iocorum*. See also Hor., *Carm.* 2.18.13, and *Epod.* 8.15, *quid, quod libelli Stoici inter Sericos*.

spectacula rerum. The one antecedent found for this is in Verg., *G.* 4.3, *admiranda tibi leuium spectacula rerum*. Vergil's term for the tiny, busy world of the bees (Mynors, ad

loc.) is *levium spectacula rerum*, a society much admired (*admiranda*) by men. The excerpted phrase represents the hive of human activity, from which M. is so cut off that he can merely gawk at it. M., so proud of his former role as a mover and shaker in society *toto clarus in orbe* (l.10), is now reduced to distant observer status.

{2 - Humour, Vergil}

176 nec *mālā*...*dissimulare licet*. The infinitive occurs frequently in Ovid in the same position and three times with *licet* at *Tr.* 4.9.32, *dum licet huic nomen dissimulare suum*; *Ib.* 304, *non licet hoc Cereri dissimulare sacrum*, and, as noted by W., *Her.* 9.122, *nec mihi quae patior dissimulare licet*. This last citation so closely resembles M.'s line that it may be the model for it. According to the pulse-accent theory, "coincidence" dominates in the last dactyl of the line when the infinitive with a long "a" or "e" is followed by a disyllabic end-word. (Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry*, p.123.) {3 - Model, Ovid}

177-78 *turpe ... seni*. The thought and vocabulary recall Ov., *Am.* 1.9.4, *turpe senex miles*, *turpe senilis amor*, and *Ars* 2.271, *turpiter his emitur spes mortis et orba senectus*. See note on line 101.

178 *quis sine*. W. points to the same construction in Verg., *G.* 1.161, *quis sine nec potuere seri nec surgere messes*.

179 **crimen amare iocos...convivia...cantus.** Cf. Cic., *Cael.* 19.46, *Obterendae sunt omnes voluptates, relinquenda studia delectationis, ludus, iocus, convivium, sermo est paene familiarium deserendus*, and Hor., *Ep.* 2.2.55-56, (noted by W.) *singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes: / eripuerunt iocos, Venerem, convivia, ludum.*

180 **crimen habent.** For this Ovidian pentameter ending, see on l.102.

181-82 For the theme, cf. Ov., *Am.* 3.7.49-50, *quo mihi fortunae tantum? quo regna sine usu? / quid nisi possedi dives avarus opes?* (W) and see the commentary on l.185.

183 **incumbere rebus.** Quintilian considers the construction with the dative a modernism: *Inst.* 9.3.1.

184 **violare nefas.** The two words frequently go together: e.g. Juv. 15.9 *porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu* (Sp.), and Nep., *Paus.* 4.4, *quod violari nefas putant Graeci.*

185 **sitiens...Tantalus.** Traditionally, Tantalus, with an insatiable thirst, is in a pool of water which always moves away from his mouth when he wants to drink; also, he looks just above his head to a bough of delicious fruit, but the wind blows it away whenever he reaches for it. The poets, like M., allude to Tantalus to represent the frustrations, the suffering of someone who cannot have what he needs or thinks he needs: e.g. Hor., *S.* 1.1.68, *Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat / flumina - quid rides?*, Ov., *Am.* 3.12.30, *proditor in medio*

Tantalus amne sitit, and Phaed. 7.6.7, *ostendit hominum sine fine esse miseras. / quod stans in amne Tantalus medio sitit*. W. cites Ov., *Am.* 3.7.51, *sic aret mediis taciti vulgator in undis / pomaque, quae nullo tempore tangat, habet*, with the same theme, i.e. old age prevents the quenching of the thirst for pleasure.

187 *custos rerum*. W. considers the phrase "rather grandiloquent", citing Hor., *Carm.* 4.15.17, *custode rerum Caesare*. From time immemorial it had been the pride of a good king to be regarded as the *custos* of his flock, and the idea was revived for Caesar (Fraenkel, p.296); *custos* is a familiar term for Caesar, but *custode rerum Caesare* is a bold superlative (Fraenkel, p.452). The phrase occurs in the last of the odes, in a stanza that must have flattered Octavian and every emperor after him. It would not be surprising to me if it had become required memory work for every schoolboy - much as "God Save the King" was for me. I believe its use here is intended to be ironic: M. likens his position to that of a political leader responsible for the public interest - unfortunately, the "public interest" happens to be his own private fortune!

{2 - Humour, Horatian}

188 *conservans...periere*. The vocabulary continues the irony, cf. Cic., *Phil.* 2.37, *patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram*.

189 **auricomis.** W. indicates that the word first occurs in Verg., *Aen.* 6.141, auricomos *quam quis decerpserit arbore fetus*, describing, as here, a tree. Silius Italicus uses the epithet in the same line position at 3.608, *iam puer auricomo praeformidate Batauo*.

190 **pervigil...draco.** The two words occur twice in Ovid and are placed, as here, at the beginning and end of the verse. W. cites *Met.* 7.149, Pervigilem *superest herbis sopire draconem*, and it is also found at *Her.* 6.13, pervigilem *spolium pecudis servasse draconem*. M. has moved his imagery from the responsible citizen to the mythical snake looking after someone else's property and, like M. (1.192), that snake, always *pervigil*, doesn't sleep. Cf. *Met.* 9.190, *pomaque ab insomni concustodita dracone*; 7.36, insopitumque draconem, and Sen., *Her. F.* 531-32, *cum somno dederit pervigiles genas / pomis divitibus praepositis draco?* The snake was the guardian of the golden apples of the Hesperides and Heracles managed to get three of them by a trick. The story is told by Ovid at *Met.* 4.637. ff. The snake is commonly regarded as sacred in antiquity, especially as the guardian of treasure (OLD #1,b).

{2 - Humour, Ovidian}

191 **super omnia.** W. points out the phrase in Verg., *Aen.* 8.303; Ov., *Met.* 6.526 and 8.677 in the same line position. It recurs, similarly placed, in Statius at *Theb.* 3.19.

torquent...curae. *Torqueo* is the appropriate word for the personified snake whose peace of mind is twisted with care; it must be intended as a pun - it is usually the snake's tail that is twisted. Cf. Sen., *Her. F.* 787, *longusque torta sibilat cauda draco*. For *cura* with *torqueo*

see Cic., *de Orat.* 3.33.10, *me maior in verbis (quam in sententiis) eligendis labor et cura torquet verentem.*

191-92 **hinc...hinc**. There are no examples of this repetition at the beginning of lines in elegy, but there are a few in the epic metre: Lucr. 1.254-55, *hinc alitur porro nostrum genus atque ferarum / hinc laetas urbes pueris florere videmus*; Verg., *G.* 2.45-46, *hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert, / hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus*; App. Verg., *Dirae* 86-87, *hinc ego de tumulo mea rura nouissima uisam, / hinc ibo in siluas: obstabunt iam mihi colles*, and Sil. Ital. 1.185-6, *hinc studia accendit patriae virtutis imago, / hinc fama in populos iurati didita belli.*

{4B - Poetic Tradition}

192 **requies**. This noun is often found with *animus* in Cicero, e.g. *Off.* 2.6, *oblectatio quaeritur animi requiesque curarum*; *Arch.* 13, *ad ipsam requiem animi*, and *Leg.* 2.2, *ad requietem animi*. In addition, cf. Livy 9.17.2 (with the dative of *animus*) *requiem animo meo quaererem*; Sen., *Her. F.* 1066, *Tuque, O domitor, Somne, malorum / requies animi*, and Tac., *Ann.* 2.33.16, *ad requiem animi ... parentur.*

193-95 **semper...semper...semper**. *Semper* repeated three times within three consecutive lines occurs at Ov., *Ars* 1.401-3,

nec semper credenda Ceres fallacibus arvis,

nec semper viridi concava puppis aquae,

nec teneras semper tutum captare puellas.

Another word is often repeated with *semper*, though M has put *retinere...retinens* in a chiasmic arrangement, for which no antecedent was found. Chiasmus is a common stylistic feature of late Latin poetry (Roberts, p.44).

195 **tremulus**. This traditional epithet for old age appears in Tib. 1.2.90-1, *post Veneris vinclis subdere colla senem / et sibi blanditias tremula componere voce*; Ov., *Met.* 14.143, *tremuloque gradu venit aegra senectus*, and Juv. 6.622, *senis tremulumque caput*.

197 **praeteritos, praesentes**. W. notes the juxtaposition of these opposites and their alliteration. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 5.10.28 *ex praeteritis enim aestimari solent praesentia*.

198 For the idea W. cites Hor., *Ep.* 2.1.83, *vel quia nil rectum nisi quod placuit sibi ducunt*. It is also found in Apul., *Pl.* 2.20.16, *sed in sua manu esse sapiens recte putat*.

200 **desipit inde**. Juvenal ended the hexameter at 6.612 with *quod desipis, inde est*.

204 **garrulitate**. The word, in the same case, is in the same position at line 108. See the commentary on that line.

205 **omnia ...clamosis...implet**. Filling a place with noise is a common metaphor. Vergil used all three words at *Aen.* 3.312-13, *"Hector ubi est?" dixit, lacrimasque effudit et omnem / implevit clamore locum*. *Clamosus* does not appear in other examples of the same image:

Aen. 8.215-16, omne querelis / impleri nemus; *Sen., Ep.* 84.10.4, *Cum omnes vias ordo canentium implevit*; *Stat., Theb.* 11.361-62, *magno prius omnia planctu / implet*, and *Sil.* 4.189-90, *sed omnem Celticus impleuit campum furor*.

206 **nil satis est.** This was probably a saying of conventional wisdom. Horace begins the hexameter with it at *S.* 1.1.62, "nil satis est" inquit, "quia tanti quantum habeas sis".

207 **arridet de se ridentibus.** The word play occurs at *Sen. Dial.* 4.2.5 *adridemus ridentibus*. *Ridere* + dative or + *ad* and the accusative = to laugh as a sign of goodwill, but *ridere* with prepositions indicating the source of amusement = to laugh (OLD).

209 **primitiae mortis.** Ovid has *primitiae* four times in its original meaning only and always at the beginning of the line *Met.* 8.274; 10.433; *Fast.* 2.520, and 3.730. W. noted Vergil's metaphorical use at *Aen.* 11.156, primitiae iuvenis miserae; in addition, it is found at *Aen.* 11.15-16, *haec sunt spolia et de rege superbo / primitiae* where the phrasing more closely resembles M.'s line. See also *Sil.* 4.428, primitias pugnae (same line position), and 10.551; *Stat., Theb.* 2.742, primitias operum. Sp. referred to *Stat. Theb.* 6.146 primitias egomet lacrimarum.

210 **pigris.** The adjective is regularly associated with old age: *Tib.* 1.10.40, *occupat in parva pigra senecta casa*, *Ov., Met.* 10.396, pigra senectus, and *Sen., Her. F.* 198, *venit ad*

pigros cana senectus. As an epithet of footsteps see Ov., *Met.* 1.551, *pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus haeret*, and Sen., *Thy.* 421 *pigro ... genitor incessu stupet*.

ima petit. W. cites Verg., *G.* 1.401, *at nebulae magis ima petunt campoque recumbunt*; *Aen.* 8.66-67, *deinde lacu fluvijs se condidit alto / ima petens*; Hor., *S.* 2.4.57, *quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus*, and Ov., *Met.* 2.265, *ima petunt pisces*.

211-12 The old man's dress has deteriorated as much as his physical body.

212 *quae fuit ante manet*. The verse-close is Ovidian. W. cites Ov., *Am.* 3.3.2, *quae fuit ante manet*; *Ars* 1.120, *qui fuit ante color*; 3.74, *qui fuit ore color*; *Pont.* 1.10.26, *qui fuit ante, color*; *Tr.* 4.6.6, *quae fuit ante, manet*; 4.10.30, *quod fuit ante, manet*; and 5.2.8, *qui fuit ante, manet*. My search on the PHI CD-ROM disk found *Ars* 2.442, *quod fuit ante, redit*; *Fast.* 6.88, *qui fuit ante senum*, and 6.168, *qui fuit ante color*. Cf. the verse-ending in 1.222.

{1 - Ovidian}

213 *demisso corpore*. *Demissus* is found with parts of the body at Prop. 2.14.11, cited on line 93, where M. has *demissa...cervix*, and Petr. 52.5, *demisso labro*.

215-20 Cf. Sen., *Ep.* 24.20.2, *Cotidie morimur; cotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vitae, et tunc quoque cum crescimus vita decrescit. Infantiam amissimus, deinde pueritiam, deinde adolescentiam*.

217 **prona senectus.** In the last seventy lines are found thematic and verbal echoes of the beginning. Here *senectus* harks back to the first line and line 55, where it is also the hexameter ending, and it recurs three more times in the conclusion (see 223, 246 and 261), twice in the same line position. In classical Latin the word occurs frequently in this position, preceded by a qualifying adjective: Cat. 108.1 *cana senectus*; Hor., *Ep.* 1.20.18, *balba senectus* and S. 2.2.88, *tarda senectus*; Ov., *Ars* 2.271, *turpiter his emitur spes mortis et orba senectus*; *Met.* 10.396, *pigra senectus*; *Am.* 1.12.29, *cariosa senectus*; *Her.* 14.109, *cana senectus*; *Juv.* 10.190, *longa senectus*; 9.129, *obrepit non intellecta senectus*.

218 According to W., the "dust to dust" theme in which the earth is thought of as a mother, is common in Greek and Latin, and he writes fully on it. He cites several Greek authors including Pindar and Sophocles, and, in Latin, *Lucr.* 2.999 *cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante, / in terras* and 5.259. See also *Sen., Phaed.* 906-7, *hunc Graia tellus aluit an Taurus Scythes / Colchusque Phasis? redit ad auctores genus*. For the earth as mother see *Lucr.* 5.795-96, *ut merito maternum nomen adepta / terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata*; *Verg., G.* 2.45, *Terra mater*, and *Ov., Met.* 1.393, *magna parens terra est*.

219 **quadrupes.** M. extends the riddle of the Sphinx by adding a fourth stage to human life, by claiming that the very old go back to crawling on all fours like a child. *Quadrupes* is an epithet of *infans* in *Ov., Met.* 15.221-22, *editus in lucem iacuit sine viribus infans; / mox*

quadripes rituque tulit sua membra ferarum. It does occur also in the work of the early poet Lucius Accius at *Trag.* 315, *Item ac maestitiam mutam infantum quadrupedum.*

	(1) Line <i>Identical</i> Phrase	(2) Line <i>Humorous</i> Phrase	(3) Line <i>Modelled</i> Phrase	(4A) Line <i>Traditional</i> <i>Elegiac</i> Phrase	(4B) Line <i>Traditional</i> <i>Poetic</i> Phrase
Horatian		187 <i>custos rerum</i>	129 <i>blanda poemata pango</i>		
Propertian	110 <i>currere quaeque via</i>	95 <i>lumina nigra</i>			
Statian		140 <i>desuper incumbens</i>	147 <i>claram per nebulas</i>		
Ciceronian	9 <i>mens sensusque</i>				
Juvenalian		53 <i>modico contentus</i>			
Lucanian			141 <i>caeco conduntur in antro</i>		
Antique Poetry				5 <i>non sum qui fueram</i> 48-9 <i>promeruisse ...valuisse</i> 55 <i>tu me sola subdis</i> 102 <i>iam modo crimen habet</i>	33 <i>has inter</i> 36 <i>non mihi</i> 47 <i>quoque virtutum quondam</i> 63 <i>ibam</i> 64 <i>spectandus</i> 106 <i>inter utrumque</i> 136 <i>membra manus</i> 138 <i>nocte dieque</i> 149 <i>caligine caeca</i> 163 <i>munera Bacchi</i> 173 <i>compage soluta</i> 191-2 <i>hinc... hinc</i>

	(1) Line <i>Identical</i> Phrase	(2) Line <i>Humorous</i> Phrase	(3) Line <i>Modelled</i> Phrase	(4A) Line <i>Traditional</i> <i>Elegiac</i> Phrase	(4B) Line <i>Traditional</i> <i>Poetic</i> Phrase
Ovidian	22 <i>praeda</i> <i>petita meis</i> 30 <i>artis opus</i> 46 <i>una duas</i> 76 <i>viduo...toro</i> 84 <i>mater</i> <i>Amoris</i> 84 <i>amoris</i> <i>habet</i> 168 <i>ferre</i> <i>solebat</i> <i>opem</i> 212 <i>quae fuit</i> <i>ante manet</i>	5 <i>pars maxima</i> <i>nostri</i> 40 <i>membra</i> <i>fovere manu</i> 44 <i>victus abit</i> 73 <i>natura</i> <i>pudicum</i> 166 <i>vitio</i> <i>carpitur ipsa</i> <i>suo</i> 190 <i>pervigil...</i> <i>draco</i>	19 <i>fulvo</i> <i>pretiosior</i> <i>auro</i> 50 <i>male facta</i> <i>cadunt</i> 112 <i>sit mihi</i> <i>posse mori</i> 118 <i>Tartareas</i> <i>constant</i> <i>inire vias</i> 121 <i>est iam</i> <i>grata</i> <i>voluptas</i> 126 <i>atque</i> <i>(mens)</i> <i>intenta</i> <i>suis...malis</i> 142 <i>torvum</i> <i>nescioquid</i> 152 <i>turpior</i> <i>esse suo</i> 176 <i>nec</i> <i>mala...</i> <i>dissimulare</i> <i>licet</i>		
Vergilian		54 <i>rerum</i> <i>dominus</i> 87 <i>stringere</i> <i>corpus</i> 93 <i>aurea</i> <i>caesaries...</i> <i>lactea cervix</i> 127 <i>carmina</i> <i>nulla cano</i> 153 <i>subeunt</i> <i>morbi</i> 173 <i>donec</i> <i>longa dies</i> 175 <i>spectacula</i> <i>rerum</i>	37 <i>Tiberini</i> <i>gurgitis</i> <i>undas</i> 151 <i>demens</i> <i>homini</i> <i>persuaserit</i> <i>auctor</i> 153-4 <i>iam</i> <i>subeunt...</i> <i>subeunt...</i> <i>/iam</i>		
Vergilian or Ovidian		63 <i>venali</i> <i>corpore</i>			
Martialian			98 <i>basia</i> 108 <i>linguae</i> <i>garrulitate</i> <i>suae</i> 111 <i>longa...</i> <i>inutile getas</i>		

CONCLUSION

In lines 1 to 220 of the first elegy I have demonstrated that 62 phrases and half-lines seem to have been influenced in some way by the Latin literature of the period from 250 B.C. to 200 A.D. These results, gleaned from an average of 30 searches per 10 lines, are tabulated below. The specific phrases are identified on the facing pages.

Phrase:	(1) Identical	(2) Humorous	(3) Modelled	(4A) Traditional Elegiac	(4B) Traditional Poetic	Totals
Ovidian	8	6	9			23
Vergilian		7	3			10
Vergilian or Ovidian		1				1
Martialian			3			3
Horatian		1	1			2
Propertian	1	1				2
Statian		1	1			2
Ciceronian	1					1
Juvenalian		1				1
Lucanian			1			1
Antique Poetry				4	12	16
	10	18	18	4	12	62

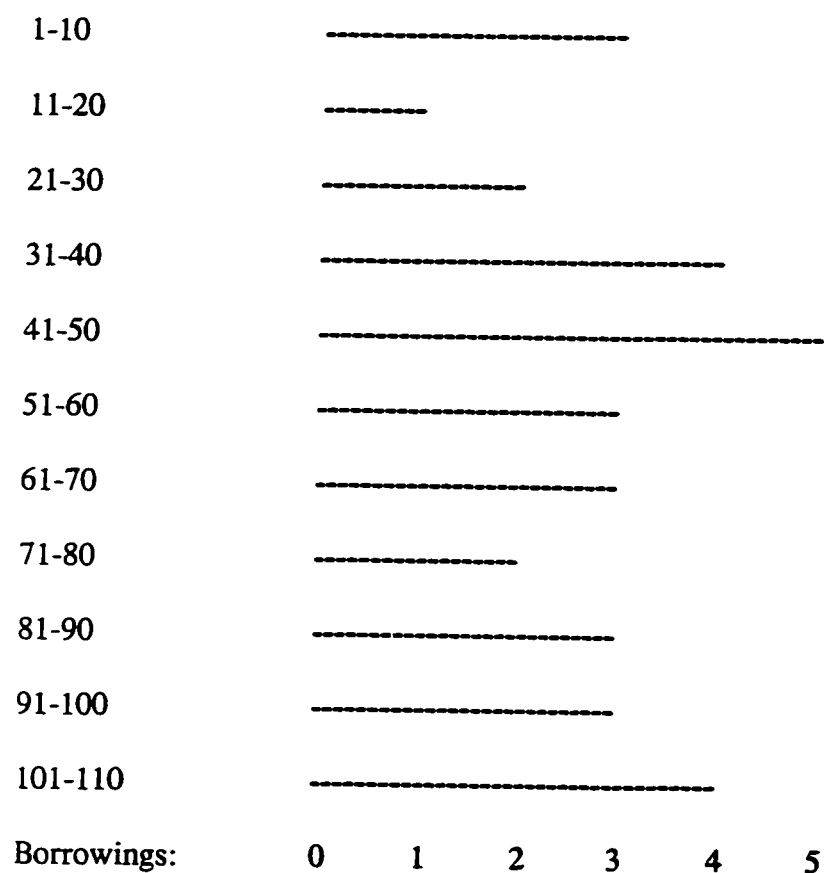
Most of these phrases, which look as though they have been borrowed from the literature of the period 250 B.C. to 200 A.D., are from Ovid or Vergil, especially Ovid. The one phrase *iuvenali corpore* (line 63) for which Ovid and Vergil share the dubious privilege of being the model is slightly different in Vergil i.e. *iuvenali in corpore*. Ovid, perhaps, should be given a slight edge because he has the phrase twice, the second one in the plural. Two phrases come from Propertius. Interestingly, Tibullus is not listed here, although he may have been the originator of the unusual pattern of rhyming active past infinitives in lines 48-49 and of the particular use of *quoque ... quondam* in line 47. One may perhaps speculate whether Tibullus was studied in the schools just for the contributions he made to elegy. Certainly, Quintilian thought highly of Tibullus's work when he stated: *elegia quoque Graecos provocamus; cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus* (*Inst.* 10.193). The influence of the great *grammaticus* on education lasted long after his death.⁴² Tibullus is included among the authors recommended by the 6th century rhetors.⁴³ E.R.Curtius states that Tibullus was known almost exclusively through anthologies (p.51). The satires of Martial, Juvenal and Horace, and the epics of Statius and Lucan, also have some impact on this elegy. Cicero, who is known to have been a major part of the school curriculum in the late empire, appears only once, which seems surprising, since M. claims that he is an orator.

The 62 possible "borrowings" are not spread evenly throughout the poem, but occur randomly. They are divided into two sections and may be charted as follows:

⁴² Marrou, *Education*, p. 278.

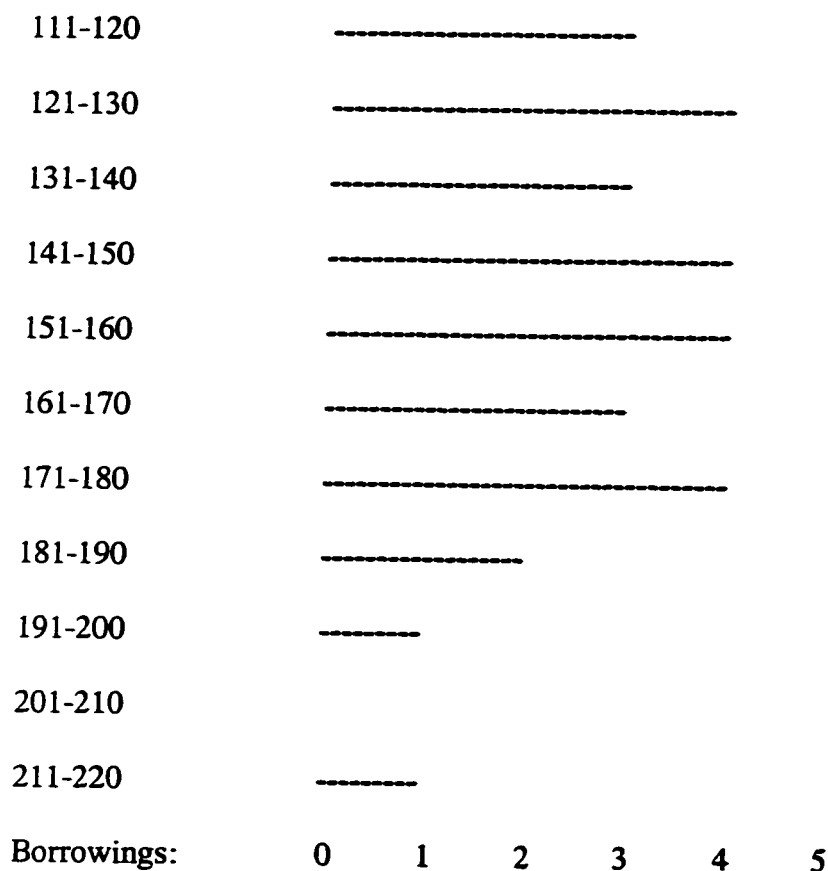
⁴³ Riche, p. 79.

Section 1: lines 1-110 of M. 1.



In this first section of the poem, there are 33 passages with phrases which appear originally in the Latin literature during the period 250 B.C. to 200 A.D..

Section 2: lines 111-220 of M. 2



In the second section of the poem, there are fewer occurrences, 29 in all, although it is in the last 40 lines where the number tapers off most dramatically.⁴⁴ Why this occurs is a good question. It suggests that the poem was written by a student (or a group of students), who couldn't remember any more suitable phraseology and hurried to present the poem, or

⁴⁴ Both W. and Sp. have significantly shorter commentaries for lines 110-220. W. has 15 pages for lines 1 - 110, and 10.5 for lines 110-220 (a ratio of 1.43); Sp. has 40 pages and 31 pages respectively for these lines, i.e. an even smaller ratio of 1.29.

who, at this particular point, drew inspiration from late antique poetry⁴⁵ or from lost poetry. Perhaps there were fewer authors involved at this point. The explanation could be in the fact that the lines 175-220 present in graphic terms a reflection of the decline of the doddering old man. If the author or authors became so absorbed by the narrative and by an *idée fixe* about the person being lampooned, it is possible that the writing sprang from an enthusiastic creativity rather than from phrasebooks. In any event, the poem draws on an accurate, if unsympathetic, picture of the all too common state of *primitiae mortis* (l.210). Even though there are small numbers of reminiscences from earlier Latin, lines 180 to 220 are not bereft of antique colour, for of the six mythological allusions he uses, fully half are in this section: *Tantalus* (l.185-86), *pervigil Draco* (l.189-90) and the riddle of the Sphinx (l.219).

The topos of *vituperatio* was included among the standard progymnasmata.⁴⁶ Indeed, E.R. Curtius maintains that the description of human ugliness derives from the *vituperatio* (p.182). The poem has the characteristics of the rhetorical style which the students learned from their rhetor. Isocola⁴⁷ abound. In the pentameter lines often two cola are exactly equal in length: e.g. line 36, *non mihi solstitium* (7 syllables), *non grave frigus erat* (7 syllables), and line 81, *non mihi grata brevis* (7 syllables), *non mihi longa fuit* (7 syllables); in the hexameter lines one colon is slightly longer than the first with the caesura in the middle of the third foot e.g. line 231, *nil mihi cum superis* (7 syllables): *explevi munera vitae* (8 syllables), or the fourth e.g. line 55, *tu me sola tibi subdis* (8 syllables), *miseranda senectus*

⁴⁵ Ausonius greatly influenced M., Lind, p.313. See the introduction for possible influences from Prudentius and Sedulius.

⁴⁶ Roberts, p.159.

⁴⁷ "Isocolon is the figure of diction by which successive *cola* contain the same or roughly the same number of syllables", Roberts, p.158.

(7 syllables). One of the examples of a tricolon is line 211, a crescendo from four syllables *non habitus*, to five syllables *non ipse color*, to a climax of 6 syllables *non gressus euntis*. The use of antitheton is common: e.g. *quam largus opum, semper egenus ero?* (1.182), and *lux gravis in luctu, rebus gratissima laetis* (1.7). Line 79, *horrebam tenues, horrebam corpore pingues*, and the tricolon of line 95, *nigra supercilia, frons libera, lumina nigra* are examples of homoeoteleuton. The rhetorical artifices, of which these are only a few examples, are so straightforward and easy to identify that they are likely the reason the elegies were popular for the abecedarians in the school curricula.⁴⁸

The poem owes a heavy debt to the ancient practice of the catalogue. This is not surprising, because, from the fourth century to the twelfth, poetic cataloguing grew to "abnormal frequency and dimensions".⁴⁹ It was taught in the schools of rhetoric during the first century, and became one of the primary tools, mechanistic but serviceable, in the rhetorical art. In regard to length, the catalogue may extend from a few items in a line to several hundred lines.⁵⁰ The persona of this elegy itemizes everything. M. documents his own youthful talents (1.9-44), then, after a break about moral superiority (his own, with, admittedly some deference to Socrates and Cato), he recites another catalogue outlining what a fine figure he used to cut in Rome (1.59-74). From lines 77 to 100 he has a catalogue commonly called the "catalogue of women", but it is no such thing. It is a list of the qualities that M.'s ideal woman should and should not have, but it plays the devil's advocate, for it was clearly stated by someone who has "experienced" women. After all, M. has just

⁴⁸ Curtius, p. 50 and 464.

⁴⁹ Wedeck, p.4.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

finished describing himself as "*tantum sponsus; nam me natura pudicum fecerat*" (l.73- 4). Finally he enumerates *ad nauseam* the ailments of his old age (l.117-64) and the indignities of his living death (l.235-66).

With my first reading of the elegies, I found them tiresomely prosaic, despite the metre. Most couplets begin in the hexameter with a particular subject matter and move, with monotonous regularity, to a climax in the pentameter. As Sp. notes, the elegy reveals *une rhétorique à effets, qui tend naturellement à proposer des objets en surenchère*.⁵¹ A passion for various types of word-play is the limit of the poet's imagination. The different types of wordplay include a habitual use of paradox *e.g. ut vivamus vivere destitimus* (l.156) and *et quod sit sapiens desipit inde magis* (l.200); the use of polyptoton *e.g. diversos diversa* (l.103); anaphora *horrebam horrebam* (l.79); antithesis and rhyme *e.g. levitate ... gravitate* (l.105); and of framing a third word with a noun and its modifier, as if they were brackets, *e.g. rebus gratissima laetis* (l. 7), *mediis gratia rebus* (l. 82) and *litibus haut rabidis* (l.130). He has a penchant for brackets of all types *e.g. nigra supercilia, frons libera, lumina nigra* (l.95) and *turpe seni vultus nitidi vestesque decorae, / quis sine iamque ipsum vivere turpe seni* (l.177-78). Metaphors are almost non-existent except for those one finds in everyday speech *e.g. lux* for "life" (l.6) and *dies* for "light" (l.149).⁵²

Each *ecphrasis* or *descriptio*, though long, has only a limited artistic arrangement of the details, especially in comparison with the work of the fourth century A.D. poets, Sedulius and Ausonius. For example, the *variatio* in the description of Aaron's breastplate

⁵¹ Sp., p.35.

⁵² *La métaphore permet à une imagination vive d'enrichir les suggestions du texte en lui associant un objet nouveau. Chez Maximien, la rareté des métaphores témoigne de la nature prosaïque de son imagination.* Sp., p.53.

(Aus., *Hept. E.*, 1098-1103), as analyzed by M. Roberts (p.10-13), reveals a complexity of chiasmus, and morphological and vocabulary connectives which subtly unite the six lines within their regular framework. In M.'s first elegy there is a modest example of this type of *variatio*, in a quatrain where the first couplet is actually connected artistically to the second, a rare occurrence in M.:

*exultat levitate puer, gravitate senectus:
inter utrumque manens stat iuvenile decus,
hunc tacitum tristemque decet, fit clarior ille
laetitia et linguae garrulitate suae. (l.106-109)*

In line 106, the isocola are antithetical and the contrast is emphasized by the rhyme of *levitate* and *gravitate*. *Hunc* and *ille* of line 108 recall *puer* and *senectus* chiastically. The subject of the intervening line is *iuvenile decus*, appropriately placed between discussions of old age and childhood. In the final line of the quatrain *laetitia* and *garrulitate* recall *levitate* and *gravitate*, because of the initial "l" and "g", and the alliteration of "t". The regularity of the pattern is broken by the element of surprise in *garrulitate*, which goes with *puer* and not *senectus*.

For the most part, this elegy, in contrast, misses opportunities to create *variatio*. The four couplets from line 157 to 164 have the same theme, but they are not linked together in any creative manner. The idea of disintegration is repeated three times: *nulla adversa nocebant, ipsa quibus regimur nunc alimenta gravant* (l.157-8) i.e. "nothing used to harm, and now nutriments are disagreeable". The persona then says the same thing over and over again in the next six lines. Within each couplet there are figures such as paronomasia e.g. *abstineam: abstinuisse* (l.160), or anaphora e.g. *saturum: saturum*, (l.159), or chiasmus e.g. the idea in each colon of line 161, *quae modo profuerat, contraria redditur esca* is in the

reverse position in line 162. What M. considers to be his *alimenta* is defined as *Veneris* and *Bacchi munera* in line 163, but there are no connections with line 158 by figures of speech. Similarly, the couplets in the eight lines from 83 to 91 are limited in their creative scope. The first couplet refers to Venus as the *mater amoris*, and the last couplet actually names the goddess. The couplets in between present a catalogue of M.'s female preferences. This passage lacks the artistry of a more experienced poet, and suggests that the author was a student, who simply made use of the lists of synonyms and synonymous expressions he had been required to memorize.⁵³

The *vituperatio* is constructed to parody a *consolatio*, but a few conventions are borrowed from classical elegy. For example, the morbid preoccupation with death is a Roman elegiac conceit - the Augustan poets created characters who were "dying of unrequited love",⁵⁴ whereas M.'s life is painted as worse than death because of, so to speak, "unrequited death". Moreover, M. addresses *Senectus* as if she were his lover - a lover whose victory over him is complete. In contrast, consider Propertius when he says *vicit victorem candida forma* (cf. Prop. 3.11.16). The mock-heroic figure of the old lover, like the old soldier in Ovid's *Am.* 1.9.4, *turpe senex miles, turpe senilis amor*, is the character M. assumes. A few (six) very common mythological allusions add some interest: *Bacchus ... stupuitque* (l.43), *Venus ... vindicat ipsa colorem* (l.91), *vivum Tartareas constat inire vias* (l.118), *sitiens vicinas Tantalus undas / captat* (l.185), *pervigil observat non sua poma draco* (l.190) and the riddle of the sphinx (l.219).

⁵³ The practise of memorizing lists of synonyms was frowned on by Quintilian, (10.1.7). Roberts, p. 45.

⁵⁴ McKeown, Vol.1, p.18.

The language of the poem, enriched with so many phrases from antiquity, seems classical on the surface, yet reveals late Latin vocabulary (*carneus* [l.86], *scabidus* [l.136]), spelling (*exuperare* [l.28]; *Cypris* [l.92]), and usage (*in* + ablative for "motion towards" [l.2]; *dum maneret* [l.9]; *dulce magis* [l.61]; *fuerat petita* [l.65]). Though most of the vocabulary is familiar to the ancients, words are put together in sentence structures that classical scholars find curious: e.g. *quod est sapiens, desipit inde magis* (l.200). Furthermore, phrases from Christian poetry are imitated (see Introduction, p.6) - this is not surprising, as the poem was most likely written during the time when the Roman Empire was officially Christian - yet it contains no Christian thought.

Baldwin's theory (cited in the introduction) is that the author of these elegies is like Luxorius in Vandal Africa and the Greek epigrammatists of the 6th century who were nostalgic for antiquity. Since this thesis will allow some interesting comparative ideas, a review of the life and work of these people may be instructive. Luxorius lived near Carthage in the early 6th century, and wrote obscene youthful epigrams, similar to the work of his contemporary, Ennodius, in Italy.⁵⁵ He used classical models, especially Martial, but probably was not a pagan himself, though he kept his religious beliefs unclear - perhaps deliberately.⁵⁶

With regard to the Greek epigrammatists, Averil Cameron has an interesting study in her book *Agathias*. Agathias, born A.D. 532, made his earliest friendships, both Christian and pagan, as a student in Alexandria where he composed the *Daphniaca*, erotic myths in

⁵⁵ Raby, p.115.

⁵⁶ Baldwin, p.318-20.

hexameter verse, and some poetry in imitation of Callimachus. Later, as a law student in Constantinople he moved in relatively high circles amongst men with a taste for literature and scholarship.⁵⁷ There, he wrote "pagan"-seeming compositions in the elegiac metre, sometimes using Homeric vocabulary and incorporating whole phrases, often half lines with only slight changes. He also frequently borrowed from Nonnus, especially verse-beginnings or endings.⁵⁸ These poems were mainly secular and often exceptionally long, verbose and repetitive; they were reflective and clever, but without passion, and were moralizing, but not Christian.⁵⁹ He and his contemporaries had a liking for erotic epigrams and sepulchral poetry. As poets their aim was to vie with the ancients; they were trying to preserve the language, and so interspersed the erudite language they spoke with phrases from the Hellenistic and earlier poets.⁶⁰ The result was an incongruous mixing of styles in a poetry whose chief merit was the manipulation of existing phraseology.⁶¹ And in this climate of anti-modernism, Christianity was passed over, but there is no doubt that these writers were Christian.⁶²

From these descriptions of Luxorius and the Greek epigrammatists, the author or authors of the elegies would seem to fit right in with them; his poetry, like theirs, is written in the language of the educated elite of the 6th century and sprinkled with classical citations. His death-wish theme heaving on the undercurrent of eroticism is not unlike the themes of

⁵⁷ Cameron, p.8-10.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p.24-25.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p.20-23.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.26-29.

⁶¹ Ibid. p.63-64.

⁶² Ibid. p.75-76.

their epigrams. His skills in virulent satire and his literary talents were given prominence;⁶³ these are largely word-games and, like the Byzantine taste for erudition, were considered valuable for their own sake. Verbosity in this climate was not a means to expound ideas, but an end in itself. Finally, his writings reflect his nostalgia for antiquity, which eliminates Christianity. This "nostalgia" was inevitable, since education was not based on the study of contemporary Latin, but on the authors of the past.

My research has verified that 62 phrases from the first 220 lines of M.1 have antecedents in the Latin literature from 250 B.C. to 200 A.D.. However, I regret that this does not provide enough information to conclusively date the elegy. Too many lines and phrases are not accounted for. The poem should be examined also with the aid of a CD-ROM disk of late and medieval Latin literature such as CETEDOC or the Patrologia Latina. If such research shows that many of the phrases I have identified from early Latin literature and phrases for which I found no antecedent appear in later Latin authors, then this would help to date the elegy to a later period. Hopefully, the statistics presented here will be useful to anyone wishing to do further studies.

The poem can be read with the most interest if it is seen as a humorous exercise. One must imagine that students were given an assignment to compose a *vituperatio* by employing all the rhetorical skills they had learned. They subsequently decided to use their skills to parody someone's life, and, perhaps, the *consolatio* as well. Scrounging around in their collective memories, phrasebooks, and possibly even some original texts, they came up with phrases that fit the metre and topos, as expected by their rhetor. But they also enriched

⁶³ Raby, p.125.

the exercise by caricature. Each phrase of the poem contributes to the superficial theme of the *vituperatio senectutis*, and by association of the remembrance of the origin of the phrase the authors exposed the past erotic life and inflated ego of the old man. As mentioned in the introduction and throughout the commentary, the richest irony about M.'s life comes from the Ovidian and satirical traditions. The slightly different humour of mock-heroism is the gift of the Vergilian and other epic lines, which serve to belittle the egocentric hero. Since the students and their audience were immersed in an education that required the recitation and emulation of early authors, they would have recognized that the sayings came from love poetry, or satire, or heroic literature, even if they did not always remember the exact poems. Nowadays, in their conversation people use quotations from Shakespeare that will provoke laughter. Only recently, I heard high school students mix into their modern Canadian English the following Shakespearean phrases: "friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears",⁶⁴ "out, damned spot, out"⁶⁵ (a student misquoted by putting the two "outs" together, and was corrected) and "lay on, Macduff"⁶⁶ (one of the students was named instead of Macduff); there was a lot of giggling as a result of these quotations.

If the poem is shallow from a philosophical point of view and lacking in artistry, it at least presents the usual view of senility from the perspective of youth - unsympathetic and cruel. Yet, it is a clever parody; the author(s) knew how to use rhetorical artifices, how to compose epideictic orations and how to exploit the satirical value in phrases from their literary studies. Students, still immersed in the recitation and emulation of the curriculum

⁶⁴ *Julius Caesar*, Act 3, Scene 2.

⁶⁵ *Macbeth*, Act 5, Scene 1.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Act 5, Scene 7.

authors, were prepared and poised to caricature both the *consolatio* and an unadmirable leading citizen. The evidence is consistent with the suggestion in this thesis that the elegy could have been a school exercise written by an immature student or group of students.

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