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ELEGIACS BY GALLUS FROM QAŞR IBRÎM *

By R. D. ANDERSON, P. J. PARSONS AND R. G. M. NISBET

(Plates IV-VI)

I. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The hilltop fortress town of Qaşr Ibrîm is situated in Egyptian Nubia, some 150 miles south of Aswan. Transformed into an island by the rising waters of Lake Nasser, it has been excavated under the aegis of the Egypt Exploration Society since 1963.¹ Until 1976 work was under the direction of Professor J. M. Plumley (University of Cambridge); the 1978 season was led by Professor W. Y. Adams of the University of Kentucky (site director) and R. D. Anderson, honorary secretary of the E.E.S. (administrative director and epigraphist). A site that attracted Egyptian interest at least as early as the New Kingdom and formed part of the district under the special protection of Horus of Mi'am, Qaşr Ibrîm was for much of its history a military stronghold, administrative centre, and place of religious pilgrimage. Occupation can be traced for some 3,500 years till the expulsion in 1811 of the 'Bosnian' mercenaries stationed at Ibrîm soon after 1517 by the Ottoman Selim I. Ideal conditions of preservation, only now threatened by the lake, have combined with this long history to provide an astonishing wealth of documents from a wide variety of periods. Languages that occur include Egyptian (in hieroglyphic writing, demotic and Coptic), Meroitic (hieroglyphic and cursive), Greek, Latin, medieval Nubian, Arabic and Turkish; and among the more remarkable texts found have been a stela of Amenophis I,² two monumental stelae in cursive Meroitic,³ a letter in Greek from the Blemmyan king Phonen to the Nobatian king Abourni,⁴ bilingual psalms in Greek and medieval Nubian,⁵ leather scrolls in medieval Nubian containing archive material about the Nubian kingdom of Dotawo,⁶ an Arabic letter to the Nubian king of Makouria from the Emir of Egypt,⁷ and letters commissary in Coptic and Arabic in connection with the fourteenth-century Bishop Timotheos.⁸ We can now add to this list a Latin papyrus with fragments of the elegiac poetry of Cornelius Gallus.

One of the main areas of work in the 1978 season was the south bastion and southern fortifications of the site. A phase in the complex architectural history of the area involved the enclosure of the brick-faced bastion by a double-faced stone girdle wall filled with rubble. Of uncertain date, though probably either early Meroitic or Ptolemaic, the wall was constructed so as to leave an open walkway between its inner face and the bastion. With the passage of years this space was filled with rubbish thrown down from above. Concerning this deposit Professor Adams writes in a preliminary report that it 'is of Middle Meroitic type (? 100 B.C.-A.D. 200), and one bed within it has yielded a mass of purely Roman material, including Latin papyri'. Within these dates falls the expedition of

* Section I is by Anderson, II-III by Parsons, IV by Parsons and Nisbet, V-VIII by Nisbet. The Editor would like to express his profound thanks to the Chairman, Miss M. S. Drower, and Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society for their great generosity in permitting the publication in the *Journal* of a discovery of such importance for the history of Latin literature and for Latin palaeography. The editor and authors are also grateful for various forms of assistance to Dr. J. N. Adams, Dr. A. K. Bowman, Mr. J. C. Bramble, Mr. P. G. McC. Brown, Dr. W. E. H. Cockle, Mr. C. G. Hardie, Mr. E. Hitchcock, Dr. R. W. Hunt, Professor H. D. Jocelyn, Mr. A. G. Lee, Dr. R. O. A. M. Lyne, Professor A. Morpurgo Davies, Dr. J. R. Rea, Mr. M. D. Reeve, Mr. L. D. Reynolds, Sir Ronald Syme and Professor E. G. Turner, as well as to the members of the Editorial Committee. The costs of the plates for this article have been met by the generous donation by Sir Ronald Syme of the fee for his M. V. Taylor Memorial Lecture of 27 November 1979.

¹ Preliminary reports have appeared in the *Journal*

of *Egyptian Archaeology* L (1964), 3-4; LII (1966), 9-12; LVI (1970), 12-18; LX (1974), 212-38; LXI (1975), 5-26; LXIII (1977), 29-47; LXV (1979), 30-43.

² J. M. Plumley in *JEA* L (1964), 4, pl. 1, 3.

³ J. M. Plumley in *JEA* L (1964), 4.

⁴ T. C. Skeat, 'A Letter from the King of the Blemmyes to the King of the Noubades', *JEA* LXIII (1977), 159-70; J. R. Rea, 'The letter of Phonen to Aburni', *ZPE* xxxiv (1979), 147-62.

⁵ R. D. Anderson in *JEA* LXV (1979), 41.

⁶ J. M. Plumley, 'The Christian Period at Qaşr Ibrîm: Some Notes on the MSS Finds', in K. Michalowski (ed.), *Nubia, Récentes Recherches* (1975), 105-6.

⁷ J. M. Plumley and W. Y. Adams in *JEA* LX (1974), 236-8, pl. LIV, 3; J. M. Plumley, 'An Eighth-century Arabic Letter to the King of Nubia', *JEA* LXI (1975), 241-5, pl. xxxviii.

⁸ J. M. Plumley in *JEA* L (1964), 3-4, pl. 1, 2; J. M. Plumley, *The Scrolls of Bishop Timotheos* (Egypt Exploration Society, Texts from Excavations, First Memoir, 1975).

Petronius in 25-4 B.C. and the brief occupation of Ibrîm (Primis);⁹ other Latin papyri from a similar refuse deposit at Ibrîm have been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the first century B.C. or early first century A.D.¹⁰ The newly discovered deposit contains fragments of 'Eastern' sigillata ware, coins, lamps, parts of woollen cloaks with gamma figures typical of Roman provincial dress, leather, much sacking (including the equivalent of an army knapsack) and sandals of demonstrably Roman type.

Though the deposit cannot be considered properly stratified, it may be helpful to enlarge on its content. The Latin elegiac text was found at level 3, and in close association at the same level was a coin described by Dr. Martin Price as 'a bronze 8 drachmae piece struck by Cleopatra VII at Alexandria', which can be dated with certainty to 44-31 B.C., may possibly belong to the 30s rather than the 40s because of its style and fabric, and would not have remained in circulation longer than the reign of Augustus.¹¹ Also in level 3 were lamps that can be dated with some precision: a lamp of frog and chequer design is of a type occurring in the first century B.C.; another with black burnished surface spans the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D.; and a third, with unusual combination of decorative elements, dates to the late first century B.C. with possible occurrence up to A.D. 25.¹²

A small number of other Latin documents and a larger number of Greek documents was found also in level 3 and in deeper levels as far as level 8. Levels 3 and 8 are separated by approximately 1 metre. The Latin texts cannot be dated on internal evidence; and no reliable palaeographic date can be assigned, given the rarity of securely dated comparative material. But the Greek texts, which are remarkably homogeneous in their scripts, can be assigned as a group, on palaeographic grounds, to the first century B.C. or the earlier first century A.D. More than this, some actually carry dates. (i) Of three private letters found together in level 7 (excavation number 78-3-25/1 = inscription number GI/44), two have the date-formula (ἔτους) θ (year 9), the other (ἔτους) ε or (ἔτους) θ (year 5 or year 9). (ii) Another scrap from a private letter in level 8 (excavation number 78-3-27/1) has the date formula (ἔτους) θ κϛ[; the likeliest restoration of this, though not perhaps the only one, is (ἔτους) θ κϛ[καρος, year 9 of Augustus = 22/21 B.C.;¹³ the other letters dated 'year 9' may then be assigned plausibly to the same year. 22/21 B.C. falls within the Petronian occupation, before the peace treaty which ended the Ethiopian war in 21/20 (see below).

II. THE PAPYRUS *

The papyrus, whose discovery Mr. Anderson describes above, will find a home in the Cairo Museum. In the meantime it is stored in the magazine of the Egypt Exploration Society at Saqqara. I examined it there in March 1979. I record my warmest thanks to Dr. G. T. Martin, Field Director at Saqqara, for arranging the visit; to him and his colleagues for their kind reception; to Mr. C. J. Eyre, who took the photographs here reproduced (Pl. IV-VI); and to the officials of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, Dr. Ali El-Khouly, Mr. Ahmed Moussa (Director of Saqqara) and Mr. El-Hosseini Ghoneim (Inspector of Saqqara), who courteously allowed me access to the papyrus.

Description

PQašrIbrîm inv. 78-3-11/1 (LI/2) (case 7, item 84): five fragments of papyrus, which join to make a single piece 19.4 cm wide × 16.3 cm high.

The papyrus is of no more than average quality. To the right of the written surface is a heavy sheet-join (*kollesis*), with an overlap of 1.5 cm; the left edge of this join (15 cm in from the left edge of the papyrus) intersects the last letter of *i 4 deorum* and *i 7 mea*.

⁹ L. P. Kirwan, 'Rome beyond the Southern Egyptian Frontier', *Proc. Brit. Acad.* LXIII (1977), 13, on pp. 21-4.

¹⁰ M. E. Weinstein and E. G. Turner, 'Greek and Latin Papyri from Qašr Ibrîm', *JEA* LXII (1976), 115-30.

¹¹ Written communication from M. J. Price.

¹² Verbal communication from D. Bailey.

¹³ A theoretical possibility is (ἔτους) θ κϛ[καρτου.

According to K. Scott, *YCS* II (1931), 253, the earliest known instance of this month-name is of A.D. 40; such of the later material as is collected in Kiessling, *WB Suppl.* III, provides nothing earlier. In that case, 'year 9' must refer to Claudius (A.D. 48/9) or a successor, rather later than one's impression of the hand would suggest.

* This section owes much to the help and advice of Professor E. G. Turner.

On one side, the upper part of a column of Latin elegiacs, with beginnings from a second column to the right; how much is lost at the foot of the column can only be guessed. The writing runs parallel with the fibres. The back is blank.

Measurements: upper margin 3.4 cm; left margin (broken) 1.3 cm; intercolumnium (narrowest point) 2.5 cm; column-width (maximum) 13.5 cm; space between lines 0.4–0.5 cm; space between poems, after i 1, 1.2 (beginning)–1.4 (end) cm, after i 5, 1.3 cm, after i 9, 1.4 cm (?); letter-height (normal) 0.3 cm; initials, i 2, 1.0 cm, i 3, 0.8 cm, i 5, 0.5 cm, ii 5, 0.6 cm.

Date

(i) *Terminus post quem*

The poet was born *c.* 70 B.C. Therefore the papyrus was written after *c.* 50 B.C.

(ii) *Terminus ante quem*

(a) The archaeological context. The deposit, of which this papyrus is part, can be dated as a whole to i B.C./early i A.D. In particular, it contains a coin of Cleopatra VII; and a Greek document that probably carries the date 22/21 B.C. The document lay several levels below the Gallus-papyrus; but since the deposit is not stratified, it provides a context, not a terminus.¹⁴

(b) The Petronian occupation of Qaşr Ibrîm. Ibrîm (Primis) came within the Roman sphere of influence, but not into Roman occupation, after the expedition of Cornelius Gallus (29 B.C.).¹⁵ It was actually occupied by the expedition of Gaius Petronius (25 or 24 B.C.); he fortified it, and installed a garrison of 400 men with supplies for two years; when the Ethiopians attacked again (22 B.C. ?), he returned and strengthened the fortifications; the Ethiopians sent ambassadors to Augustus, then on Samos, and obtained peace (21/20 B.C.).¹⁶ No source states when, or whether, Ibrîm was evacuated.

(c) Continued Roman presence at Qaşr Ibrîm? The evidence, such as it is, suggests that for the next three centuries the Roman frontier stood at Hiera Sykaminos, some way to the north of Ibrîm (see Fig. 1). Even so, there is the possibility that Ibrîm continued to be garrisoned as an advance-post. But this supposition has rather weak support in fact.¹⁷ The scattered coins of i–iv A.D., and the similarities of building style, may simply reflect the nearness of the frontier. Maspero attributed a temple to Septimius Severus; but if he had proof, we have not found it. *POxy* 1511.9 (earlier iii A.D.) mentions Roman officers at Ibrîm, according to the reading of Marichal; but the reading is untenable.¹⁸ The only substantial item is a single Greek document, found in the 1969 season, whose script would normally be assigned to i/ii A.D.

This material would allow two lines of argument. (1) It is reasonable to suppose that the Romans abandoned Ibrîm in 20 B.C., when the peace was signed; there is no solid later evidence to prove the contrary. The deposit, though large, is homogeneous, and could quite well represent the massed detritus of a five-year occupation (25–20 B.C.); its one dated item, the document of 22/21, falls precisely within those five years. Thus the *terminus ante* for the Gallus-papyrus is *c.* 20 B.C. (2) Our sources do not say that the Romans abandoned Ibrîm in 20 B.C.; indeed, the site has produced at least one document of (perhaps) i/ii A.D. The deposit certainly contains one item of the Petronian occupation; but it is large, and some parts of it (lamps and papyri) could be as late as early i A.D. Thus the *terminus ante* for the Gallus-papyrus is very approximately A.D. 25. In either case we can assume that the Gallus-papyrus, like the Homer-papyri in the related deposit,¹⁹ arrived at Ibrîm in the baggage of a Roman officer: that is, not earlier than 25 B.C.

¹⁴ Above, p. 126.

¹⁵ *OGI* 654 = E. Bernand, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Philae* II, no. 128 (hieroglyphic version dated 17 April 29 B.C.). L. P. Kirwan, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* LXIII (1978), 20 f.

¹⁶ Strabo XVII. 1. 54 (820–1). On the details see S. Jameson, *JRS* LVIII (1968), 71; I. Hofmann in *Ägypten u. Kusch* (ed. Erika Endesfelder & others, Akademie d. Wissenschaften d. DDR, 1977), 189.

¹⁷ Kirwan, *op. cit.* (n. 15), 23 f. For the background

see W. Y. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (1977), 338–55, and now J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (1978), 307 f.

¹⁸ See R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, no. 102.10.

¹⁹ Above, n. 10. I exclude the pleasant speculation, that the victorious Gallus sent a copy of his own works to the client prince whom he installed in this area.

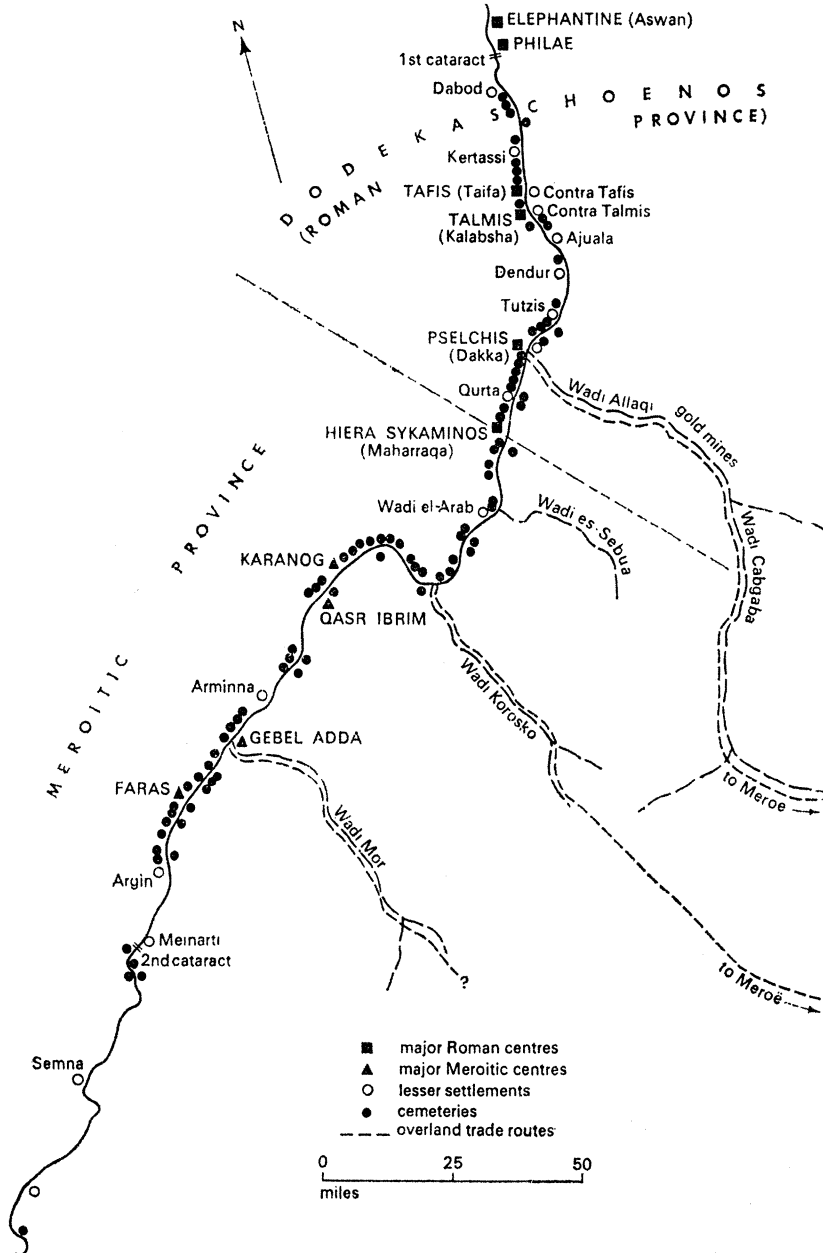


FIG. 1. LOWER NUBIA IN THE ROMAN PERIOD, SHOWING THE PROBABLE FRONTIER BETWEEN ROMAN AND ETHIOPIAN TERRITORY AFTER 20 B.C. Reprinted by permission of Penguin Books Ltd. Copyright reserved

If we accept (1), we shall date the Gallus-papyrus *c.* 50 B.C.–*c.* 20 B.C. If we accept (2), we shall date it *c.* 50 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 25. The balance of evidence favours (1), since the same deposit has produced two items whose origin must be early (the coin of Cleopatra VII, the document of 22/1) and no items whose origin must be late. But plainly there are no certainties.

At all events, we have here the remains of a Roman book, very probably of the reign of Augustus, quite possibly of the lifetime of Gallus himself. It is, with *PHerc 817* (*Carmen de bello Aegyptiaco*), by far our oldest MS of Latin poetry.

Format

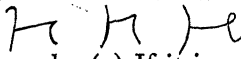

(i) Spacing and division-signs

The text is articulated, after i 1, 5 and 9, and ii 4, by wide spacing (some three times the normal line-spacing) and by H-shaped signs placed towards the left and right margins in these spaces (so after i 1 and 5; after i 9 only the right-hand sign survives, after ii 4 only the left-hand sign).

It is natural to assume that the space, and the signs in it, mark a division; the question remains, whether this is a major division (between separate poems) or a minor division (between sections or paragraphs of a single poem). The point has real importance. For the quatrains i 2-5 and i 6-9, although self-contained and on different subjects, could still be construed as part of a continuous text with i 1; and might indeed be thought less jejune in context than in isolation.

I have found no close parallel for the arrangement here (some material is collected by E. Otha Wingo, *Latin Punctuation in the Classical Age*, 1972). The space and the sign can be considered separately:

(a) Spacing. Early Latin texts have two ways of indicating sections (paragraphs) within a continuous text. (1) The first line of the new paragraph projects into the left margin; the last line of the old paragraph remains partly blank, if there is not enough text to fill it; the blank is sometimes occupied by an ornamental sign at the end or at mid-point. This system occurs commonly in inscriptions, for example in the *Res Gestae*;²⁰ and (without ornamental signs) in e.g. *BGU 611*, *Speeches of Claudius* (papyrus roll, i A.D.?), *POxy 668*, *Epitome of Livy* (papyrus roll, iii A.D. assigned date), and *PBarc 149b-153*, *Psalmus Responsorius* (papyrus codex, iv A.D. assigned date).²¹ (2) A forked paragraphos separates the last line of one section from the first line of the next. This system occurs in the *Carmen de bello Aegyptiaco* (papyrus roll, between 31 B.C. and A.D. 79),²² and commonly in Greek literary papyri, including those from Herculaneum.²³ In neither system is the space between lines increased where the new paragraph begins. I conclude that the very wide spacing in *PQaşrIbrîm* indicates a major division: that is, between poems.

(b) Signs. The scribe writes his division-marks all to the same pattern, with minor variations: . In principle this sign might be taken as a letter or simply as a mark. (1) If it is a letter, it still resembles no letter written in the main text. It might be a Latin cursive *H*, or a Greek cursive *eta*; but I do not see what sense either would have. It does not suggest *K*, which occurs in *PIand 90* (Cicero, papyrus roll, i B.C./i A.D. assigned date)²⁴ to mark a major division of sense, and in *PSI II 142* (Virgilian Pastiche, papyrus roll, iii/iv A.D. assigned date)²⁵ to separate hexameters written consecutively; in any case, this *K* stands within the line, not below it. (2) If it is just a mark or pattern, I still find no close parallel. Consider (i) *PHerc 817*, *Carmen de bello Aegyptiaco*: at the end (whether of the poem itself, or of one book) we have  to the right of the

²⁰ Wingo, *op. cit.*, 35; Müller, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 13. J. S. & A. E. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions* (1957), 151 ff.

²¹ *BGU 611* see n. 43; *POxy 668*: *POxy* iv, pl. vi. *PBarc* inv. 149b-153: R. Roca-Puig, *Himne a la Verge Maria*, 'Psalmus Responsorius' (1965) (the hand was assigned to the earlier iv A.D. by the editor, to the later iv A.D. by Lowe, *CLA* Suppl. 1782). *PBarc* uses this system of paragraphing to separate stanzas; Dr. R. W. Hunt remarks that the lyric poems of Prudentius are similarly set out in A (Par. lat. 8084, vi A.D.), see Mallon, Marichal & Perratt, *L'éc. lat.*, pl. xxx.











²² According to the hand-drawing of Hayter (W. Scott, *Fragmenta Herculensia* (1885), after pl. xli, cols. F and H; no example in col. E, which alone has been photographed, *CLA* iii, 385; Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* ii, i, no. 4).

²³ Again, according to the hand-drawings. See

e.g. *Herculansium Voluminum Pars Prima* (Oxonii, 1824), pp. 74, 87. For various forms of paragraphos in later Latin MSS see R. W. Müller, *Rhetorische u. syntaktische Interpunktion* (Diss. Tübingen, 1964) 52; for paragraphos in verse-inscriptions (showing the division between prose and verse, or between one metre and another), see Wingo, *op. cit.* 144 f.

²⁴ *CPL* 20. Plate: *PIand* v, pl. 16; *CLA* viii, 1201; Mallon, *Pal. rom.* pl. iv, 1; Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* ii, i, no. 1.

²⁵ *CPL* 19. Plate: *PSI* ii, pl. 5; *CLA*, iii 289; Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* ii, i, no. 62. Here the lower oblique of *K* is extended and curved up at the end, with a point on either side. *K* for *kaput* is known from earlier inscriptions, and from medieval MSS (Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, 27). Some have taken *K* in the two papyri to be the same abbreviation, although in *PSI* 142 at least the sign divides lines, not chapters.

last line, and X below the beginning of the last line.²⁶ (ii) Inscriptional texts: some carry ornamental signs in the blank line-end which concludes the paragraph, thus  in the *Res Gestae* (or  in the Antiochene copy),  in *CIL* II, 1963,  in *CIL* XII, 4333.²⁷ ( in *PHerc* 817 clearly has the same function.) (iii) Greek papyri: the end of a work (or of a triad in triadic poems, or of a stanza in monostrophic poems) may be shown by the coronis; but that is always more elaborate than the sign here.²⁸ Lesser divisions may be shown by a paragraphos, or by a forked or otherwise ornamented paragraphos, written below the beginning of the line with which the section ends;²⁹ of these a few have a passing likeness to our sign,  in *PHerc*,³⁰  in *POxy* 2334.549-50;³¹ similar forms are transmitted in the Latin grammatical tradition as  ('*paragraphus*') and  ('*coronis*').³² In any case, none of these occur in symmetrical pairs, like those of the Gallus-papyrus. For symmetry we must look to the pattern of horizontal strokes, which sometimes sets off the end-title of a Greek book-roll;³³ or to the ornamental borders which mark a major division in some later Latin codices³⁴ (thus the repeated pattern  in *Cod. Lat. Ant.* VIII, 1033).

Thus the exact form and origin of the dividing mark remain obscure; though its spacing seems to guarantee that what it divides is one poem from another.

(ii) Indentation.

The pentameters are indented. This seems to have been a Latin but not a Greek practice. Republican inscriptions indent;³⁵ so do some (though not the greater number) of Pompeian wall-inscriptions.³⁶ But Greek papyri, so far as I know, do not indent;³⁷ nor do Greek inscriptions before the imperial age.³⁸

Indentation appears again in the next oldest MSS of Latin elegiacs, Guelf. Aug. 13.11 (G of Ovid, *Ex Ponto*: v² A.D.) and Par. Lat. 10318 (Codex Salmasianus of *Anthol. Lat.*: viii² A.D.).³⁹ Of later MSS, some indent, some do not.⁴⁰

(iii) Initial letters

²⁶ Scott, loc. cit. (n. 22), col. H. The wide lower margin shows that something ends here.

²⁷ Wingo, op. cit. 35, 77, 113.

²⁸ G. M. Stephen, *Scriptorium* XIII (1959), 3 and pls. 1-2.

²⁹ A few drawings by G. Tanzi-Mira, *Aeg.* I (1920), 224.

³⁰ Again, according to the hand-drawings. See e.g. *Herculaneum Voluminum Series Secunda* (Oxonii, 1825), p. 21 (paragraphos, combined with short blank in mid-line), p. 43.

³¹ Plate: E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (1971), pl. 26.

³² *Isid.*, *Etym.* I. 21. 8 and 26; his notes on *paragraphus* occur also at *Gram. Lat.* VII, 535. 3 Keil, where the sign is called *simplex ductus* and drawn as >. (I owe these references to Professor Jocelyn.) The so-called *coronis* derives, like the rest, from the forked paragraphos: G. M. Stephen, loc. cit. (n. 28), 10.

³³ e.g. *POxy* V, 843, with pl. 6 (Plato); XLII, 3000, with pl. 2 (Eratosthenes).

³⁴ *PRyl* 472 (liturgical, papyrus, iii/iv A.D. assigned date): plates, *PRyl* III, pl. 3; *CLA* Suppl. 1720 (neither shows the border). *PBarc* (Cicero, papyrus, iv A.D. assigned date): plate, R. Roca-Puig, *Cicero, Catilinae* (1977), pls. x, xxxiv. *POxy* 1097 (Cicero, papyrus, v A.D. assigned date) = *CPL* 24 (further fragments, *POxy* 1251, *PKöln* I, 49): plate, *CLA* II, 210; Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 50. *CPL* 75 (*De Iudiciis*, parchment, iv-v A.D., assigned date): plate, *CLA* VIII, 1033.

³⁵ Degrassi, *ILLRP*, no. 316 (late ii B.C.), 342 (c. 101 B.C.), 985 (plates); Degrassi, *Imagines*, nos. 137, 151; Ritschl, *Priscae Latinitatis Monumenta Epigraphica*, tab. lxxix; no. 793 runs one

verse over two or more lines, and indentation serves to show the unity of each verse, whether hexameter or pentameter. Of course the sample is too small to prove that indentation was universal.

³⁶ Collected in *CIL* IV and Suppl. Indented: 1796 (+ full interpunction), 1824, 1893-4 (+ full interpunction. Ovid, *Am.* I. 8. 77 f. + Prop. IV. 5. 47 f.), 1950 (Prop. IV. 16. 13 f.). Not indented: 1891, 1895 (Ovid, *AA* I. 475 f.), 1898 (second line + full interpunction), 2066, 4491 (+ full interpunction? Prop. II. 5. 9 f.), 4957, 6626. 1904 and 2487 are two copies of the same couplet, one with indentation, the other without.

³⁷ This is an impression; I know no collection of material. The papyri of Callimachus' elegiac poems, which range in date from iii B.C. to vi A.D., certainly have no example of indentation.

³⁸ Again, an impression, which I owe to Mr. P. A. Hansen and Mr. P. M. Fraser. Of the texts collected in E. Bernand, *Inscr. metr. de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, nos. 47, 68 and 73 show indentation; all are of ii A.D. Of two epitaphs inscribed in ink, one indents (no. 22, ii/iii A.D. ?), one does not (no. 87, ii A.D. ?).

³⁹ Guelf. Aug. 13. 11: E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, pl. xcix; date from *CLA* IX, 1377. Par. Lat. 10318: fascimile publ. by H. Omont (1903); *CLA* V, 593. A and B of Prudentius, to which Dr. R. W. Hunt refers me, are both of vi A.D.; but the available specimen plates do not show whether they indent in the few elegiac poems (on the lyric poems see n. 21). The Bobbio fragment of Rutilius, vii A.D., to which Mr. Reeve refers me, has only the second half of each line (*Italia medioevale e humanistica* XVI (1973), 29 f. & pl. iv).

⁴⁰ See for example the MSS of Ovid in Chatelain, op. cit. (n. 39), pl. xci ff.

The spacing of the poems, and the indentation of the pentameters, are reinforced by the enlargement of initial letters. Only seven instances survive (i 1-5, 7; ii 5). If these are typical, they suggest a regular scheme. All initial letters are wider than usual, and also taller, so that they project above, or above and below, the main line of text. Initial letters of hexameters are enlarged more than those of pentameters, and set off by a following blank space equivalent to one medium-size letter (i 2, 4; not so clear in ii 5). It might seem from i 2 that the initial letter of a poem was yet further enlarged; but ii 5 does not bear this out. —*QV* counts as a single initial (i 7, ii 5).

It is interesting to see that this sort of pattern—found, for example, in Vindob. Lat. 277 (Martial: viii/ix A.D.), Paris. 8071 (*Florilegium Thuaneum*: ix A.D.) and Vat. Regin. 1709 (Ovid: x A.D.)—has such early origins.⁴¹

Interpunction

The scribe writes interpuncts to show word-end throughout. These points sometimes take the form of a dot, sometimes of a short oblique descending from left to right; they are written sometimes at mid-height, sometimes lower.

At line-ends his practice varies: interpuncts after i 3, 6 and 8; elsewhere none. The question arises, whether he was simply careless, or whether he intended the final point to have some special function, perhaps in punctuation. All three final points could in fact mark colon-end; but in that case one might expect him to mark sentence-end after i 7 *mea* (in i 1, 5 and 9 the spacing might serve instead). Given the inconsistency, we should regard the final points as simple oversights.⁴²

Interpunction was a purely Latin practice; Seneca, *Ep.* 40. 11, regards it as the norm in his time, and contrasts it with Greek practice. The Latin papyri confirm this. All the earliest texts, literary and documentary, have complete interpunction. In the late i A.D. some documents appear with partial interpunction, or none; after the early ii A.D. no document has interpunction; in literary texts the practice may continue sporadically, but no example is firmly dated.⁴³ The use of interpuncts in the Gallus-papyrus simply confirms expectation.

⁴¹ *CLA* x, 1474; Chatelain, op. cit. (n. 39), pls. xiv, xcix. E. A. Lowe has already guessed that enlarged initials began in pagan times (*Paleographic Papers* I, 196); the counter-argument of C. H. Roberts (*Manuscript, Society & Religion in Early Christian Egypt*, 1979, 17) must now be modified.

⁴² Similar oversights in *PIand* 90 (see n. 24); and also in inscriptions, see J. S. & A. E. Gordon, op. cit. (n. 20), 183 f.

⁴³ *Dated literary texts.* *PHerc* 817 (*Carmen de bello Aegyptiaco*), *CLA* III, 385 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 4 (31 B.C.-A.D. 79). ? *PHerc* 1067, *CLA* III, 386 (before A.D. 79), too damaged for certainty. ? *PHerc* 1475, *CLA* III, 387 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 2 (before A.D. 79), too damaged for certainty. *BGU* 611 = *CPL* 236 (speeches of Claudius), *CLA* VIII, 1038 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* I, no. 5 (after c. A.D. 43). *PMich* VII, 456 (= *CPL* 231) + *PYale inv.* 1158 (Parassoglou, *Stud. Pap.* XIII (1974), 32) (legal text), *CLA* Suppl. 1779 (ii A.D. ? the verso text, see Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 16, has Greek writing assignable to iii A.D., and Latin writing without interpunction).

Undated literary texts. (Here the assigned dates, especially the earlier, may themselves depend in part on the fact of interpunction.) *PIand* 90 = *CPL* 20 (Cicero), *CLA* VIII, 1201 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 1 (i B.C./i A.D. ? i A.D. ?). *POxy* 2088 = *CPL* 41 (*de Servio Tullio*), *CLA* Suppl. 1714 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 12 (i A.D. ? ii A.D. ?). *POxy* 30 = *CPL* 43 (*de Bellis Macedonicis*), *CLA* II, 207, x, 1539 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 14 (i A.D. Mallon, ii A.D. Seider, iii A.D. ed. pr.). *PSI* 743 = *CPL* 69 (Alexander Romance ? Greek in Latin letters), *CLA* Suppl. 1693 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.*

II, i, no. 13 (i/ii A.D. ?). *PHamb.* II, 167 = *CPL* 65 (Mime ? below, n. 90), *CLA* VIII, 1214 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 6 (ii/iii A.D. ?). *PHeid Lat* 1 = *CPL* 318 (Cookbook ?), *CLA* VIII, 1220 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 8 (i/ii A.D. ? iii A.D. ?). *POxy* VI, 871 = *CPL* 47 (Philosophy ?), *CLA* XI, 1666 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 3 (iv-v A.D. ? ed. pr., iii A.D. ? Lowe). These last three would be late examples, if their dates were firm; and could no doubt be explained as archaizing, or as the literal reproduction of early exemplars. But we have very few dated Latin book-hands for the early period; so that the assignment of dates to the undated is more than usually uncertain; and in this uncertainty the presence of interpunction will generally be the only solid indication. There is thus a temptation to down-date *PHamb* 167, *PHeid Lat* 1 and *POxy* 871, as Seider has now done, to i A.D. This works well enough for the first two (on *PHamb* see n. 90); more doubtfully for *POxy* 871, if, as the first editors state, the back carries a document assignable to v A.D.

Dated documents. *CPL* 247, Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* I, nos. 3-4 (c. 17-14, or 21-18 B.C.). *PMed inv.* 68. 87, O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia*, pl. 34 (A.D. 7). *POxy* 2772, with plate viii (Greek in Latin letters) (A.D. 10/11 ?). *POxy* 244 = *CPL* 175, *ChLA* III, 206 (A.D. 23). *PMich* III, 159 = *CPL* 212, *ChLA* v, 280 (A.D. 41-68). *PSI* XI, 1183 = *CPL* 170, Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* I, no. 6 (A.D. 47/8). *CPL* 238, Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* I, no. 11 (Domitian). *PYale, Chron. d'Ég.* XLVIII (1973), 318, with plate (A.D. 91: only the first few words of each line, so that the appearance of full interpunction may be misleading). *PWisc* II, 70, with plate (late i ?). *PVindolanda* 65 (c. A.D. 105: five lines only, and not all the interpuncts clear.

Orthography

(i) i 2 *QVOM*

QVOM is the older spelling. *CVM* begins to replace it in Cicero's time, and preponderates in imperial inscriptions; ⁴⁴ but Quintilian records that 'many' still chose to distinguish *quom* conjunction from *cum* preposition. ⁴⁵

(ii) i 3 *MAXIMA*

MAXVMVS is the older spelling. *MAXIMVS* alternates with it in inscriptions from the time of Julius Caesar, and largely (but not entirely) replaces it from the time of Augustus. ⁴⁶ Julius Caesar favoured the spelling *-IM-*, and his influence caused it to spread (so Varro reported); ⁴⁷ the neoteric Licinius Calvus also favoured it. ⁴⁸

(iii) i 5 *SPOLIEIS DEIVITIORA TVEIS, 7 DEICERE*

The spelling *EI* conventionally represents the vowel sound [i]. In early Latin the diphthong [ei] and the long vowel [i] had been distinct in origin, pronunciation and spelling; by the later ii B.C. both had converged in a common pronunciation [i]; *EI* could then be used to spell [i] of whatever origin (that is, whether derived from original [i] or from original [ei]); and grammarians then tried to systematize the possibility, so as to distinguish in spelling between [i] and [i], or between different functions of [i]. ⁴⁹

This history is known from the grammarians and from the inscriptions. (a) The spelling was discussed by Accius and Lucilius in the late ii B.C., and by Varro and Nigidius Figulus in the mid i B.C.; ⁵⁰ by Quintilian's time it seems to be merely a historical phenomenon. ⁵¹ Accius apparently recommended *EI* for [i] on all occasions; Lucilius recommended a limited use, such as would serve to distinguish homophones (*pueri* genitive, *puerei* nominative; *pila* nom. fem. sing., *peila* nom. neut. plur.). Varro and Nigidius continued the debate. (b) The spelling is common in Republican inscriptions from at least 123/2 B.C. ⁵² According to the old survey of Lommatzsch it disappears from official inscriptions with the reign of Augustus; in private inscriptions it continues to flourish through the early principate, but soon declines. ⁵³ It is sufficiently common in the

I am grateful to Dr. A. K. Bowman for permission to refer to this piece).

Undated documents. (Again, the assigned dates depend in part on the fact of interpunction.) *PBerl Lat* 13, 956 = *CPL* 246, Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* 1, no. 1 (i B.C.?). *OWadiFavakhir* 3 = *CPL* 305, Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* 1, no. 2 (i B.C./i A.D.?) Seider, i/ii A.D. ? ed. pr.). *POxy* 3208, *BICS* XVII (1970), pl. iv (i B.C./i A.D.?). *PSI* 1321, with plate (and Mallon, *Pal. rom.*, pl. xi) (i A.D.?). *PKöln* III, 160, with plate (i/ii A.D.?). *PRyl* IV, 608 = *CPL* 248, *CLA* II, 228 (i/ii A.D.?).

For the decline of interpunction see (i) *PMich* 430a, Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 10, a literary text, copied before A.D. 115, with only sporadic interpunction; (ii) two documentary archives of early ii A.D., the letters of Terentianus (*PMich* VIII, 467-72 = *CPL* 250-5; + *ChLA* v, 299), which have no interpunction at all, and the documents from Vindolanda, of which one has (perhaps) full interpunction, a few partial interpunction, most no interpunction at all. It may be that decline was more rapid in Italy. The wall-inscriptions and wax-tablets from Pompeii and Herculaneum (if correctly copied in *CIL* IV) show interpunction much less commonly than one might expect of the Senecan age or earlier (cf. n. 36). But no doubt in private (as distinct from professional) MSS much depended on individual choice. Suetonius, *Aug.* 87, 3, notes that Augustus did not divide his words (by interpuncts, presumably).

⁴⁴ Kühner-Stegmann I, 32. F. Sommer (rev. by R. Pfister), *Handbuch d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre* ⁴ I, 126. M. Leumann, *Lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, 137.

⁴⁶ Quint., *Inst.* 1. 7. 5.

⁴⁷ *TLL* s.v. 'magnus' 122. 40; Arthur Brock, *Quaestionum Grammaticarum Cap. Duo* (1897). The Pompeian wall-inscriptions show two cases of *maxumus* against many of *-im-*, V. Väänänen, *Le Latin vulgaire des inscriptions Pompéiennes* ³, 26. *POxy* 3208 (i B.C./i A.D., assigned date) still has *maxsuma*. *Infimus* is already attested in *ILLRP* 517 (117 B.C.). But the change from *-u-* to *-i-* may have proceeded at different speeds in different words: Sommer, op. cit. (n. 44), 88.

⁴⁸ Cornutus, ap. Cassiod., *GL* VII, 150 Keil = Varro, gr. fr. **68 Goetz-Schoell. Hence Quint., *Inst.* 1. 7. 21.

⁴⁹ 'Mar. Vict.' (Aphthonius), *GL* VI, 9. 3 Keil.

⁵⁰ R. G. Kent, *The Sounds of Latin* ³ (1945), para. 22. Sommer, op. cit. (n. 44), 64. Leumann, op. cit. (n. 44), 13, 62.

⁵¹ Accius fr. 24 Funaioli (Quint., *Inst.* 1. 7. 14: 'semivocales geminare diu non fuit usitatissimi moris, atque e contrario usque ad Accium et ultra porrectas syllabas geminis ut dixi vocalibus scripserunt. diutius duravit ut e et i iungendis eadem ratione qua Graeci ... uterentur: ea casibus numerisque discreta est, ut Lucilius praecipit' etc.; 'Mar. Vict.' (Aphthonius), *GL* VI, 8. 13 Keil: ... 'cum longa syllaba scribenda esset, duas vocales ponebat, praeterquam quae in i litteram incideret; haec enim per e et i scribebat'. Lucilius fr. 10 Funaioli (358-70 Marx). Varro fr. 272 Funaioli (gr. fr. **69 Goetz-Schoell). Nigidius Figulus fr. 10 Funaioli (xxxvi Swoboda).

⁵² Quint., *Inst.* 1. 7. 14 (above, n. 50).

⁵³ *CIL* I², 583.

⁵⁴ Lommatzsch, *Arch. Lat. Lex.* xv (1908), 129.

tablets and wall-inscriptions from Pompeii and Herculaneum.⁵⁴ It occurs also in Egyptian documents of probably Augustan date.⁵⁵

In the time of Gallus, then, and in that of his copyist, the *EI* spelling would be perfectly normal.⁵⁶ But it was not the only normal spelling. The writer had to choose which orthographic system to adopt, and how far to apply it.

Two sets of conventions existed, which served to distinguish in writing between long and short vowels. (a) The long vowel was doubled (*AA, EE, OO, UU*), except *I*, which commonly became *EI*.⁵⁷ Accius recommended this system; the earliest inscriptional examples are of early ii B.C.; it occurs quite frequently in later ii B.C. and earlier i B.C.; isolated instances extend into the empire.⁵⁸ It seems that the geminate vowels went out of vogue sooner than *EI*; ⁵⁹ so far as I know, no example survives in early MSS. (b) The long vowel was marked with an *apex*; *I* with *apex* became *I-longa*.⁶⁰ The independent *apex* occurs sporadically in inscriptions of i B.C. and i A.D.; Quintilian regards it as a standard feature.⁶¹ *I-longa* appears first in an inscription of 104 B.C., is used increasingly in i B.C., and flourishes in i A.D.⁶²

Grammarians conceived these as separate and unitary systems.⁶³ Usage, as the inscriptions show it, was naturally less tidy. Some writers (or cutters) were confused or incompetent.⁶⁴ Others combined conventions, by writing long *I* with *EI*, long *A E O U* with the *apex*.⁶⁵ Others applied one convention, but only in some places; the choice might then depend on one or more of several factors—whimsy, practical convenience (in discriminating homophones and homographs), grammatical teaching (much of it also designed to prevent ambiguities),⁶⁶ tradition and sentiment and the influence of archaic

⁵⁴ Väänänen, op. cit. (n. 46), 22 f.

⁵⁵ *CPL* 246, Letter (i B.C., assigned date): *conserveis, sei, sateis, defendateis* (the last two in short syllables, from an over-anxiety to be correct; similar examples in inscriptions, Sommer, op. cit. (n. 44)). *CPL* 311, Account (i B.C./i A.D., assigned date): *conductei. POxy* 3208, Letter (i B.C., assigned date): *tibei, vocareis*. Contrast *CPL* 247, Letters (17-14 or 21-18 B.C.), where one letter uses *I-longa*, the other simple *I*; *PMed inv.* 68. 87 = O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia*, pl. 34, Subscription (A.D. 7), *I-longa*; *PQaşrİbrîm* 78-3-21/24, Letter (same deposit as the Gallus-papyrus), simple *I*. The *EI* still survives in *PMich* 469.11 (early ii A.D.): *rescreibae*, but *patri*.

⁵⁶ The Gallus-papyrus may encourage us to believe that *EI* spellings in the MSS of Catullus and Lucretius are authorial, not simply scribal archaisms. See Fr. Stolz, *Hist. Gramm. d. lat. Spr.* (ed. H. Blase and others) I. i (1894), 215 f. For Catullus see 23. 1, 39. 2, 61. 1, 61. 199, 61. 225, 63. 91, 76. 26, 77. 3; and (as suspected cause of corruption) 64. 164, 68. 155, 57.9, 63. 10, 96. 1. (I owe these references to the kindness of Dr. D. S. McKie.) For Lucretius see Lachmann on 4. 602. For Cicero see Stolz, op. cit.; but the instances are frequent only in the *Pro Fonteio*, which suggests deliberate recension rather than chance survival (Marouzeau, see n. 67).

⁵⁷ This unified system is ascribed to Accius in *GL* VI, 8. 13 (above n. 50); the two features are at least considered side-by-side in Quint., *Inst.* I. 7. 14 (ibid.). But the more consistent spelling *II* occurs from time to time, see n. 58. Gemination + *EI*, e.g. *ILLRP* 751 (c. 140 B.C.), 793 (Sullan ?), 394 (49/6).

⁵⁸ R. Coleman, *CQ* XIII (1963), 3; J. H. Oliver, *AJP* LXXXVII (1966), 152.

⁵⁹ Quint., *Inst.* I. 7. 14 (above, n. 50). Sporadic survivals, Oliver, op. cit. (n. 58), 155.

⁶⁰ Treated as a unified system in the quotation of Varro's view, fr. 272 Funaioli.

⁶¹ *ILLRP* 365, 803, 934, 977; in proper names, 372, 563, 667, 801, 978. J. S. & A. E. Gordon, op. cit. (n. 20), 148, 214; Quint., *Inst.* I. 4. 10.

⁶² Degrassi on *ILLRP* 716. J. S. & A. E. Gordon,

op. cit. (n. 20), 186, 216. In medieval usage, of course, *I-longa* has no connection with quantity at all; it is the form taken by initial *I* and medial semi-vocalic *I* (E. A. Lowe, *Palaeographic Papers* I, 4). This development begins already in classical times, see Oliver, op. cit. (n. 58), 166 f., Väänänen, op. cit. (n. 46), 35.

⁶³ See nn. 57, 60.

⁶⁴ See e.g. *ILLRP* 149 *alieis donis*, 307 *feili suei*, 364 *summis periculis*, 513 *venire . . . venire*, 719 *magistrei . . . magistri*, 794 *Deidiae Didiae*, 823 *liberteis suis*.

⁶⁵ So also in *PHamb* II, 167 (below). Equally, *EI* and *I-longa* may occur side-by-side in the same inscription: *ILLRP* 579, 823. It is clearly not true that the *apex* replaced gemination, and *I-longa* replaced *EI*, from the time of Sulla, as Lommatzsch maintained.

⁶⁶ Thus Lucilius recommended *pueri* genitive, *puerei* nominative; Varro, *facilis* singular, *facileis* plural (n. 50). Inscriptions show a large (disproportionately large ?) number of *EI* spellings in such case-endings, plus a certain discrimination: *-i* gen. sing., with *-ei* nom. plu., *ILLRP* 94, 343, 357, 360; *-i* gen. sign., with *-eis* dat./abl. plu., 57, 705, 771, 964, 974; *-i* nom. plu., with *-eis* dat./abl. plu., 57, 105a, 662 (*sueis, professi*; but also *quei*; perhaps simple inconsistency, but there are other hints that monosyllables had special treatment). One factor here may be (Dr. J. N. Adams suggests) 'an attempt on the part of the grammarians to counter the tendency to shorten long vowels in (unstressed) final syllables'; another was no doubt the flight from ambiguity; contrast the treatment of the unambiguous verbal ending *-i* in *ILLRP* 977 (*fui, optinui* but *domineis, illei*), 985 (*fui*, but *inferieis, tristeis* acc.); though this too appears as *-ei* in the whole-hogging *PHamb* 167 and in other inscriptions (*ILS* III. ii, p. 814). The economical policy was to discriminate long vowels only when an ambiguity was thus avoided. Quintilian recommends this, in discussing the *apex*; but his words make it clear, and the inscriptions clearer still, that normal usage was much less rigorous, see Oliver, op. cit. (n. 58), 133.

books and inscriptions (which might preserve, at least in some words, the early Latin spelling)⁶⁷—as well as on the natural quantity of the vowel and on its immediate phonetic context.

Gallus or his scribe chose *EI* rather than *I-longa* or undifferentiated *I*; he chose not to mark the other long vowels. Contrast: (i) *PHerc* 817, *Carmen de bello Aegyptiaco* (31 B.C.–A.D. 79): occasional *apex* and *I-longa*; ⁶⁸ (ii) *CPL* 247, Private Letters (17–14 or 21–18 B.C.): frequent *apex* and consistent *I-longa* in one letter, neither in the other; (iii) *PIand* 90, Cicero (i B.C./i A.D. ?, i A.D. ?): occasional *apex* and *I-longa*; ⁶⁹ (iv) *PHamb* II, 167, *Mime* ? (i A.D. ?, ii A.D. ?): frequent *apex*, consistent *EI*.⁷⁰

Nor did he choose to write every long *I* in this way. If quantity were the only guide we should expect *mihei* (i 2), *feixa* (i 5) and perhaps *deigna* (i 7). *mihi* has a phonetic excuse; the last syllable was by now normally short in pronunciation, however the old quantity might be revived in verse.⁷¹ *fixa* and *digna* need other explanations. One possibility is, that tradition had preserved the original spellings (from the time when *EI* and *I* represented distinct sounds); this explains *fixa* (archaic *figo*,⁷² alongside *-eis*, *deico* and *deives*),⁷³ but cannot be shown to explain *digna*.⁷⁴ Alternatively, and more effectively, we could assume that *EI* was not written in closed syllables (before a double consonant); the inscriptions provide some evidence for this tendency.⁷⁵

(iv) i 9 *KATO*

This convention ('quotiens *A* sequitur, *K* litteram praependendam esse, non *C*; quotiens *V* sequitur, per *Q* non per *C* scribendum')⁷⁶ has early beginnings; and continues in normal use into ii A.D., at least for proper names and a limited number of common words.⁷⁷ Here it applies in *Kato*, but not in *c[ar]mina* (i 6): pure inconsistency? or because *Kato* is a proper name?

Since the papyrus stands so close in date to the poet, the orthography might reasonably be taken as Gallus' own. Not much can be learned from it. He chose the older form *quom*, alongside the new form *maxima* (favoured by Caesar and Licinius Calvus). He chose *EI* rather than *I-longa*, but there is nothing to show whether he sided with Accius or Lucilius. It is of interest that the papyrus does not mark the quantities of the other vowels; the reader gets less help than he does in the other early MSS cited above. I see no way of deciding whether this reflects the taste, or indifference, of Gallus or his scribe,⁷⁸ or the general habits of book-production at a more primitive stage.

⁶⁷ cf. Väänänen, op. cit. (n. 46), 22 f. Numerous *EI* spellings still survive (not all acceptable) in the MSS of Plautus: Anderson, *TAPA* xxxvii (1906), 73; Marouzeau, *Mélanges Chatelain* (1910), 150. It has been disputed whether Lucilius based his rules on pure theory, or on the tradition of archaic orthography (R. G. Kent, op. cit. (n. 49); F. Sommer, op. cit. (n. 44), 65). The inscription of Gallus at Philae (n. 15) has particular interest: *deivi* and *dieis patrieis* stand isolated, among many spellings in simple *I*, as if only these words (solemn in themselves, and common in early inscriptions) require the distinctive ornament.

⁶⁸ Both visible in the photograph, *CLA* III, 385; Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II, i, no. 4.

⁶⁹ n. 24.

⁷⁰ n. 90.

⁷¹ *mihei* is quoted from *CIL* I², 1401 (*ILLRP* 939), IV, 1846 etc. *tibei* still in *POxy* 3208 (n. 55).

⁷² Thus *ILLRP* 511 (*SC de Bacchanalibus*, 186 B.C.) 27 *figier* after *exdeicatis*.

⁷³ The etymology of *deives* is doubtful. But some ancient authorities (Varro, *L.L.* v. 92) certainly connected it with *divus*, older *deivos*. *Deivitis* occurs, as proper name, in *ILLRP* 929, of uncertain date.

⁷⁴ There are two difficulties. (1) Priscian states (if it is not an interpolation) that the *-i-* in such words was long; modern etymologists doubt this. But certainly *CIL* VI, 6314 writes *dIgne* with *I-longa*. (2) We have no evidence from the archaic period to

show whether the original spelling was *di-* or *dei-*. Sommer, op. cit. (n. 44), 100.

⁷⁵ I owe this suggestion to Dr. J. N. Adams and Mr. M. D. Reeve. In the inscriptions note: (a) *ILLRP* 122 (c. 140 B.C.) *redieit . . . signum*, but 82 *seignum*; (b) 702 *Quinctius . . . pageis, vicei, Sulpicei*, but 565 (c. 70 ?) *Queinctius*; (c) 517 (117 B.C.) *dixserunt* among many *EI* spellings, 973 (Gracchan ?) *deico . . . dixi*, but 340 (late ii B.C. ?) *indeixsit*, 793 (Sullan ?) and 805a (late i B.C. ??) *veixsit*; (d) 136 *afieicta*. Väänänen, op. cit. (n. 46), 22 f. cites only *Queintus* and *utresque* from the Pompeian inscriptions.

⁷⁶ Donatus, *GL* IV, 368. 7 Keil.

⁷⁷ Sommer, op. cit. (n. 44), 31. So in the letters of Terentianus, *PMich* 467 etc. (J. N. Adams, *The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Clau. Terentianus*, 32); and in the letters from Vindolanda (*Karus, karissime*). Clearly the schoolmasters maintained the rule, against those like Quintilian who thought the distinction perfectly pointless (*Inst.* I. 7. 10). The writer of *PHerc* 817, who has *C* before *A* everywhere, both initially and medially, apparently took the radical view.

⁷⁸ There might be considerations of book-production. *Apices* would spoil the solid bilinear appearance of the script? *Apices* were the business of the corrector, not the first hand (cf. *PHamb* 167), and this book has not been corrected (below, p. 138)?

*The Hand*⁷⁹

The text is written in a small formal upright bilinear bookhand. This is among the earliest examples (very possibly is the earliest example) of the style, which in many features anticipates the 'canonized' (that is, ossified) Rustic Capital of iv A.D. and after.⁸⁰

The book can be dated from its archaeological context, more precisely (c. 50–20 B.C.) or less precisely (c. 50 B.C.–A.D. 25). It therefore provides one of the few fixed points in the early history of Latin literary scripts.

Some comparative material:

Dated literary texts: *PHerc* 817 (*Carmen de bello Aegyptiaco*) (31 B.C.–A.D. 79),⁸¹ 1067,⁸² 1475; ⁸³ 1057, 1059, 1484, 1535⁸⁴ (before A.D. 79).

Undated literary texts: *PHawara* 24 recto, col. i (Virgil) (i A.D. ?);⁸⁵ *PMich* VII, 431 (Law ?) (i A.D. ?);⁸⁶ *PSI* VII, 743 (Alexander Romance? Greek in Latin letters) (i/ii A.D. ?);⁸⁷ *CPL* 46 (Philosophy ?) (i/ii A.D. ?);⁸⁸ *PHeid Lat* I (Cookbook ?) (i/ii A.D. ?);⁸⁹ *PHamb* II, 167 (Mime ?) (i/ii A.D. ?);⁹⁰ *PLit Lond* 184 + *PMich* 429 (Grammar) (ii/iii A.D.);⁹¹ *PRyl* III, 473 (Sallust) (ii/iii A.D.).⁹²

Dated documents: *PSI* 1183a (A.D. 45–54);⁹³ *CPL* 104 (A.D. 94);⁹⁴ *PRyl* 79 (A.D. 144/5);⁹⁵ *PDura* 2 (A.D. 224/37).⁹⁶

Undated document: *PIand* 90 verso (i A.D. ?).⁹⁷

Inscriptions on papyrus: *PSI* 1307 verso (i A.D. ?);⁹⁸ *PMich* 459 verso (iii A.D. ?);⁹⁹ *POxy* 2950 (Diocletian).¹⁰⁰

Painted wall-inscriptions: *CIL* IV, Suppl. 9928, 7273, etc. (before A.D. 79).¹⁰¹

The main characteristics of this hand are:

(i) Modulus. The writing is in principle bilinear; only the tail of *Q*, and the enlarged initials, break the regularity. The upper line is not quite strictly maintained; but the unevenness of the letter tops, which shows up in enlargement, is hardly perceptible at actual size. The lower line is emphasized by heavy serifs. Since there are no excrescent strokes, the lines are spaced at scarcely more than their own height.

The sameness of the letter-heights is deliberately balanced by wide variation in letter-widths. Very narrow: *EIST*; narrow: *BCDFHLOP*; square: *AGKNQRVY*; wide: *M*. Final letters tend to spread (i 2, 4, 5, 7, 9).

Other early examples feel a temptation to break bilinearity by writing the caps of e.g. *E* and *S* at a slant, and by extending oblique strokes upward above the line (e.g. at the

⁷⁹ See in general J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (1952); R. Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i (1978). A list of early Latin book-hands is given by R. Marichal, *Scriptorium* IV (1950), 134; IX (1955), 127. Recent discussions of the early period: G. P. Nicolaj, *Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Cencetti* (1973), 3; R. Seider, *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists (Oxford)* (1975), 277.

⁸⁰ For the early codices see E. A. Lowe, *Palaeographic Papers* I, 189.

⁸¹ See n. 22.

⁸² *CLA* III, 386. Another section, Nicolaj, op. cit. (n. 79), pl. IIIe.

⁸³ *CLA* III, 387; Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, no. 2. Other sections, Nicolaj, op. cit., pls. II, IIIa.

⁸⁴ Small portions reproduced in Nicolaj, op. cit.

⁸⁵ Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, no. 7b.

⁸⁶ *CPL* 70; *CLA* XI, 1645.

⁸⁷ *CPL* 69; *CLA* Suppl. 1693 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, no. 13. Assigned to i A.D. by Nicolaj, op. cit. (n. 79).

⁸⁸ *CLA* Suppl. 1735.

⁸⁹ *CPL* 318; *CLA* VIII, 1220 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, no. 8.

⁹⁰ *CPL* 65; *CLA* VIII, 1214 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, no. 6a. This sumptuous book (note the use of red ink, and the large lower margin) has interpunctuation and *EI* spellings throughout, and frequent *apex*; either it archaizes, or the date normally assigned to the hand, ii or ii/iii A.D., is too late. Published as a declamation; republished as

comedy or mime by J. Dingel, *ZPE* x (1973), 29; more probably mime, since not demonstrably metrical; B. Bader, *ZPE* XII (1973), 270; Dingel, *ZPE* XIV (1974), 168; C. Questa, *Maia* XXVI (1974), 314.

⁹¹ *CPL* 56–7; *CLA* II, 212, XI, p. 19, *ChLA* III, 218, Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, no. 5. The recto contains a military document, with dates of A.D. 163–172; so that the dating of the verso c. 200 is more reliable than usual.

⁹² *CPL* 28; *CLA* Suppl. 1721 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, no. 23 (there assigned iii/iv A.D.).

⁹³ *CPL* 170; *PSI* XI, pl. v, Mallon, *Pal. rom.*, pl. v; Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* I, no. 6. A census-return, therefore most likely written in the census-year 47/8 or a little after.

⁹⁴ Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* I, no. 15.

⁹⁵ *CPL* 125; *PRyl* II, pl. 23.

⁹⁶ *CPL* 324; Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* I, no. 41. For other examples of the 'Rustic Capital' as commonly used in military documents see *ChLA* v, 283 and notes (+ *ChLA* 491, 497). This sub-style has been named *Capitalis Romana Militaris* by Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, p. 37.

⁹⁷ *ChLA* XI, 492 & Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II. i, no. 1b.

⁹⁸ *CPL* 61; *CLA* Suppl. 1695.

⁹⁹ *CPL* 228; *CLA* Suppl. 1781.

¹⁰⁰ *POxy* XLI, pl. 3. All three pieces seem to be imitations of, or cartoons for, stone inscriptions.

¹⁰¹ Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* I, nos. 7, 13.

top corner of *A*, *D*, *N*): thus in *PHerc* 1057, *PSI* 743, *PIand* 90V, *PSI* 1183a.¹⁰² This presumably shows the influence of the rival literary script exemplified by *PIand* 90R (Cicero), and of contemporary cursive hands.¹⁰³ The scribe of the Gallus-papyrus shows no trace of this tendency, except in the up-tilted top of *T* (i 1 initial, 3 *hist.*, 4 *post*) and final *S* (i 5).

For the variation of letter-widths compare *PHerc* 817; it is much less marked in other *PHerc* and in *PSI* 1183a, and effectively disappears when 'canonization' is complete.

(ii) Shading. The thickest pen-strokes are those which slope down from left to right; horizontals are of medium thickness; verticals, and obliques sloping down from right to left, are thinnest. Thus the pen was held at an angle of 45 degrees or so to the horizontal, as might be expected at this period.¹⁰⁴

But the shading is not very heavy; the scribe was writing relatively small, and used a relatively narrow pen. Compare *PHerc* 817 and 1067, *PSI* 1183a, *PLitLond* 184; contrast *PHerc* 1475 and others in the same group, *PHamb* 167, *PRyl* 473, etc.

(iii) Ornament. The ornamentation consists of hooks or half-serifs at the tops of letters, pointing left (*I*, *L*, first upright of *H*, second of *N* and *X*, both of *V*); and hooks or half-serifs, and full serifs, on the feet of uprights and obliques descending from right to left (*A*, *F*, *H*, *I*, *K*, *M*, *N*, *P*, *R*, *T*, *X*). Hooks (half-serifs) project either left or right of the stroke to which they attach; serifs project both left and right; either may be horizontal (parallel with the base-line) or oblique (sloping up from left to right). Hooks are often (at the tops of letters always) made in one movement with the stroke; serifs usually (but not always?) require a separate movement. There is no example of the undulant serif, as e.g. in some *PHerc*,¹⁰⁵ *PDura* 2, etc. These various forms of ornament seem to be used promiscuously: thus the left foot of *A* may have a horizontal serif, an oblique serif, a horizontal hook to the right, an oblique hook to left or to right.

(iv) Letter-forms (Fig. 2)

A First stroke sometimes vertical, generally oblique. Second stroke sometimes projects considerably above the junction. Cross-bar sometimes horizontal, sometimes oblique. For the cross-bar cf. *PHerc* 817; there is no bar in *PHerc* 1067 and 1475, or in *PSI* 1183a, or in most later examples.

B Upper loop very narrow, as in *PHerc* 1475 and *PSI* 1183a.

D The curving stroke sometimes projects to the left of the upright. In e.g. i 7 *digna* it is clear that the upright and the base are made in a single movement (Mallon, p. 25).

E Sometimes the bars project to the left of the upright, sometimes not; sometimes the upper and lower junctions are right-angles, sometimes curves. Sometimes four strokes in four movements (i 3 *historiae*), sometimes four strokes in three movements (i 3 *Romanae*); but when the top is a vestigial curve, two strokes in two movements (i 6 *Musae*)? The top never slopes up (contrast *PHerc* 817, *PSI* 1183a). The width varies considerably.

G The top curves down (contrast *PSI* 1183a). The tail is short and oblique, made in a separate movement (i 7 *digna*).

H In i 3 *historiae* written in three movements; but in i 2 *mihi* seemingly only two movements, the cross-bar ligatured to the right vertical.

L Normally upright. But in i 1 *Lycori* the vertical leans to the left, and the base slopes downwards.

M The first stroke is sometimes vertical, sometimes oblique; the second sometimes projects substantially above the left-hand junction, sometimes not. The bow is generally in two movements (clear e.g. at i 2 *mea*); but sometimes the join is so neat as to suggest a single movement (i 4 *tuum*, 6 *tandem*).

N The right-hand junction sometimes stands higher than the left foot (i 7 *digna*); in i 6 *carmina* the right-hand vertical extends below the junction to fill the gap. The oblique flattens out as it approaches the junction, sometimes sooner, sometimes later.

O Always in two movements, but the point of junction varies (sometimes the first

¹⁰² *PHerc* 1057: Nicolaj, op. cit. (n. 79), pl. IV. *PSI* 743: n. 87. *PIand* 90 verso: n. 97. *PSI* 1183a: n. 93.

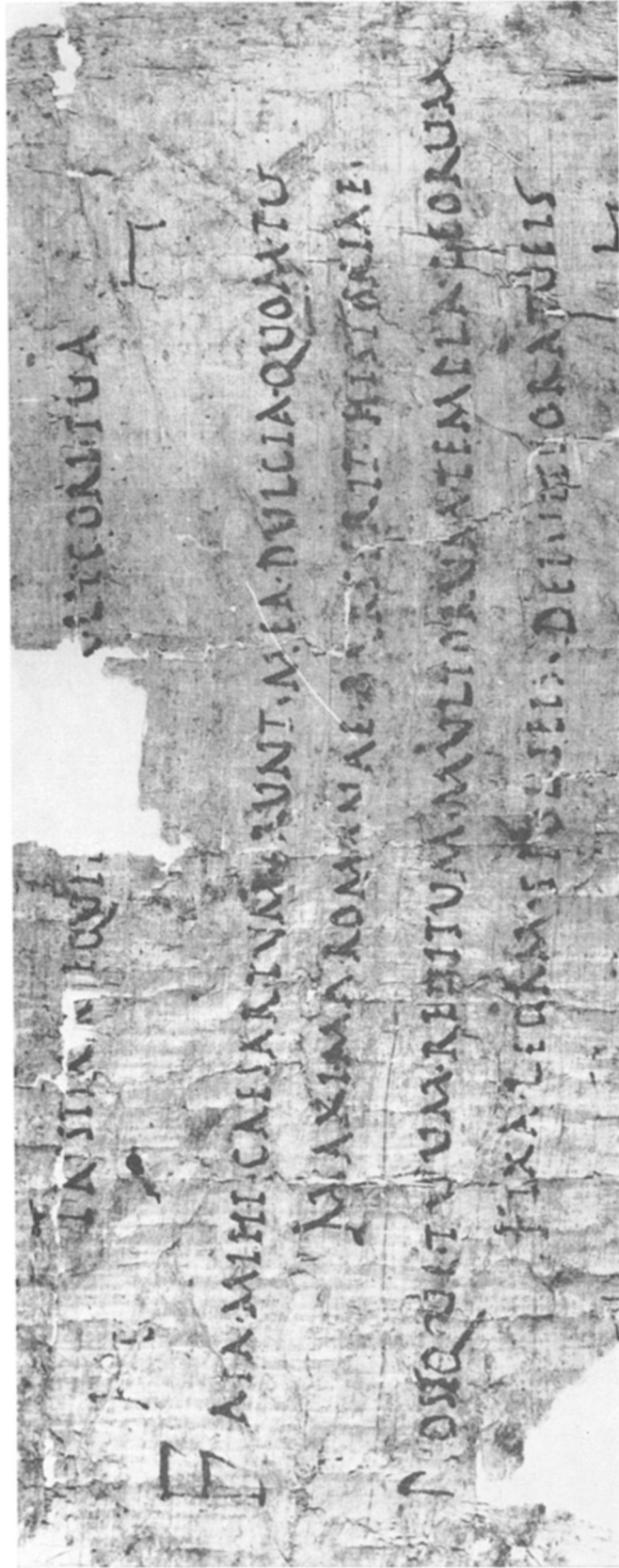
¹⁰³ *PIand* 90 recto: n. 24. Cursive: *CPL* 247 ii, Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* 1, no. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Mallon, *Pal. rom.* p. 24.

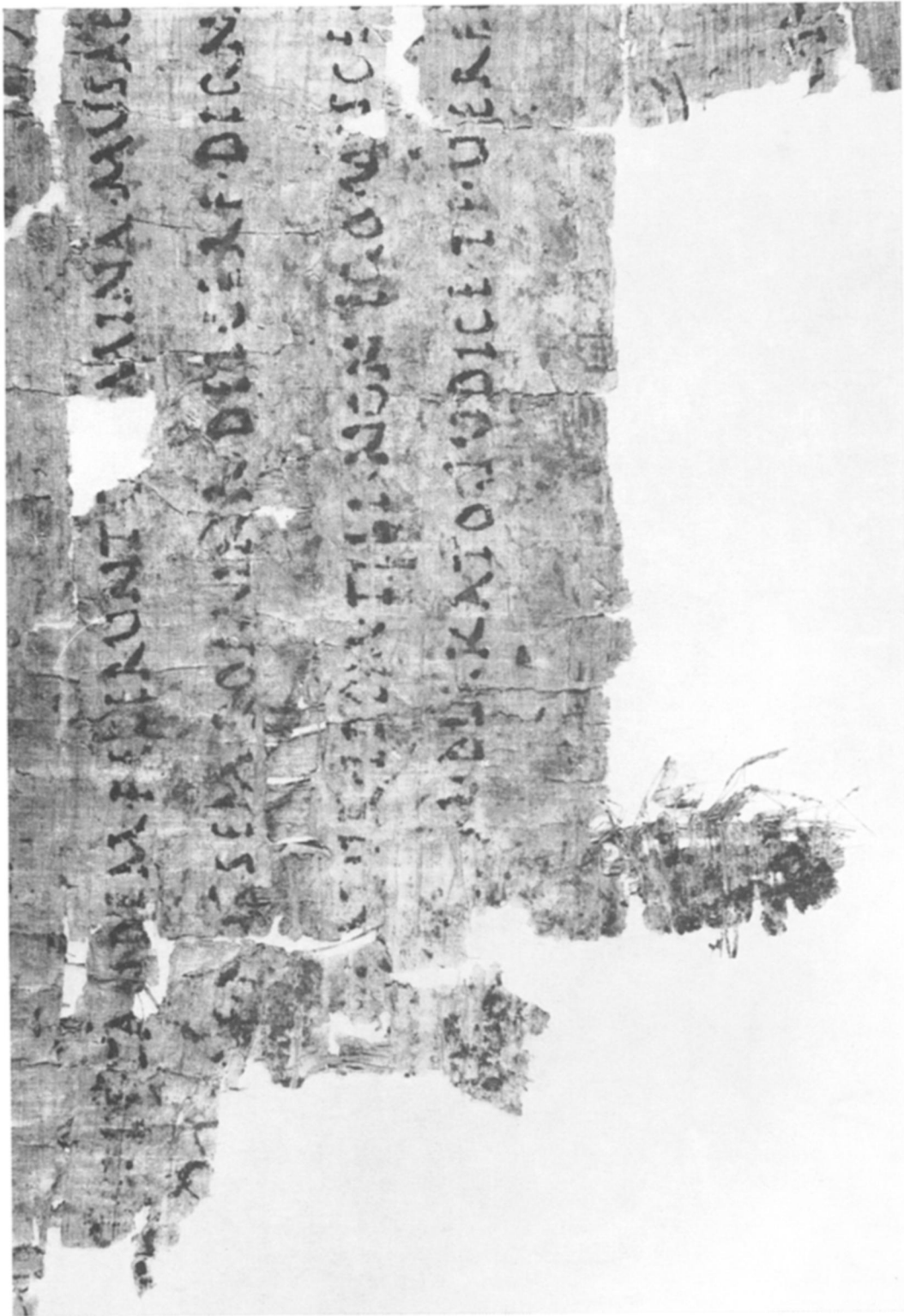
¹⁰⁵ Nicolaj, op. cit. (n. 79), pls. II-III. Similarly in the painted wall-inscriptions from Pompeii and Herculaneum, n. 101.



QAŞR IBRÎM : PAPHYRUS WITH ELEGIACS BY CORNELIUS GALLUS. *Actual size. Photograph by C. J. Eyre, reproduced by permission of the Egypt Exploration Society. Copyright reserved*



QAŞR IBRİM: PAPYRUS WITH ELEGIACS BY CORNELIUS GALLUS, ENLARGEMENT OF LINES 1-5. 1½ magnification. Photograph by C. J. Eyre, reproduced by permission of the Egypt Exploration Society. Copyright reserved



QAŞR İBRİM: PAPYRUS WITH ELEGIACS BY CORNELIUS GALLUS, ENLARGEMENT OF BEGINNINGS OF LINES 6-9. *Double magnification. Photograph by C. J. Eyre, reproduced by permission of the Egypt Exploration Society. Copyright reserved*

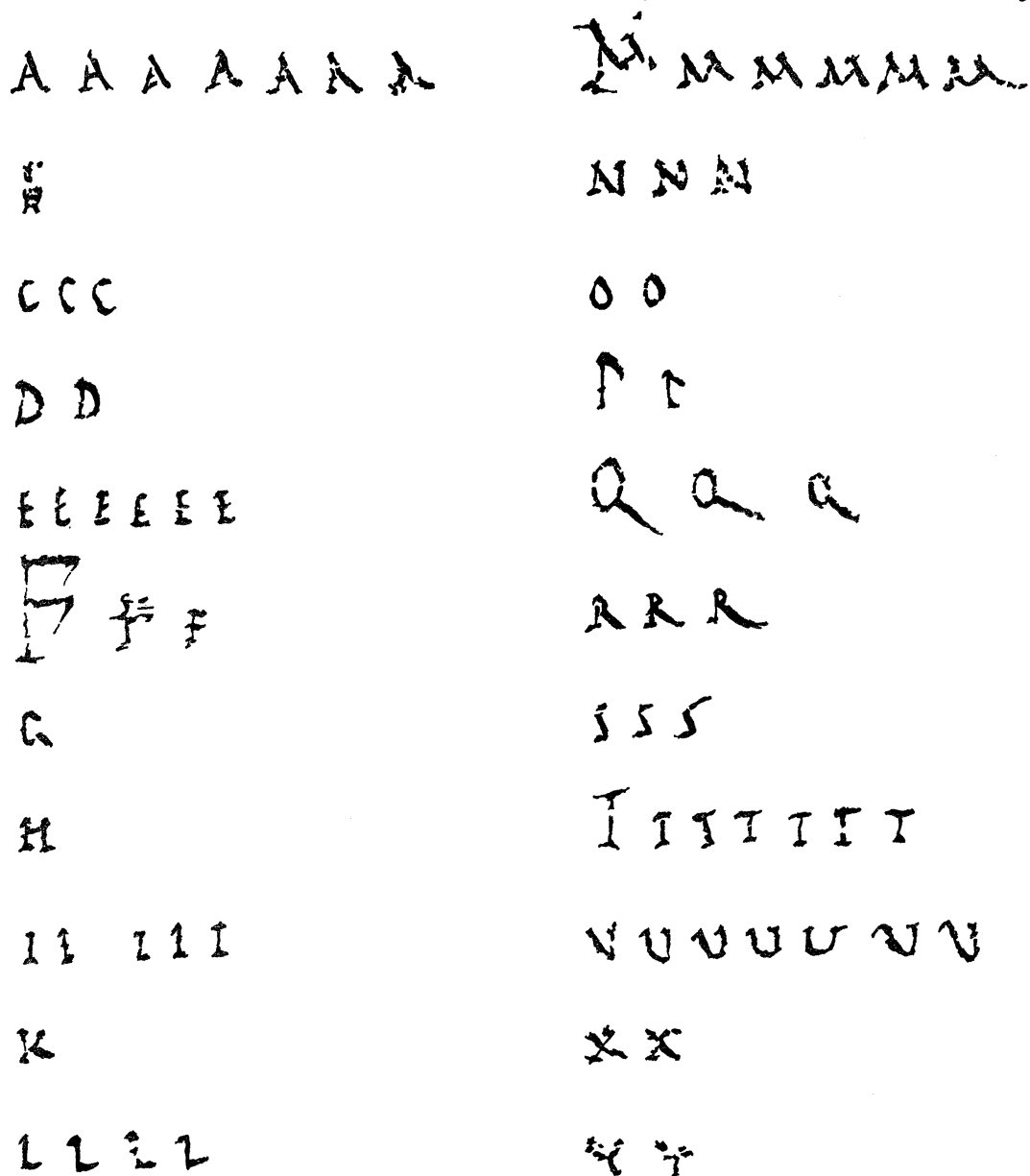


FIG. 2. LETTER-FORMS ON LATIN PAPYRUS FROM QAŞR IBRÎM. Drawn by Mary Baines. Copyright reserved

stroke begins on the vertical axis of the letter, giving a pointed top; sometimes to the left of it, so that the second stroke provides the whole flattened top).

P A curving top in the initial (i 4); a straight top in i 4 *templa*; nowhere a loop (cf. *PHerc* 817; *PSI* 1183a has both looped and unlooped forms).

R Loop tiny. Three strokes (in i 1 *Lycori* three separate movements?).

T The width, and the decoration of the foot, vary considerably; at narrowest easily confused with *I* (so in *PHerc* 817, 1475).






V Every variation from the most pointed base (i 2 *tum*) to the most flattened (i 4 *tuum*, 9 *vereor*). Similar variations in *PHerc* 1475, etc. (Nicolaj, op. cit., n. 79, pls. II-III).

Y Takes the form of Greek hypsilon; in i 1 if not in 11 apparently a single movement. Contrast *PSI* 1183a (with Mallon, p. 29), where the right-hand prong is a separate movement; compare *PHamb* 167, where the left-hand prong is separate (another possible Greek form).

The Book

Given the rarity of early Latin books, it is not easy to assess this one. The script is small and neat and deftly executed, less gawky than in *PHerc* 817, less ostentatiously stylish than in *PHerc* 1475; despite wide inconsistencies of ornament, letter-shape and even ductus (which indeed may have been the norm before canonization set in), an elegant calligraphic performance. This, with the wide margins, certainly suggests a good professional copy. On the other hand, the *apex* is not written, in contrast to some other early MSS; ¹⁰⁶ and a clear mistake is not corrected (i 3), although the employment of a corrector was—for scholars at least—an essential part of proper book-production.¹⁰⁷ This mixture of features may be a matter of date, or of quality, or of both. We cannot even tell whether the book was imported from Italy, or copied (under Gallus' prefecture) in Egypt.

III. TRANSCRIPT

	Col. i		Col. ii
1]	TRISTIA EQVIT[.....]. LYCORI TVA	[	1
			[
			2
2]	F ATA·MIHI·CAESAR·TVM·ERVNT·MEA·DVL CIA·QVOM·TV	[	3
3]	MAXIMA·ROMANAE·RS ERIT·HISTORIAE·	[	4
4]	P OSTQVE·TVVM·REDITVM·MVLTORVM·TEMPLA·DEORVM]	
5]	FIXA·LEGAM·SPOLIEIS·DEIVITIORA·TVEIS	QVI.[	5
			[
			6
6	.....]..... TA·DEM·FECERVNT [.]MINA·MVSAE·		
7	...E·POSSSEM·DOMINA·DEICERE·DIGNA·MEA		
8	.....]...VR·I M·TIBI·NON·EGO·V SCE·		
9	..].....] KATO·IVDICE·TE·VEREOR		
]		
10]...[].	
11	]...[	] TYRIA	
12].	

Many spots of stray ink in the upper margin; but nothing that suggests a column-number (which would in any case, if centred, fall in the gap).

Col. i

1. TRISTIA: of *A* the whole right side; part of the left side and the serif at its foot; no trace of cross-bar; after it a hole too narrow to contain a whole letter but wide enough to contain an interpunct.

EQVIT]: first is the lower part of an upright, followed immediately by the lower part of an oblique sloping down from left to right; slight traces to right, on the edge of the tear, may be accidental; of *T* the left end of the cross-bar and the lower part of the upright.

] : the lower part of an oblique sloping down from left to right (*A*, *K*, *M*?, *R*, *X*).

3 MANAE: of the first *A* only the peak.

..RS: first apparently the upper right-hand arc of a circle, level with the tops of letters;

¹⁰⁶ Above, p. 134. For punctuation, see Müller, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 46, 61. *PHerc* 817 writes an oblique stroke at some line-ends, to show colon- or sentence-end (at all line-ends, and simply to show line-end, according to Seider, *Pal. lat. Pap.* II i p. 36; but his

photograph does not bear this out).

¹⁰⁷ Strabo XIII. I. 54 (609). But it is just possible that i 6 carries a correction by a different hand, see p. 143.

below confused traces on partly displaced fibres; second long oblique sloping down from left to right (*A, M*). After *RS*, a damaged spot which could have contained an interpunct.

ERIT: of *E* the middle cross-bar lost in a crack.

4 POST: *T* is cramped and shakily formed, perhaps inserted afterwards (but apparently by the first hand).

5 SPOL: of *P* the top stroke is partly hidden in a crease. Above *O* apparently stray ink.

6]: on these traces see the commentary, p. 143.

TA. DEM: of *T* the cross-bar and the foot only; before *DEM* an upright joining at the base an oblique descending from left to right.

[: the left-hand part of an oval (*C, G, O*; if *Q*, the tail should be visible); before it a damaged patch which could conceal an interpunct.

7 . . . E: first, upper part of large oval (*O, Q*); second, upper part of heavy descender flamboyantly hooked to the left at the top (*V* the only possibility?); third, top and foot of oblique descending from left to right (*A, M*).

POŞSEM: of *O* only the right-hand arc.

8] . . . VR: second is part of a long oblique descending from left to right (*A, M*); no trace before this is certainly ink; third apparently part of a short cross-bar level with the tops of letters, below it perhaps two spots of ink vertically aligned (as if from an upright).

I . M: first is an upright, junction or serif at foot, junction at the top with a short horizontal trace which projects only slightly to the left, and to the right seems to curve downwards (if so, *D*, not *T*); second is the foot of an upright, joining a short heavy horizontal or serif to the right, above these doubtful traces, see commentary.

NON·: the interpunct is uncertain.

V. SCE: *V* has a superfluous short upright in its middle (correction?); after it a very short horizontal, level with the tops of letters, above a hole wide enough only for the narrowest letters (*E, I*).

9] L: first five traces entirely uncertain, and complicated by dirt which cannot be removed because the fibres are loose. Sixth, interpunct, or the curving foot of an oblique descending from left to right (*A, G, K, M, R, X*). Seventh most suggests *L·* or *V*, see commentary. Eighth apparently *P*, unless *D* with an unusually angular top, see commentary. After *L*, spots of ink in vertical alignment, followed by a short oblique nearly at line-level: either a narrow letter (*E, I*) with interpunct, or a narrowish letter with an oblique right side sloping down from left to right (*A, R*).

IVDICE: the initial *I* looks taller, as if it were *I-longa* (see above, n. 62). But I think this is due to a displacement of the fibres, which has separated the tip of *I* and moved it upwards.

10] . . . [: uncertain traces, partly concealed by dirt which cannot safely be removed. Second *N*?

] . : prolonged rising horizontal from top of letter; point of ink on projecting fibre below: *T*? End: doubtful trace might be interpunct.

11] . . [: again obscured by dirt. Second, right-hand arc of oval letter?

] . : apparently the foot of an oblique descending from left to right, and flattening out at the end, followed by a high interpunct (*A, G, K, M, R, X*); alternatively, the detached end of this foot might itself be an interpunct; but then the high point following must belong to *T* of *Tyria*, for which it seems too low.

TYRIA: the top of *T* has been disrupted by the pulling apart of the fibres; but stem apparently too straight, and top too prolonged to the left, to belong to *S*.

12] . : the tip of a high cross-stroke or serif, rising from left to right (most likely *S, T*? though the serif of *I* or *V* might leave this trace. Not *E*, whose middle-bar would show).

Col. ii

3 . . [: vertical descending well below the line and hooked to the left at the foot; then lower left quadrant of circle, finishing at line level; the first might be *I* or *P*, but the second follows so close that both probably belong to the same letter, i.e. *A* or *R* (not *M*); one might expect initial *R* to spread further to the right (cf. final *R* in i 9), so that *A* is more likely, unless the third trace also belongs to this letter (but there is no sure sign of damage between the second and third traces). Then two pieces of ink at line-level, the first perhaps a foot-serif, the second perhaps the foot of an oblique descending from left to right (together *A, K, R, X*).

5 [: upright, junction or hook to the left at the top, perhaps junction at foot (*D, I, L, N, P, R*; if *E, F, H* one might expect the middle-stroke to show; *T* not excluded, though the left-hand top-stroke would be short even for this hand).

IV. TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

	Col. i	Col. ii
1	tristia nequit[ia . . .]a Lycori tua.	[
		[
2	Fata mihi, Caesar, tum erunt mea dulcia, quom tu	..[
3	maxima Romanae pars eri<s> historiae	[
4	postque tuum reditum multorum templa deorum	
5	fixa legam spolieis deivitoria tueis.	Qui. [
		[
6	. . . . .] . . . . . tandem fecerunt c[ar]mina Musae	
7	quae possem domina deicere digna mea.	
8	. . . . .] . . . . . atur idem tibi, non ego, Visce	
9	..] !. Kato, iudice te vereor.	
10]. [
11	]. . . . . [	]. Tyria
12].

(a) sad, Lycoris, by your misbehaviour.

(b) My fate will then be sweet to me, Caesar, when you are the most important part of Roman history, and when I read of many gods' temples the richer after your return for being hung with your trophies.

(c) At last the . . . Muses have made poems that I could utter as worthy of my mistress. the same to you, I do not, Viscus, I do not, Cato, fear . . . , even if you are the arbiter.

(d) . . . Tyrian . . .

Col. i

1 The last line of an epigram or elegy addressed to Lycoris. See the enlarged photograph, Pl. V.

nequit[ia: the reading is inevitable, though the traces which represent *n* are anomalous. *nequitia* is the quality of the *nequam* or good-for-nothing, and hence attributed to self-indulgent young men in comedy and Cicero. The word is not found in Catullus or Tibullus, but is applied by Propertius to Cynthia (I. 15. 38: 'nec tremis admissae conscia nequitiae', II. 5. 2: 'et non ignota vivere nequitia'); its moralizing tone suits reproaches to a mistress of whom better things might have been expected. For the distribution *nequitia . . . tua*, cf. Prop. III. 10. 24; Hor., *Carm.* III. 15. 2; Ov., *A.A.* II. 392. For similar complaints cf. Cat. II. 22 'illius culpa', 75. 1 'tua . . . culpa'. The line confirms what is already clear from Virgil's tenth eclogue, that Gallus wrote 'subjective' love-elegy: thus F. Jacoby, *Rh. Mus.* LX (1905), 72 f., contradicted by A. Rostagni, *RFIC* LXIII (1935), 253.

. . .]a: the last letter must be a short vowel; and of short vowels only *a* suits the trace. Allowing for this, and assuming that [IA· is correctly restored at the beginning of the gap, there remains space for some three or four letters. In principle one could look for (a) an epithet of Lycoris; (b) a noun belonging to *tristia*; (c) a participle belonging to *tristia*. Against (a) it could be said that Lesbia, Delia, Cynthia and Corinna are never addressed with any epithet except *mea* and *nostra*, which will not fit here; and that the construction becomes top-heavy if *nequitia* depends on *tristia*, and *tristia* in turn on a noun in the line before. Under (b) the possibilities include *fat]a* (a little short; but not excluded, given the irregularities of letter-size and letter-spacing). This looks forward attractively to the next poem (see below, p. 149), though the repetition is in no way essential; for the combination with *tristia* cf. *Thes. L.L.* VI, 369. 23 f. Under (c), *fact]a* would suit the space and the grammar; one might supplement the hexameter *exempli gratia* 'tempora sic nostrae perierunt grata iuventae'. If *facta* is read in the pentameter, *fata* would not suit the hexameter well, as the word's melancholy tone would anticipate too much the idea of *tristia facta*.

Lycori: on her name see p. 148, on her history p. 153. This is the normal classical vocative for such Greek names, though Plautus and Terence use *-is* (Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre* I, 443 f.). Lycoris need not be thought of as actually present (cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 10. 46 f., cited below, p. 153); for this type of dramatic monologue cf. W. Abel, *Die Anredeformen bei den römischen Elegikern* (1930), 120; K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations* (1963), 84 f.; M. Hubbard, *Propertius* (1974), 33.

tua: the word in this position need have no emphasis, but it may derive some from a part of *meus* or *ego* in the previous hexameter; cf. the contrasts between the first and second persons in the following epigrams (below, p. 149).

2-5 Epigram addressed to Caesar. See the enlarged photograph, Pl. V. It is suggested below (p. 152) that the poet is referring to Julius Caesar and his anticipated Parthian triumph, not to Octavian and his triumph over Cleopatra.

fata mea is the subject, *dulcia* the predicate; the hyperbaton, perhaps characteristic of Gallus, throws emphasis on *mea*. *fata* is not here a neutral word for 'fortune', but has a melancholy note (appropriate to elegy). Gallus is unhappy because of Lycoris's behaviour, perhaps also because Caesar is leaving him behind: the quatrain seems to derive part of its meaning from its context in the book (below, p. 149).

Caesar . . . tu is set against *mihi . . . mea*. Roman poets often draw a contrast between themselves and their grand friends, particularly at the end of a poem (Nisbet-Hubbard on Horace, *Carm.* II. 16. 37); for the application of the motif to victories and triumphs cf. Virg., *Georg.* IV. 559 f. (the end of the whole work): 'haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum fulminat Euphraten bello . . .'; Tib. I. 3. 1 f.: 'ibitis Aegaeas sine me, Messalla, per undas, . . . me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris'; Prop. III. 4. 21 f.: 'praeda sit haec illis quorum meruere labores; me sat erit Sacra plaudere posse via' (see below, p. 152, for other resemblances in this poem); Hor., *Carm.* IV. 2. 45 f. (the poet adds his voice at the triumph of Iullus Antonius). Sometimes the writer looks forward to the day when he can enjoy and celebrate the great man's achievements: cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 4. 53 f.: 'o mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae, spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta'; Prop. II. 10. 19 f. (on Augustus and Parthia): 'haec ego castra sequar: vates tua castra canendo magnus ero: servent hunc mihi fata diem'; III. 4. 12 f. (on the same subject): 'ante meos obitus sit, precor, illa dies qua videam spoliis oneratos Caesaris axis' (below, p. 152). These passages suggest the idea 'may I see before I die', but *fata* in Gallus does not mean 'death': this would impair a convincing contrast between present misery and future happiness, and involve the odd notion that the poet will die in the moment of reading of Caesar's triumph (for the temporal relation of these clauses see below on 4-5).

tum: 'then and then only'. On the prosody of *tum erunt* see below, p. 148. Dr. Lyne suggests *tum, Caesar, erunt*, but the hiatus should not be rejected in a poet of the period.

dulcia makes a pointed contrast not only with *fata* but with 1 *tristia*; cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 3. 80-2: 'triste' . . . 'dulce'.

quom: on the orthography see above, p. 132.

3 *maxima*: a true superlative: Caesar must already be 'very great'. On the orthography see above, p. 132.

pars: the *p* is badly damaged, and the interpunct after the word has disappeared, but the restoration is certain; cf. Prop. I. 6. 34: 'accepti pars eris imperii'; I. 21. 4: 'pars ego sum vestrae proxima militiae'; *Carm. de bello Aegyptiaco* 24 f. Baehrens (III. 5 f., ed. Garuti): 'cum causa fores tu ma[xi]ma [be]lli, pars etiam im[per]ii'; Virg., *Aen.* II. 6: 'et quorum pars magna fui'; x. 427; Val. Max. VIII. 13 ext. 4: 'Asinius etiam Pollio, non minima pars Romani stili'.

eris: an emendation; the scribe certainly wrote *erit*, by assimilation to the predicate *pars*. It is useless to suggest that *tu* is the predicate ('the greatest part of Roman history will be—you'); this gives an impossible word-order, and destroys the contrast between 'I' and 'you' that gives coherence to the quatrain, and indeed to all nine verses.

historiae refers to historiography, not to the events themselves. The word is found at this place in the pentameter five times in Propertius; cf. especially II. 1. 16: 'maxima de nihilo nascitur historia' (undercutting the serious associations of the word); III. 4. 10: 'ite et Romanae consulite historiae' (for the importance of this parallel see below, p. 152). For the collocation with *Romanae* cf. also [Virg.], *Catal.* II. 6; Val. Max. I. 7. 6; Mart. XIV. 191. 2: 'primus Romana Crispus in historia'. It was given to few to be read about in their life-time (cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 4. 26 f.: 'facta parentis iam legere'), but Eastern wars since Alexander were an obvious subject for instant historiography: thus Lucullus was celebrated by himself, Pompey by Posidonius, Antony later by Dellius. Gallus says nothing to suggest that Caesar might be his own historian.

4-5 It is not possible to regard *templa legam devitiora* as on all fours with *fata tum erunt dulcia* (note the co-ordinating *-que*). Therefore the couplet is still under *quom*; this underlines the relationship of *legam* to *historiae* (see below), and provides a balance of *tu . . . tuum . . . tuis*. Anaphora of *tu*

is particularly familiar from hymns (E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* [1913], 149 f.), but is suited to panegyrics in general.

postque tuum reditum: the phrase has an official tone; for the formalities on a return from the wars cf. T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ* xx (1970), 313 f.; S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1971), 289 f. *tuum* is given emphasis by its position before *reditum*; the rhyme might seem inelegant by Ovidian standards.

fixa legam: much depends for the historical context on the exact interpretation of these words. We take *fixa* to mean 'hung' (with spoils), not 'founded'; and *legam* to mean 'I shall read', not 'survey' or 'go round'.

figere is the *vox propria* for attaching arms to a wall (*Thes. L.L.* vi, 710. 53 f.; 711. 30 f.). Normally one would say 'spolia in templis figere'; 'parietem clavo figere' is also natural (where 'nail' is clearly instrumental), but an ablative of the thing fastened (*spolieis*) is more difficult. Yet the inversion can be regarded as an instance of the poetic locution found at Virg., *Aen.* iv. 506: 'intenditque locum sertis' (where Servius comments 'et est hypallage, intenditserta per locum'); the phenomenon was called by Norden 'Objektsverschiebung' (on *Aen.* vi. 884 f.). For a relevant parallel cf. Val. Fl. i. 836 f.: 'galeis praefixa rotisque cui domus' (whereas Virg., *Aen.* xi. 778 has the normal 'templis praefigeret arma'). The construction is a little more difficult with *figere* than with *praefigere*, but the former use may have been influenced by the latter; thus Tib. i. 7. 50: 'tempora funde mero' may be a development of the use of *perfundere* with the ablative.¹⁰⁸

Alternatively one might try to see in *fixa . . . templa* a reference to building; the foundation of a new temple (Mars Ultor) may have figured in Julius Caesar's victory programme, and the rebuilding of others in Octavian's. *figere* can be used to mean 'figendo construere' (*Thes. L.L.* vi, 712. 77 f.), but the instances cited suggest literal and metaphorical stability (*moenia*), the settling of a fixed abode (*larem, sedem, domicilium*), the fastening of a cross in the ground, a pipe in the wall, or a nest in the eaves. The word could also be applied to the fixtures that marked out a *templum* or consecrated area (Fest. 146 L: 'itaque templum est locus ita effatus aut ita septus ut ex una parte pateat, angulosque adfixos habeat ad terram'; 476: '(stellam) . . . quae ex lamella aerea adsimilis stellae locis inauguratis infigatur'); but if Caesar was only going to start building after his return, there was no place to put his trophies and *deivitiara* loses all point. Neither could *fixa* be used like *fulva* for the repair of temples; it is true that Propertius says 'fixa toro cubitum' (i. 3. 34) where one might expect the weaker *fulva*, but in our passage the word would need elaboration if it was to be intelligible (especially in view of the collocation with *spolieis*).

legam is naturally interpreted 'read', to balance *historiae* in the parallel clause; there is a conventional contrast between making history and simply reading about it (cf. Cic., *Man.* 28: 'plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt'; *Fin.* v. 52; Sall., *Jug.* 85. 13: 'quae illi audire aut legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi'). One could say *legere librum* but not *legere templum* (there is no analogy at Cic., *Senec.* 21: 'sepulcra legens', since reading tombstones is a more regular activity than reading temples). Therefore we must understand *templa fixa legam* or more probably *templa deivitiara legam* (see below). Propertius seems to have remembered our passage at iii. 4. 16: 'titulus oppida capta legam' (for other parallels in the context cf. p. 152); though he will be absent from the Parthian War, he hopes to be present at the triumph and to read of victories on the placards. But Gallus, in his disappointment at being left behind (below, p. 154), is emphasizing his isolation from Caesar's victories: he will not even be present at the triumph, but will read about it afterwards in the history-books.

Alternatively one might consider the meaning 'go round' (Virg., *Ecl.* 8. 7: 'sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris'); but this nautical usage is too specialized to be natural here, as well as losing all contrast with *historiae* in the parallel clause. *legere* also has the very rare meaning 'survey' (Virg., *Aen.* vi. 754 f.: 'unde omnis longo ordine posset adversos legere'; Sil. xii. 569; *Thes. L.L.* vii.1, 1128. 19 f.); but even here the primary notion is one of traversing (as of a general reviewing his troops), and there is no idea of 'merely looking on' to set against the making of history. The parallel from Propertius also tells against these artificial interpretations.

spolieis: for the orthography see above, p. 132. As Gallus is talking of victories, the word must be used in its proper sense of captured arms, which could be attached to temple walls. *deivitiara* seems to imply gold and silver *manubiae* in a wider sense, but these were less suitable for attaching to walls. Perhaps Gallus is suggesting that the trophies of war are a more splendid decoration than the ornaments that were in the temples already: the true riches are the battered emblems of victory. For dedications in temples cf. *RE* III A, 1844; for hopes of despoiling the Parthians see below, p. 152.

deivitiara: for the use in dactylic poets of the long form (as opposed to *ditiora*, etc.) cf. Lucr. v. 1115; Ov., *Her.* 15 (16). 34; *Met.* vi. 452; *Pont.* iii. 4. 110. Ovid, but not Propertius, often has

¹⁰⁸ See the excellent discussion by H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Propertius und die Tradition der*

lateinischen Dichtersprache, Hermes Einzelschriften xv (1960), 66 f.

neuter plural comparatives at this place in the pentameter (in the *Amores* alone cf. II. 5. 50; II. 6. 40; II. 9. 10; II. 17. 14; III. 4. 10; III. 6. 66; III. 7. 8; III. 7. 66).

The meaning is not 'hung more richly' (predicative adjective); *fixa* and *deivitiōra* belong to different areas of discourse (you cannot say 'nail up opulently'). The word might be appositional (= πλουσιώτερα ὄντα); but if it is taken in isolation it is too short to make a fresh colon, and if it is combined with *spoliis tuis* (cf. Ov., *Met.* II. 77: 'delubraque ditia donis'), then *fixa* becomes unintelligible (even if *spoliis tuis* is taken ἐπὶ κοινῶ with both *fixa* and *deivitiōra*, it would be an unusual situation if neither *fixa* nor *deivitiōra* were complete without the supporting ablative). It remains to interpret 'I shall read of temples the richer for being hung with your trophies'; this also gives *legam* a plausible construction (see note above). The word-order is admittedly very artificial, but the neoteric Gallus may have experimented with arrangements that his successors declined to follow (cf. p. 149).

The theory of an interlaced word-order is supported by *post tuum reditum*, which is most pointed if taken with *deivitiōra*: the temples will be even richer than they were before (the temporal phrase derives emphasis from its position at the beginning of the couplet). It is banal by comparison to draw a contrast between a first stage, when Caesar becomes *maxima pars Romanae historiae*, and a second stage, when the temples are hung with spoils (or Gallus reads that they are). The argument ought to run 'My lot will be sweet when Caesar becomes the subject of history and I can read about his trophies'; if *legam* balances *historiae* (as suggested above), there is no sharp temporal distinction between the two clauses.

6-9 Epigram addressed to the critics, Viscus and Valerius Cato. For the occurrence of such a poem near the end of a book, see below, p. 150.

6]. : the traces are tenuous; see the enlarged photograph, Pl. VI. First, a heavy point of ink just above the upper level (the lighter trace visible to the left is mud stuck to the surface of the papyrus), then immediately spots of ink aligned vertically (so that we might be dealing with the vertical of e.g. *I* or *L*, with its hook to the left at the top). Then two points of ink at middle height; to the left of the first point, at base-level, perhaps another point (so that the two could represent an oblique sloping down from right to left); the second point itself looks as if it might come from an oblique sloping down from left to right. Then a short horizontal at the upper level, and slightly further right a short thick horizontal at base-level. Then perhaps the upper and lower parts of a vertical. Then perhaps an oblique sloping down from left to right. To the right of this, and higher up, anomalous traces suggesting the left-hand half of an oval, the top arc extended to the right, a horizontal cross-bar half way down. These last traces are especially difficult. The highest trace stands well above the expected upper level. One way out is to treat this as stray ink (cf. the inexplicable blots above *TA* of *tandem*), although there is a lot of it. Another is to take it as part of a superscript letter (an addition which could not, like the *T* in 4 *post*, be squeezed into the line).

The sense suggests some possible patterns. (i) An epithet for *carmina*. Any such epithet will end in a short *a*; therefore something else would have to stand between it and *tandem*. Patterns: *dulcia iam*, *blanda mihi*. (ii) An epithet for *Musae*. Any such epithet will end in *-ae* or *-es*. Patterns: *Castaliae*, *Aonides*; *haec Latiae*, *haec dulces*, etc. (iii) A series of short words like *en mihi iam*.

(i) is less plausible in sense; an epithet is unnecessary and perhaps undesirable when *quae possem* characterizes the poems. Nor have we found a reading which suits this pattern. *mihi* was not written. *iam* was probably not written (*A* would be unusually wide, *M* unusually narrow; it would be necessary to ignore the high horizontal trace to the right of the putative *A*, and the whole group of traces to the upper right of the putative *M*).

(ii) We may begin by looking for *-ae* or *-es* in the traces before *tandem*. (a) If the last letter was *S*, the apparent remains of an oblique (sloping down from left to right) before it must be ignored; and also the trace high up to the right of it. This is not satisfactory. (b) If the last letter was *E*, the high trace to the right must again be ignored; the oblique traces to the left must either be ignored, or taken as the right side of *A*; but in that case the letters *AE* are written so close that they join, which happens nowhere else in this manuscript. (c) If the last letter was *A* (represented by its right side), the whole group of traces to its right might be taken as a superscript *e*. To this there is an immediate objection, the shape ϵ : this is quite different from the scribe's tall narrow *E*; it might be conceivable in the Latin cursive of the period (Mallon, *Pal. rom.* pl. ii); but the prolongation of the upper curve more suggests the Greek epsilon. Even if this objection is discounted, more difficulties remain. Before *A* there seem to be traces of an upright (i.e. *I* or a letter with a vertical right side); the smudge to the right of its foot could then be taken as the left foot of *A*. But, even allowing for a small vertical crease in the papyrus, the feet of *A* and the preceding letter would be unexpectedly close to one another. If again this objection is discounted, *.atia^o* might be considered; this naturally points to *Latiae* (Germ., *Arat.* 15; Lucan IX. 983, etc.); but the first trace is too close to be the top of *L*; and if it were, the preceding space (even allowing for an enlarged and spaced initial on the scale of line 2) is substantially too long for *haec*.

(iii) Mr. P. G. McC. Brown suggests *haec mih]i vix*. His *vix* looks possible, except that the highest traces at the end must be taken as stray ink. If *haec mih]i* is too long, we might consider *en mih]i*.

tandem: a natural expression of relief at the completion of a book; it gives little clue to the time taken to compose it (below, p. 154).

fecerunt: cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 3. 86: 'Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina'; 7. 23; Prop. II. 8. 11; II. 34. 79; *Thes. L.L.* VI, 91. 9 f. By the old belief the poet utters what the Muses put in his head (Hom., *Il.* II. 485 f., etc.). *fecerunt* is unconventional in such a context, and to a Roman reader would inevitably suggest ποιητής (not used of poets in early Greek); the Muses of Gallus provided craftsmanship as well as inspiration.

Musae: Gallus described elsewhere his initiation by the Muses (below, p. 151), and Lycoris derived her name from Parnassus (p. 148).

7 *possem*: for the imperfect subjunctive after a true perfect see Kühner-Stegmann II. 179. Gallus is not implying that his hope is now inapplicable.

domina: the word is used of an *amica* by Lucilius 730 M., and therefore must have had popular currency as early as the second century. Though the sense becomes common in Augustan poetry (Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor., *Carm.* I. 33. 14; II. 12. 13), its ascription to Catullus rests on a mistake (see L. P. Wilkinson, *CR N.S.* XX [1970], 290); it would be intriguing if the masterful Gallus introduced the colloquialism to elegy with reference to a freedwoman. For *domina . . . mea* with this distribution in the pentameter, cf. Prop. I. 4. 2; III. 5. 2.

deicere digna: not 'call worthy' (which limits the poet's role too much), but 'utter as worthy' (which makes a pointed contrast with *fecerunt*); for *dicere* of poetry cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 6. 5: 'deductum dicere carmen'; 10. 3 (below, p. 150); Prop. I. 9. 9; *Thes. L.L.* V.1, 977. 65 f. For poems 'worthy of the recipient' cf. Lucr. III. 420: 'digna tua pergam disponere carmina vita' (*cura* Lachmann, *mente* Müller); Virg., *Ecl.* 4. 3; *Culex* 10: 'ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu'. For the collocation of words cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 9. 35 f.: 'nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna digna' (pointed out by Professor J. Van Sickle).

8]*a*tur: of *t* the characteristic top and stem; before it, part of an oblique sloping down from left to right, *A* or *M*, *A* in context more likely (and a trace perhaps remains of its left foot, moved downwards and leftwards by the dislocation of the papyrus; but this may be dirt adhering to the surface); before this, indeterminate traces of ink or dirt; before that the papyrus is stripped.

idem: of *D* the right side is partly lost, partly covered by a crack in the papyrus (apparently not *T*; the left-ward projection of the cross-bar from the upright would be short, even in comparison with *T* of *tibi*; and the right-ward part does seem to begin a curve down); of *E* only fragments remain, all consistent with *E* except the short oblique, descending from left to right, at the upper level, which gives the appearance of a triangular peak (suited only to *O*); but this oblique, under the microscope, shows a different texture and may be taken as mud adhering to the surface.

The reconstruction of the broken word depends on the structure of the couplet as a whole. Two things seem certain. (a) The clause or sentence ends after, not before, *tibi*. For (i) the emphatic *non ego* should begin its clause; (ii) when a hexameter ends with two disyllables, these are commonly preceded by a monosyllable, and that monosyllable by a pause at the bucolic diaeresis (J. Soubiran, *Pallas* VIII [1959], 37 f.). (b) The beginning of 9 must have contained a negative which, by taking up *non*, linked the vocatives *Kato* and *Visce*.

As to (a), cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 7. 7: 'atque ego Daphnin'; 8. 102: 'his ego Daphnin'; and especially 2. 25 f. (Corydon to Alexis): 'nuper me in litore vidi, cum placidum ventis staret mare. non ego Daphnin iudice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago'. In view of *non ego, iudice te* and *metuam*, one poet seems to have influenced the other; as the rhythm is characteristic of the *Eclogues*, and is found three times in conjunction with the name of Daphnis, the priority should perhaps be given to Virgil, in which case we may have new evidence for the dating of the second eclogue.¹⁰⁹

In 8-9 Gallus emphatically denies that he has anything to fear from the critics; one suspects that 8 began with a conditional clause, in which he expressed the prerequisite for this critical acclaim. *idem* cannot refer to the plural *carmina*, but it could take up the idea that the poems are worthy of Lycoris. Thus one pattern of restoration would be 'quodsi iam videatur idem tibi' ('if the critics agree that the poems are worthy of Lycoris'); this supplement suits the space (given the other *EI* spellings, *quodsei* might be expected; this looks a little long, but cannot be ruled out). More pointed would be 'quae si iam testatur (or confiteatur) idem tibi' ('if only Lycoris agrees that the poems

¹⁰⁹ The second eclogue is assigned to 45 by C. G. Hardie, in *The Ancient Historian and his Materials* (*Essays in honour of C. E. Stevens*), ed. B. Levick (1975), 111: Virgil says to Pollio 'accipe iussis carmina coepta tuis' (*Ecl.* 8. 11 f.), and Pollio was absent from Italy during the relevant years except

for the latter part of 45. Mr. J. C. Bramble suggests that *Ecl.* 2. 24 'Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho' may be derived from Gallus; he points not just to the neoteric rhythms but to Prop. III. 15.39 f., where Dirce, Amphion and Aracynthus are mentioned in the same context.

J. M. Kelly, *Roman Litigation* (1966), 153 f. For the unusual plural (perhaps justified by the plurality of critics) one may compare from late Latin *centupla* and *dupla* (*Thes. L.L.* III, 830.69; v.1, 2283. 15 f.). The technicality is more appropriate to epigram than elegy, but Gallus in some respects seems to have been nearer Catullus than Propertius; a book may be begun (or presumably ended) by a slighter piece in a lower style (A. Cameron, *CQ N.S.* xx [1970], 119 f.), and a whimsical facetiousness suits such contexts (cf. the choliambic proem to Persius). Legal puns are common in Latin poetry, and are perhaps particularly appropriate to a public man like Gallus; for plays on the legal and literary senses of *iudex* (much more natural than with κριτής) cf. Sidon., *Carm.* 22. 5; 'quandoquidem Baccho meo iudicium decemvirale passuro tempestivius quam convenit tribunal erigitur'; 23. 266 f.: 'tamquam si Arcitenens novemque Musae propter pulpita iudices sederent'.

The difficulty is to see how 'four-fold penalties' can be transferred to a literary context. It may be worth observing that an action for *quadruplum* was established by the praetor's edict for *furtum manifestum* (Gaius, *Inst.* III. 189); de Zulueta comments 'in cases (easily conceivable) where the prisoner's guilt was seriously disputed one does not see why the magistrate should not have referred the question to a *iudex*'. Gallus would then be playing on *furtum* in the sense of plagiarism (a pre-occupation of critics in Virgil's day); cf. Mart. I. 53. 3: 'quae tua traducit manifesto carmina furto' . . . ; 11 f.: 'indice non opus est nostris nec iudice libris: stat contra dicitque tibi tua pagina "fur es"'. Gallus does not fear penalties for plagiarism once it is agreed that the Muses have inspired him (or if the emphasis is put on the relative clause, because what was adequate for Lycoris could not have been said before to any other woman); it would add piquancy to the allusion if he is here contriving a *furtum* from Virgil's second eclogue (see above, 8 n.). Yet when all is said and done, the reference remains obscure; it is not as if four-fold penalties were imposed on only one possible occasion.

quadruple Kato is even more difficult. One might imagine that somebody called Cato Uticensis 'Bicato' (on the lines of *Sesculixes*) to indicate that he was twice as bad as the Censor; Gallus then calls Valerius Cato 'four-fold Cato' to suggest that he is even more severe (cf. Sidon., *Carm.* 9. 338 f.: 'sed nec turgida contumeliosi lectoris nimium verebor ora, si tamquam gravior severiorque nostrae Terpsichores iocum refutans rugato Cato tertius labello narem rhinocericam minetur'). But even if *quadruple* can be regarded as the equivalent of *quadruplex* (cf. Suet., *Tib.* 34: 'consuerat quadriplam strenam et de manu reddere'), it is difficult to think of any satisfactory supplement in the previous line (on this hypothesis presumably a *ne* clause).

Mr G. O. Hutchinson (Balliol College, Oxford) has suggested a quite different, and most ingenious, line of attack: to write *plakato* = *placato*. We find two difficulties here. (i) The spelling *-ka-* is in itself perfectly possible (examples are collected by Dessau, *ILS* III. ii, p. 823). But if the discrepancy between *ka* here and *ca* in i 6 is significant, then it is most likely to signify that *ka* begins a proper name or one of a limited number of common nouns (above n. 77). On the other hand, the discrepancy may be simple inconsistency, from which no argument can be drawn. (ii) Much more serious is the difficulty of reconstructing the sentence round *plakato*. *Plakato iudice te* cannot be taken together; the word-order would be impossible. Theoretically, one might consider a pattern like 'sei Caesar testatur idem tibi, non ego, Visce, / Caesare plakato iudice, te vereor'. But it is highly artificial to separate *te* from *iudice* (especially in view of Virg., *Ecl.* 2.27), *plakato* does not well suit the arbitrating function of the *iudex*, and it is difficult to find an opening name to fill the gap (*Caesare* looks too short; and although the trace immediately before *PLA* might well represent an interpunct, the trace before that slopes down too much to suggest the base of *E*).

Since none of these approaches gives a satisfactory solution, there is a strong possibility that the traces should be read in some other way. One might cut the knot by reading *L* instead of *P* (in that case the top stroke must be stray ink or mud, though it looks solid enough under the microscope).] *VLLĒ*· leads nowhere. But] *VLLA* [·] would allow e.g. *non vetera] ulla* or *non Graeca] ulla* (*non scripta] ulla* looks too long, besides being very tame). Ideally one would like a reference to a rival poetry-book: this would suit the discriminating function of the critic (see below on *iudice*), and especially the parallel at Virg., *Ecl.* 2. 26 f.: 'non ego Daphnin iudice te metuum'. Thus *Serpulla* or 'Thyme-plants' could be a humorous allusion to the homeliness of the *Bucolics* (2. 11: 'alia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentis'), or even the title of Virgil's earliest collection, indicating rusticity, fragrance, *humilitas*, and inconsequentiality (from *serpere*); the spelling is attested in manuscripts of Cato, the plural at Virg., *Georg.* 4. 31. This particular supplement looks at least a letter too short, and the *P* does not suit the meagre traces; but it has been left on the record as a possible guide to further speculation.

In view of all the difficulties, we have further considered the possibility that the penultimate letter is not *L* but *I* or *T*. The length of the base-stroke tells strongly against this, and in any case this approach has suggested no satisfactory supplement.

Kato: P. Valerius Cato, the poet and critic (*RE*, 'Valerius' 117, Schanz-Hosius 1⁴. 287 f.). He came from Gaul, probably Cisalpine (Suet., *Gramm.* 11), like so many writers of the period. He

was still a *pupillus* (not more than 14) in the *Sullanum tempus* (Suet., *ibid.*), i.e. he was born not earlier than 96 B.C.; as he is said to have lived to an impoverished old age (Bibaculus, fr. 1. 8, 'ad summam . . . senectam'), his mention here does little to date the epigram. He himself wrote learned poems called *Diclymna* and *Lydia*, which were admired by such neoterics as Cinna (fr. 14) and Tigidas (fr. 2). The epigrams of Bibaculus seem bantering rather than hostile (fr. 1. 1 'mei Catonis'). One of these, which belongs to the time of his impoverishment, is addressed to a Gallus (fr. 2. 1 f.: 'Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum tota creditor urbe venditabat'), and the new papyrus gives some support to the idea that this is the poet (*RE* IV, 1345); perhaps *summam senectam* in the parallel epigram is humorous exaggeration.

Cato had a great influence on aspiring poets; cf. Suet., *loc. cit.*: 'docuit multos et nobiles, visusque est peridoneus praeceptor, maxime ad poeticam tendentibus, ut quidem apparere vel his versiculum potest: "Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren, qui solus legit ac facit poetas"' (Bibaculus?, fr. 17). Cato perhaps 'made poets' not by coaching unnaturally precocious schoolboys (as Suetonius interprets), but by his influence on what was written and read (a Siren is like a Muse); *legit* in the sense of 'chooses' suits the discrimination of the critic, and this view is supported by the new papyrus (cf. below on 9 *iudice*). Such activity was characteristic of *grammatici* (cf. Hor., *Epist.* 1. 19. 40); Caecilius Epirota, who was befriended by Gallus, actually added Virgil to the curriculum (Suet., *Gramm.* 16, citing Dom. Mars. fr. 3: 'Epirota, tenellorum nutricula vatum'). Even in his edition of Lucilius, Cato could not resist making improvements (cf. the badly fitting lines prefixed in some MSS to Hor., *Serm.* 1. 10: 'Lucili quam sis mendosus teste Catone, defensore tuo, pervincam qui male factos emendare parat versus');¹¹¹ it is a curious coincidence that Viscus appears later in the same satire (8 n.), but perhaps an interpolator has fastened on Horace another piece of criticism from the same period. Valerius Cato used to be regarded as the moving spirit behind the whole neoteric movement; though scholars now show greater caution,¹¹² the new papyrus suggests that this reaction should not be carried too far.

iudice: a literary critic or κριτής, who as in Alexandria might also be a grammarian; cf. *Thes. L.L.* VII.2, 602. 53 f. (and for *iudicium*, *ibid.* 615. 76 f.). Such a person might read poems for his friends, suggest improvements, and give moral support; cf. Hor., *Serm.* 1. 10. 81 f. (cited above on 8 *Visce*), *Epist.* 1. 4. 1 'Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex', *Ars P.* 438 f. on Quintilius (with Brink's note); Ov., *Pont.* II. 4. 13 f. But he also had the more independent function of setting up standards, making comparisons (for σύγκρισις in criticism cf. Ar., *Ran.*; Hor., *Carm.* II. 13. 30 f., with A. La Penna, *Maia* xxiv [1972], 208 f.), and forming a canon of classics (ἐγκρίνειν); cf. above, 8 n.; Furius Bibaculus(?) fr. 17 (cited above on 9 *Kato*); Hor., *Carm.* I. 1. 35: 'quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres' (the end of the programmatic poem); Auson., *Ludus Septem Sapientum* 3 f. (p. 169 Peiper): 'aequanimus fiam te iudice, sive legenda sive tegenda putes carmina quae dedimus'; Claud. 6. 18; Sidon., *Carm.* 3. 7 f., 8. 12 f. (for further parallels see W. Speyer, *op. cit.* [8 n.], 80 f.). The shepherds' songs of the *Eclogues* with their competitiveness and their umpires reflect the rivalries of real poets; for the use of *iudice* cf. 4. 58: 'Pan etiam Arcadia mecum si iudice certet'. This parallel suggests that Gallus is regarding Viscus and Cato as potentially hostile (even if only as a joke); Servius sees this nuance at *Ecl.* 2. 27 (cited above), where he comments 'te autem iudice ac si diceret "qui meam respuis pulchritudinem"'. For the discriminating function of critics see further M. Puelma Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos* (1949), 126 f.; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (1968), 203 f.

vereor: the verb well suits *verecundia* for rival poems, but it could also be used (like *timeo*) of a punishment.

11 *Tyria*: not *Syria*, it seems; the stem of the first letter is straight, and remains of the cross-bar can be seen projecting to the top left of it. Before that, a high interpunct, and an oblique foot suited to *A*, *R*, etc. *Tyrius* is common in the elegists (though never at the end of the pentameter), mostly of purple-dyed fabrics; it could qualify e.g. *concha* (Prop. IV. 5. 22), *vestis* (cf. Prop. III. 14. 27, Tib. I. 7. 47), *palla* (Tib. III. 8. 11). The context is totally obscure, but it might have dealt with triumphs (real or metaphorical) rather than with the finery of Lycoris: cf. Virg., *Georg.* III. 17 (of the poet-triumphator): 'Tyrio conspectus in ostro'.

12 After this line, a lacuna of unknown length.

¹¹¹ The lines are assigned to a first edition by G. L. Hendrickson, *CP* XI (1916), 249 f.; XII (1917), 77 f.; their authenticity is rejected by E. Fraenkel, *Hermes* LXVIII (1933), 392 f. = *Kleine Beiträge* II (1964), 199 f.

¹¹² R. P. Robinson, *TAPhA* LIV (1923), 98 f.; N. B. Crowther, *CP* LXVI (1971), 108 f.; T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet* (1974), 53.

Col. ii

1-4 Line 3 certainly was a hexameter, so that 4 must be a pentameter. Presumably 1-2 contained another couplet; although, since nothing survives, there could in principle have been (say) a heading in two lines, followed by the single distich 3-4.

5 *qui*.[: the possibilities include *quid* and *quin*.

V. THE POET

The author was Cornelius Gallus, as is opportunely shown in the first line by the vocative *Lycori*. His famous love-elegies were addressed to Lycoris, as is already clear from Virgil's tenth eclogue, and the names are regularly linked by Augustan and later poets.¹¹³ Servius says that she was the courtesan Cytheris, the freedwoman of Volumnius (*Ecl.* 10. 1); by the usual principle the pseudonym was metrically equivalent.¹¹⁴ Lycoreia was a place on Parnassus and Lycoreus a cult-title of Apollo, notably in his poetical aspects.¹¹⁵ Therefore 'Lycoris' suggests that the lady was a devotee not just of Aphrodite of Cythera but of Apollo and learned poetry; perhaps she was the poet's inspiration no less than the Muses.¹¹⁶ Therefore the name was invented by Gallus himself, who is known to have shown an interest in Apollo and Helicon;¹¹⁷ Propertius and Tibullus were to use cult-titles of the same god when they called their mistresses 'Cynthia'¹¹⁸ and 'Delia' (not girls' names in the ancient world). Later instances of 'Lycoris' are obviously derived from Gallus himself.¹¹⁹

It might be objected that another poet could have addressed Lycoris, but a rival lover would not have used the name created and made famous by Gallus. Nor is it natural to suggest a rhetorical apostrophe by a third party ('and you, Lycoris, brought sorrows to Gallus by your immorality'); the line in question precedes two personal epigrams (for the unity of structure see p. 149), and is surely more than an illustrative *exemplum*. Gallus could reproach his mistress for her *nequitia*, but this was less appropriate for others in the days of his power, while in the years immediately after his death nobody would wish to mention his name very much (below, p. 155). The subject-matter amply supports the authorship (war, the Muses, a cultivated and capricious mistress), and the style also suits (see below). *Neget quis carmina Gallo?*

VI. METRE AND STYLE

The metre suits a poet writing between Catullus and Propertius. 2 *tum erunt* gives a 'prosodic hiatus' of a type hitherto unparalleled in elegy; for similar instances after -m in hexameter poets cf. Lucr. II. 681 'cum odore', III. 394 'quam in his', III. 1082 'dum abest', VI. 276 'cum eo', Hor., *Serm.* II. 2. 28 'num adest', J. Soubiran, *L'élision dans la poésie latine (Études et commentaires LXIII, 1966)*, 374. Quadrisyllabic pentameter-endings like 4 *historiae* are particularly abundant in the first book of Propertius; trisyllabic endings like 3 *vereor* and 11 *Tyria* occur about 50 times in Catullus and over 30 times in Prop. I (R. Atkinson, *Hermathena* I [1874], 276 f.). No problems are presented by hexameter-endings such as 2 *quom tu* (cf. Prop. II. 18. 19, II. 33. 23) or 8 *non ego*, *Visce* (cf. note ad loc.). The repeated central molossi (4 *multorum*, 6 *fecerunt*) give a heavy and slightly old-fashioned effect.

The style also fits the personality of Gallus and his time of writing. The poet's

¹¹³ Prop. II. 34. 91; Ov., *Am.* I. 15. 30, *A.A.* III. 537, *Trist.* II. 445; Mart. VIII. 73. 6. See Schanz-Hosius II⁴, 171; *RE* XII, 218.

¹¹⁴ Established by Bentley on Hor., *Carm.* II. 12. 13; cf. Lesbia and Clodia, Perilla and Metella, Delia and Plania, Cynthia and Hostia (Apol., *Apol.* 10).

¹¹⁵ *RE* XIII, 2382 f.; Call., *H. Ap.* 18 f.: ὅτε κλειούσιν ἄοιδοι ἢ κίθαριν ἢ τῶξα, Λυκωρέος ἔντρα Φοίβου (with F. Williams's note); Euphorion fr. 80. 3 (a poet notoriously imitated by Gallus).

¹¹⁶ cf. Prop. II. 1. 3 f. (programmatic): 'non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo; ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit' with W. Stroh, *Die römische Liebeslegie als werbende Dichtung* (1971), 55 f.;

Mart. VIII. 73. 6: 'ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat' (the motif may be derived from Gallus himself).

¹¹⁷ Virg., *Ecl.* 6. 64 f. (cited p. 151). Cf. also *Ecl.* 10. 11 f.: 'nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi ulla moram fecere neque Aonie Aganippe'; this would have an extra point if Gallus had mentioned Parnassus as well as Helicon.

¹¹⁸ The cult-title suggested especially the learned poetry of Callimachus; cf. W. Clausen, *AJP* xcvi (1976), 245 f. and xcvi (1977), 362.

¹¹⁹ Hor., *Carm.* I. 33. 5; Mart. I. 72. 6; 102. 1; III. 39. 2; IV. 24. 1; 62. 1; VI. 40. 1; VII. 13. 2; Maxim., *Eleg.* 2. 1.

vocabulary has an impressive simplicity, suitable to a forthright man of action (note especially 6 f.); he does not avoid prosaic and semi-technical words (3 *historiae*, 4 *reditum*, 9 *iudice*, possibly even *quadrupla*). Among archaic features one may mention (in addition to the metrical oddities) the alliteration of 7 *domina deicere digna*. These short poems may have been less exquisite than the elegies proper, but they are more elaborate than the epigrams of Catullus. Gallus has a taste for antithesis (note 1 *tristia* . . . 2 *dulcia*, as well as the repeated contrasts between the first and second persons); this was already exemplified in the one previously existing fragment (1 Morel 'uno tellures dividit amne duas'). In four out of five pentameters the two halves end with a rhyming noun and adjective (for the same arrangement without rhyme cf. 'tellures . . . duas' cited above); this pattern,¹²⁰ already well attested in Catullus, is particularly common in the first two books of Propertius (cf. notably I. 1 and II. 34), and may have been developed by Gallus himself under the influence of Hellenistic poets (cf. Call., *H.* 5; Hermesianax, fr. 7 Powell).¹²¹ For other greater or lesser artificialities of word-order cf. 2 *mea*, 4-5 *post tuum reditum* . . . *deivitiorea* (this one seems contorted to the point of obscurity), and 9 (where there may be an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ accusative in the second of two parallel clauses). This combination of austere diction and involuted arrangement may help to explain Quintilian's judgement, 'durior Gallus' (*Inst.* x. 1. 93).

VII. THE LITERARY FRAMEWORK

The papyrus contains (a) one pentameter on the *nequitia* of Lycoris; (b) two elegiac couplets on Caesar and his trophies; (c) two couplets on the merits of the poet's *carmina* in relation to Lycoris and the critics; (d) a lost poem of unknown length of which only one word survives; (e and f) traces in the second column of six lines, of which the last two belong to a new poem. After each of (a), (b), (c) and (e) there is a significant gap with a sign to mark the division (above, p. 129). It is surprising to find several consecutive epigrams in a book of elegies; even if the surviving collection of Catullus is due to the poet, it has none of the unity imposed by line 6 of the papyrus, 'fecerunt carmina Musae'. In the Augustan age Macer wrote a book of quatrains (Quint., *Inst.* vi. 3. 96: 'ut Ovidius ex tetrastichon Macri carmine librum in malos poetas composuerit'), as did Ausonius in his *Tetrasticha de Caesaribus* (cf. also the *Dittochaeon* in hexameters attributed to Prudentius), but these were self-contained works. A closer though still imperfect analogy is the first book of Propertius, which ends with two ten-line poems of an autobiographical character.

It is noteworthy that the epigrams in the papyrus have thematic connections. The last part of (a) apparently commented on the poet's sad lot (*tristia*); this is picked up in (b) by *fata* . . . *dulcia*. (b) seems very bald unless it is seen in a wider context: it should be stated explicitly somewhere that Gallus is not joining Caesar's campaign. Lycoris is mentioned with disapproval in (a) and admiration in (c): the discrepancy seems piquant rather than awkward. Above all there is a persistent antithesis between the first and second persons, which is applied in (a) to Lycoris, in (b) to Caesar, in (c) to the critics. This contrast is underlined by accumulation (2 *mihi* . . . *mea*), anaphora (2-5 *tu, tuum, tuis*), hyperbaton (2 *fata* . . . *mea*, 4 f. *postque tuum reditum* . . . *deivitiorea*), by the emphatic use of pronouns (2 *tu*, 8 *ego*), by the placing of the pronoun or pronominal adjective at the end of the line (four times out of nine) or of the adjective before the noun (4 *tuum reditum*). The surviving epigrams seem to have been composed as a sequence¹²² dealing in turn with the ruling passions and dominating personalities of the poet's life.

The physical form of the papyrus gives no indication of the fragment's position within the roll, but the contents suggest that it came near the end; though (c) was followed

¹²⁰ For such hyperbaton in pentameters and hexameters see B. O. Foster, *TAPhA* xl (1909), 32 f. (Propertius); M. Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse* (1951), 49; H. Patzer, *MH* xii (1955), 77 f.; C. Conrad, *HSCP* xix (1965), 195 f.; J. B. Van Sickle, *TAPhA* xcix (1968), 487 f. (Catullus 65); B. Wohl, *TAPhA* civ (1974), 385 f. (Tibullus).

¹²¹ O. Skutsch had already suggested that the sandwiched word-order of 'rauca, tua cura,

palumbes' originated with Gallus (*RhM* xcix [1956], 198 f.).

¹²² The fragments would seem more effective if they could be regarded as sections of one complex poem (the connections in elegy are often loose, and Propertius sometimes divides into quatrains), but the layout of the book tells against such a hypothesis (above, p. 129 f.).

by further lost epigrams,¹²³ it contains elements appropriate to a sphragis,¹²⁴ the personal declaration that concludes a poem or a collection of poems. Its character is sufficiently shown by 6 *tandem fecerunt carmina Musae*: the perfect *fecerunt* corresponds to Horace's 'exegi monumentum' (*Carm.* III. 30. 1) or Ovid's 'iamque opus exegi' (*Met.* xv. 871), whereas a prooemium, even if it is written late in the day, professes to look to the future (Hor., *Carm.* I. 1. 36 'sublimi feriam sidera vertice'). The Muses are appropriately given credit for the literary achievement, just as in Horace's sphragis;¹²⁵ on the same principle they are mentioned at the beginning not only of archaic Greek poems but of Hellenistic and Roman collections.¹²⁶ But again as in Horace, the recognition of the debt is combined with an affirmation of pride (*digna*) that contrasts with the diffidence of a preface. When Gallus addresses in turn the important figures in his life, the list of acknowledgements suits the end of a collection: thus Propertius (II. 34. 61 f.) and Ovid (*Amor.* I. 15) recall the poets they admire, Marcus Aurelius pays tribute to the people who have influenced him (Book I is either a preface or a misplaced epilogue), while Sidonius in his *envoi* asks his book to pay a round of calls on sympathetic friends (*Carm.* 24. 75 f.). The appeal to the critics in particular may be paralleled by the end of Horace's tenth satire (see note on 8 *Visce*) and first ode (see note on 9 *iudice*, citing also material from late Latin).

The new fragment could even have influenced the end of Virgil's eclogue in honour of Gallus (10. 70 f.):

haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco,
Pierides: vos haec facietis maxima Gallo.

While Gallus claimed that the Muses had made his songs worthy of Lycoris, Virgil asks them at the same place in the book to make his songs great for Gallus. *fecerunt* in the epigram could lie behind *facietis* in the eclogue, even if the latter is used in a different sense. If this speculation were correct, the new fragment would ante-date the eclogue (which *ex hypothesi* caps it), i.e. it would be written before 39 (below, p. 153).

It perhaps helps our theory that the end of the tenth eclogue is an echo of the beginning (2 f.): 'pauca meo Gallo sed quae legat ipsa Lycoris carmina sunt dicenda' (by the principle of ring-composition *pauca Gallo* is balanced by *maxima Gallo*). When an erotic motif in the eclogue is later repeated in Propertius, scholars have reasonably suspected a common source in the earlier elegist, and such a parallel is forthcoming here in a passage that is otherwise important for Gallus (Prop. II. 13. 3 f.):

hic (Amor) me tam gracilis vetuit contemnere Musas,
iussit et Ascræum sic habitare nemus,
non ut Pieriae quercus mea verba sequantur,
aut possim Ismaria ducere valle feras,
sed magis ut nostro stupefiat Cynthia versu:
tunc ego sim Inachio notior arte Lino . . .
me iuuet in gremio doctae legisse puellae,
auribus et puris scripta probasse mea.
haec ubi contigerint, populi confusa valet
fabula: nam domina iudice tutus ero.

II

When he introduced Lycoris at the beginning of his book, Gallus is likely to have explained her learned pseudonym (above, p. 148) by associating her with Apollo and the Muses: in such a context he could have asked for her approval of his verses (as at *Ecl.* 10. 2 'legat', Prop. II. 13. 7 'stupefiat', cf. I. 7. 11 'me laudent doctae solum placuisse puellae'). In

¹²³ It is of course possible that the book ended in the lost lower position of column i, but apart from the natural assumption that the book and the roll coincide, there would be no room for a heading at the top of column ii, unless the poem following consisted of no more than a single couplet.

¹²⁴ W. Kranz, *RhM* crv (1961), 3 f., 97 f. = *Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrem Fortwirken* (1967), 27 f.; Nisbet-Hubbard on Horace, *Carm.* II, 335 f.

¹²⁵ *Carm.* III. 30. 14 f.: 'sume superbiam quae sitam meritis et mihi Delphica lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam', Kranz, op. cit. 5. For the pretensions of elegiac poets cf. Hor., *Epist.* II. 2. 92 (apparently on Propertius): 'caelatumque novem Musis opus'.

¹²⁶ Nisbet-Hubbard on Horace, *Carm.* I. 1. 33; F. Cairns, *Mnem.* xxii (1969), 155 f.

the new papyrus he may even claim to have won her approval (above, 8 n., citing Prop. II. 13. 14 'domina iudice'); the beginning and end of the book would then balance, just like Virgil's imitation in the tenth eclogue. It may be relevant that the Propertian *auribus puris* (above, II. 13. 12) can be paralleled from the sphragis of Posidippus, where the poet says to the Muses of Helicon εἴ τι καλόν, Μοῦσαι πολιήτιδες, ἢ παρὰ Φοίβου χρυσόλυρεω καθαροῖς οὐασιν ἐκλύετε Παρνησοῦ νιφόεντος ἀνὰ πτύχας.¹²⁷ Perhaps Propertius derived this theme from Gallus, who could have given the discriminating ears to Lycoris, the new Muse of Parnassus (above, p. 148).

It will be objected that this is to multiply entities beyond necessity: Propertius might have imitated Posidippus directly, or simply used a Hellenistic commonplace. Yet the Gallan origin of the passage is supported by the central section of Virgil's 'Song of Silenus' (*Ecl.* 6. 64 f.), which deals explicitly with Gallus and the Muses; here, as in the lines cited from Propertius, we find the Hesiodic Asca, a poetical Linus, and mountain trees drawn by real verses (as opposed to the mythological song of Orpheus):

tum canit errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum,
utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis;
ut Linus haec illi divino carmine pastor
floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro
dixerit: 'hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,
Ascraeo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat
cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.
his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo,
ne quis sit lucus quo se plus iactet Apollo'.

It was observed long ago that Gallus himself¹²⁸ must have described his initiation by the Muses of Helicon¹²⁹ (the pejorative *errantem* is more likely to have originated with him than with Virgil); this interpretation was reinforced when the opening of the eclogue (6. 3 f. 'cum canerem reges et proelia . . .') was shown to derive from the same source as the initiation, namely the prologues to the *Aetia* of Callimachus.

The ascent of Gallus from the stream of Permessus (at the foot of Helicon) to the heights of the Muses has plausibly been taken to describe a change from love-elegy (note *errantem*) to learned aetiological poetry (the Grynean grove was a subject of Gallus's model Euphorion); scholars compare Prop. II. 10. 25 f. (on his inability to write on Parthia): 'nondum etiam Ascraeos norunt mea carmina fontis, sed modo Permessi flumine lavit Amor'. If that is right, Gallus went through the same kind of development as Propertius, who moved from the programmatic I. 1 and I. 2 on Cynthia and her accomplishments to the more pretentious initiation of III. 1. 1 f. ('Callimachi manes et Coi sacra Philitae, in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus'), which was followed in turn by the aetiological poems of the fourth book. However, Propertius complicates the issue in II. 13 (cited above) by adapting his prototype: he says there in effect 'whatever Gallus may have thought, my love-poetry does scale the heights'.¹³⁰ If this analysis is correct, the scene-setting of that elegy is derived from the later prooemium of Gallus (Asca, Linus, sacred woods, just as in *Eclogue* 6), but Cynthia's critical discrimination from the earlier love-poetry (12 'auribus puris', 14 'domina iudice'). Though nothing can be proved, the prooemium of the first book would be an appropriate setting, and an appropriate counterpart to the new epigram.

VIII. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Who is Caesar and what is the campaign? It will be undertaken primarily against foreign enemies; however lax the old observances might have become, nobody was likely

¹²⁷ H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* LXXXIII (1963), 75 f.

¹²⁸ R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* XXXI (1896), 194 f.; F. Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (1901), 34 f.; D. O. Ross, Jr., *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy, and Rome* (1975), 20 f.

¹²⁹ E. Pfeiffer, *Hermes* LXIII (1928), 302 f. = *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1960), 98 f.; W. Wimmel,

Kallimachos in Rom (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 16, 1960), 142 f.

¹³⁰ Ross, op. cit. (n. 128), 109, does not admit that Propertius is contradicting Gallus; he thus concludes that the latter's personal poetry was a later development.

to describe a future victory in civil war by promising Roman spoils in Roman temples. It will mark a decisive stage in the victor's career; only afterwards will he be called 'maxima pars Romanae historiae'. The former of these considerations seems to rule out the Munda campaign of 45, though the ensuing triumphs were in fact spectacular.¹³¹ The latter tells against even as important an undertaking as the Illyrian wars of 35-3.¹³²

The wars of 31-30 are more promising, as they were waged from the start against Cleopatra, and followed by a conspicuous enhancement of Octavian's power. But in 32, before the battle of Actium, or late 31, before the invasion of Egypt, Gallus would not have known that he was going to be left there as Prefect (the consequence surely of his military success); he would expect to take part in any triumph, not to read about it from afar. It would be better to consider a date in 30-29, when plans were being made for Octavian's return. This hypothesis provides a simple explanation for Gallus's puzzling absence from the triumph, namely his prefecture; but it seems tactless to imply in the aftermath of victory that he will be sad till he reads of the triumph in the histories (cf. *2 tum erunt*). From this point of view it is more natural to assume that the victory itself still lies in the future.

This dilemma sends us back from Octavian to Julius, and from realized victories to the war that never happened. A campaign against Parthia had long been envisaged, and serious preparations began after Caesar's return from Spain in 45;¹³³ a poetical allusion by Gallus is entirely natural in view of Caesar's literary bent and the panegyrics of his Gallic Wars by Furius Bibaculus and Varro Atacinus.¹³⁴ An army of 16 legions and 10,000 cavalry was mobilized (App., *Civ.* II. 110/460), large forces were transported across the Adriatic, popular enthusiasm was stimulated (Dio XLIII. 51. 1); a campaign of three years was contemplated, beginning with an attack on the Dacian Burebista, and ending (or so it was reported) with a vast movement from the Caspian to the Danube and Gaul. These megalomaniac ambitions must have influenced the conspirators, who included such experienced campaigners as Cassius and D. Brutus (the former had restored the situation after Carrhae); and Caesar was assassinated three days before he was due to depart. By then Gallus might already have issued his poetry-book; as has been seen above (p. 150), the language of the papyrus suggests that he is nearing the end.

If Caesar's gamble had come off, he would have achieved a dominance in the histories more complete than after Munda. Even the victor's party might have represented the civil wars as a mere preliminary to an Eastern campaign; so Horace was to say of his successor 'praesens divus habebitur Augustus adiectis Britannis imperio gravibusque Persis' (*Carm.* III. 5. 2 f.). The dedication of spoils was a particularly fitting punishment for the Parthians, who were presumed to have hung the Roman standards in their own temples.¹³⁵ The theme is taken up in the next generation by Virgil, *Aen.* I. 289 (of Augustus, not Julius) 'spoliis Orientis onustum', Prop. III. 12. 3 'spoliati gloria Parthi', IV. 6. 80 'reddat signa Remi, mox dabit ipse sua'. Particularly important is III. 4 ('arma deus Caesar'), which seems to have been influenced by Gallus: the Parthian trophies will grow accustomed to the Capitoline temple (6 'assuescent Latio Partha tropaea Iovi'), the Roman armies are to provide material for the historian (10 'ite et Romanae consulite historiae'), the poet hopes to see Augustus's chariots laden with spoils (13 'spoliis oneratos Caesaris axis'), but he himself will play an inactive part (15 'inque sinu carae nixus spectare puellae'), and simply read about the distant victories from the placards in the procession (16 'titulis oppida capta legam'). This parallel does a little to support one's impression that Gallus is talking not of the victory over Cleopatra, to which he had contributed so much, but of a victory over the Parthians, to which he would contribute nothing.

The next step is to consider how a date in 45-4 fits the story of Cytheris. She first

¹³¹ Plut., *Caes.* 56. 4; S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1971), 197 f.

¹³² J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (1969), 46 f. Those who wish to assign the new poems to this period may claim support from the allusion to Viscus (above, p. 145); on the other hand the chronology of Lycoris raises problems (p. 154).

¹³³ E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*³ (1922), 474 f.; M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (1960), 298 f. (= 322 f. in English

edition, 1968); S. Weinstock, op. cit. (n. 131), 130 f., 340 f. I exclude consideration of a Parthian campaign under Octavian: a suitable context is hard to find, Gallus would be more aware of the realities than Horace or Propertius, and anything that minimizes present achievements (*2 tum erunt*) comes badly from the Prefect of Egypt.

¹³⁴ Schanz-Hosius I⁴, 163, 313, 349 f.

¹³⁵ Hor., *Epist.* I. 18. 56, *Carm.* IV. 15. 7 f.

appears in Antony's retinue in May 49, reclining behind the lictors in an open litter, and greeted as Volumnia by respectable burghers; her demeanour made a deep impression on Cicero, who describes it not only in two contemporary letters but five years later in the *Second Philippic*.¹³⁶ On Antony's return to Brindisi from the Thessalian campaign at the end of 48, she was there to welcome him (*Phil.* 2. 61); Cicero was also in Brindisi at the time, and in January 47 he had to calm down Terentia,¹³⁷ who predictably resented the mistress of the new man of power. In the same year Antony divorced his cousin Antonia (Plut., *Ant.* 9. 2), and in due course married Fulvia, who was not the woman¹³⁸ to tolerate a flamboyant *paelex*. When late in 46 Cicero saw Cytheris at the dinner-table of her *patronus* Volumnius¹³⁹ (at a time when Antony was in Italy), she may have gone back to her old lover: the ingratiating Volumnius appears later as a protégé of Antony (*RE IX A*, 878 f.), and presumably had lent him the lady in the first place. When Antony returned from Narbo in the autumn of 45, Cicero tells how he promised Fulvia to have no more dealings with Cytheris;¹⁴⁰ but as the whole account is imaginatively overdrawn, it does not prove that the association had continued till that time. Cicero's memories of 49–8 would be enough to suggest the detail, as they did in June 44 when he calls Antony 'Cytherius' (*Att.* xv. 22).

Even if Gallus was too ambitious to appropriate Antony's mistress, he might have begun a relationship as early as 47. His moods must have extended from admiration to disillusionment: *nequitia* in the papyrus confirms Virgil's more discreet phraseology (*Ecl.* 10. 6: 'sollicitos Galli dicamus amores'). Virgil describes how Lycoris went off through the snows with a soldier, presumably a person of distinction (10. 23: 'perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est'); even if Servius had not told us, we could posit from the imitation in Propertius (1. 8) a pastiche of Gallus himself (*Ecl.* 10. 46 f.):

tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)
Alpinas, a dura, nives et frigora Rheni
me sine sola vides. a, te ne frigora laedant,
a tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas.

The date of this episode is difficult to determine, but as it seems to have been historical, it deserves more discussion than it usually receives. Commentators refer to Agrippa's crossing of the Rhine in 39 or 38,¹⁴¹ but the eclogue itself can hardly have been written later than 39;¹⁴² unfortunately not much is known of operations in Gaul during the preceding years, and the mention of the Rhine need not be literal. When Servius says that the other man is Antony (*Ecl.* 10. 1), the story does not easily fit his career, and as it is an obvious guess, there is no need to think with Leo of L. Antonius.¹⁴³ One possibility is Volumnius himself, if he can be identified with the man who in 43¹⁴⁴ became *praefectus fabrum* to Antony (proconsul of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul). Another candidate might be D. Brutus, who defeated the Bellovaci (between the Somme and the Seine) in 46 (*Liv., Per.* 114), and travelled back with Caesar from Narbo in the autumn of 45 (Plut., *Ant.* 11. 2); when a late authority states that M. Brutus was one of Cytheris's lovers (*Vir. Ill.* 82. 2), there could be a confusion with his less austere namesake.¹⁴⁵

When Lycoris goes off with her officer, Gallus is in the thick of the fray (*Ecl.* 10. 44 f.):

nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis
tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis.

¹³⁶ *Att.* x. 10. 5, x. 16. 5, *Phil.* 2. 58.

¹³⁷ *Fam.* xiv. 16; Shackleton Bailey rightly identifies this Volumnia with Cytheris.

¹³⁸ Plut., *Ant.* 10. 3: γύναιον . . . ἀρχοντος ἀρχεῖν καὶ στρατηγούστος στρατηγεῖν βουλόμενον.

¹³⁹ *Fam.* ix. 26. 2: 'infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit. "in eo igitur" inquis "convivio Cicero ille quem aspectabant, cuius ob os Grai ora obvertebant sua?"'

¹⁴⁰ *Phil.* 2. 77: 'sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum'.

¹⁴¹ Dio xlviii. 49. 3; *RE IX A*, 1233 f.; *MRR II*, 389.

¹⁴² Mr. I. M. LeM. DuQuesnay has observed that the *Eclogues* should have been completed in 39: Maecenas, who took up Virgil no later than 38, is mentioned nowhere in the book. There is no justification for the view that the eighth poem belongs to 35.

¹⁴³ *Hermes* xxxvii (1902), 19 = *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften II* (1960), 34.

¹⁴⁴ *Nep., Att.* 12. 4; *RE IX A*, 875 f.

¹⁴⁵ D. Brutus was the son (or perhaps stepson) of the cultured but notorious Sempronia (*Sall., Cat.* 25).

Though the time-scheme of the eclogue is misty, these adventures must be simultaneous: there is a conflict between Mars and Venus, and the true madness is the love of war.¹⁴⁶ Some interpreters set the scene in the aftermath of Philippi in late 42, but they attach too geographical an interpretation to the poem's Arcadian scenery: ¹⁴⁷ Gallus was not enjoying long leave in the Peloponnese, and he would have been more conscious of Cytheris's whereabouts if he was based in the West. One possibility is the war of Munda ¹⁴⁸ in early 45, which was a good time for him to impress Pollio; he seems to have served under him in Spain in 44,¹⁴⁹ as he did in Cisalpinga in 41 (perhaps as *praefectus fabrum*).¹⁵⁰ It might, however, be argued that *Ecl.* 10. 46 'tu procul a patria' implies that Gallus himself is nearer home than Cytheris. Perhaps he was manoeuvring with Pollio in the Perusine War in the winter of 41-40 (though *hostis* now seems rather strong); in that case the tenth eclogue could imitate a book of Gallus later than the one under discussion.

If the first book was completed at the end of 45, that allows Gallus perhaps two years of Lycoris to celebrate; this is less than might have been wished, but *tandem* in the papyrus does not prove that the association was a long one, and so practical a man may have composed more expeditiously than poets with less to do. When he implies his exclusion from even a view of the Parthian triumph, that points to a prolonged absence from Rome in the West; one might guess that with his administrative capacities he was involved with Caesar's colonies in Spain or Narbonensis (just as in 41 he was to assist Pollio in settling veterans in Cisalpinga). The new community of Forum Iuli (Fréjus) belongs to this period,¹⁵¹ though the *colonia* may have been founded a decade later by Octavian; ¹⁵² as Gallus himself came from the district ¹⁵³ (Jerome misleadingly calls him 'Foroiuliensis'), his local knowledge and influence would have been invaluable (as in the case of Alfenus Varus at Cremona in 41). The speculation would hardly be worth making if it did not provide a possible explanation for another difficulty. Fifteen years later, when he was about to become Prefect of Egypt, Gallus made a proud boast in bronze letters (later removed) on the obelisk that now stands in front of St. Peter's: 'iussu Imp. Caesaris Divi f. C. Cornelius Cn. f. Gallus praef. fabr. Caesaris Divi f. Forum Iulium fecit'.¹⁵⁴ The inscription presumably refers to what was later called the Forum Augusti (Σεβαστή 'Αγορά) at Alexandria,¹⁵⁵ but it is a very odd coincidence that the man from Forum Iuli should make a Forum Iulium. One scholar suggests that Jerome's source depended on a garbled account of the inscription,¹⁵⁶ another speaks more convincingly of nostalgia; ¹⁵⁷ but with his literary perceptions and flair for austere epigraphic self-advertisement,¹⁵⁸ Gallus might have intended something more specific. Perhaps he is recalling that as the representative of the now deified Julius he had previously 'made' Forum Iuli at the other end of the Roman Empire.

In view of the obscure chronology of the tenth eclogue, we cannot be sure that Lycoris ever went back to Gallus; in the sixth eclogue (which shortly preceded the tenth) he seems already to have turned to more mythological forms of poetry (above, p. 151). As he progressed in his official career, he may have abandoned verse altogether (another reason for doubting a reference to the Illyrian campaign); Propertius in his first book writes 'neoteric' elegies to a Gallus who is not the poet (there is a reference to his *nobilitas* and

¹⁴⁶ This is true even if *Martis* is taken primarily with *armis* (as the word-order naturally suggests). Gallus is not with Lycoris in imagination (thus Servius), but on a separate expedition; this is shown by *nunc, detinet*, and the contrasting *tu* in 46.

¹⁴⁷ F. Leo, *op. cit.* (n. 143), 18 f.; H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Virgil* (1942), 106 f.

¹⁴⁸ For Pollio's presence in Spain in 45 (before his late praetorship) cf. J. André, *La vie et l'œuvre d'Asinius Pollion* (1949), 16 (citing Suet., *Jul.* 55. 4).

¹⁴⁹ Pollio writes from Spain to Cicero in June 43 that he can borrow one of his tragedies from Gallus (*Fam.* x. 32. 5), a sign that the two men had been recently together (cf. also x. 31. 6 of March). The episode shows that Gallus was already regarded by Pollio as a literary man.

¹⁵⁰ R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* (1939), 252, n. 4; Gallus has since turned up with the same title in Egypt (see next paragraph).

¹⁵¹ Plancus ap. Cic., *Fam.* x. 15. 3, x. 17. 1 (both of 43 B.C.); *RE* vii, 69.

¹⁵² J. Kromayer, *Hermes* xxxi (1896), 12 f.; R. Syme, *CQ* xxxii (1938), 40 f.; F. Vittinghof, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus* (= *Abh. der Akad. der Wiss. Mainz*, 1951), 67, n. 3.

¹⁵³ The place in Narbonensis was far more important than others of the same name, see R. Syme, *CQ* xxxii (1938), 39 f.

¹⁵⁴ For bibliography see H. Volkmann, *Gymnasium* LXXIV (1967), 501 f.; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II (1972), 97.

¹⁵⁵ Fraser, *op. cit.* II, 96.

¹⁵⁶ F. Bömer, *Gymnasium* LXXII (1965), 8 f.

¹⁵⁷ E. Hartmann, *Gymnasium* LXXII (1965), 3.

¹⁵⁸ Dio LIII. 23. 5: καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πύραμίδας ἐπέγραψε, see *ILS* 8995 = *OGIS* 654.

imagines)¹⁵⁹ without apparently any danger of confusion. By 30 B.C. Cytheris was probably over forty, but the contrast between 1 *tristia* and 2 *dulcia* implies that her misbehaviour has been recent, the language of line 7 does not naturally suggest a long-dead romance (contrast Prop. III. 24), and 6 *tandem* would be uncharacteristically modest a decade after the *Amores* had been celebrated by Virgil. Complaints about the lady's *nequitia* would not have suited Gallus's public position at a time when Alexandrian immorality was being denounced; it would have been a particular embarrassment that she had been Antony's mistress twenty years earlier, and hilariously depicted as such in Cicero's classic invective. An established statesman might employ his leisure scribbling *nugae*, but editing a book of love-elegies was a different matter, and the take-over of Egypt required ostentatious attention from a new man in his first great office.

But even if he wrote no more verse, he must have become a living legend. The papyrus was found at the southern frontier of Egypt, just beyond the area where the poet himself had campaigned; one recalls the interest in literature shown by the *comites* of Memmius and Tiberius.¹⁶⁰ If the Romans at Carrhae transported Milesian tales in their baggage (Plut., *Crass.* 32. 3), a lonely officer might treasure romantic elegies on love and war, written in his youth by the Prefect of the province. When Gallus was dismissed and driven to his death (27 or 26), there was no immediate censorship of his writings: the book found its way to Qaşr İbrîm, which was only occupied in 25 or 24. But when the fort was evacuated, perhaps only a few years later, it was dropped on the rubbish-dump: Gallus was now disposable.

The episode was an omen. There was no formal burning of the books: ¹⁶¹ Propertius and Ovid pay discreet tributes,¹⁶² and over a century later Quintilian still knows the elegies. But when Servius says that Virgil withdrew 'laudes Galli' at the end of the *Georgics*, the story (at least in a modified form) is less fantastic than is usually now supposed: ¹⁶³ considering the stature of the man, too little is said of his achievements and his fall. Apart from his victory over Antony and prefecture of Egypt, he had developed a type of poetry unknown to the Greeks that gave a new direction to Latin literature (*Eclogues* and *Epodes* as well as elegies). His sentiment was transmitted and perhaps exaggerated by Virgil and Propertius, but the new fragments hint tantalizingly at a more authoritative and realistic voice: his successors also talk of infidelity in a cold climate (Prop. I. 8. 7 f.), the conflict of duty and happiness (that obsession of the early Augustans), and the prospect of despoiling the Parthians,¹⁶⁴ but for Gallus such themes sprang from experience. It is deeply satisfying that the Egypt Exploration Society should have recovered this papyrus, two thousand years after it was jettisoned, from the limits of the province which the poet conquered and ruled. His literary fame, said Ovid, would reach as far as his military commands, and last longer: ¹⁶⁵

Gallus et Hesperii et Gallus notus Eois
et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit.

Egypt Exploration Society, London; Christ Church, Oxford; Corpus Christi College, Oxford

¹⁵⁹ Prop. I. 5. 23 f.; M. Hubbard, *Propertius* (1974), 25; R. Syme, *History in Ovid* (1978), 99 f.

¹⁶⁰ Cat. 28 and 47; Hor., *Epist.* I. 3. 6 f.

¹⁶¹ For the alleged *damnatio memoriae* see J.-P. Boucher, *Caius Cornélius Gallus* (1966), 56 f.

¹⁶² Prop. II. 34 B. 91 f.; Ov., *Amor.* I. 15. 29 f., III. 9. 63 f.: 'tu quoque, si falsumst temerati crimen amici, sanguinis atque animae prodige Galle tuae'.

¹⁶³ W. B. Anderson, *CQ* xxvii (1933), 36 f.; E. Norden, *Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* (1934), 627 f. = *Kleine Schriften* (1966), 469 f.; J. Griffin, *G & R* xxvi (1979), 74 f. But revisions are possible in principle (cf. Ovid's *Amores* and *Metamorphoses*), and only a few lines need have been excluded.

¹⁶⁴ When the Augustan poets talk of Parthian

expeditions, their political realism has been variously regarded (P. A. Brunt, *JRS* LIII [1963], 170 f.; R. Syme, *History in Ovid*, 186 f.); imitation of Gallus would not be a total explanation, but would help to account for the degree of interest shown by Propertius. The political element in the elegies of Gallus was divined by the Renaissance forger of *Anth. Lat.* 914 (even if his Roman history left much to be desired): '(Lycoris) pingit et Euphratis currentes mollius undas vitriceseque aquilas sub duce Ventidio qui nunc Crassorum manes direptaque signa vindicat Augusti Caesaris auspiciis'.

¹⁶⁵ *Amor.* I. 15. 29 f. *Lycoris* is the poetry-book as well as the actress; *nota* is not only 'famous' but 'notorious'.