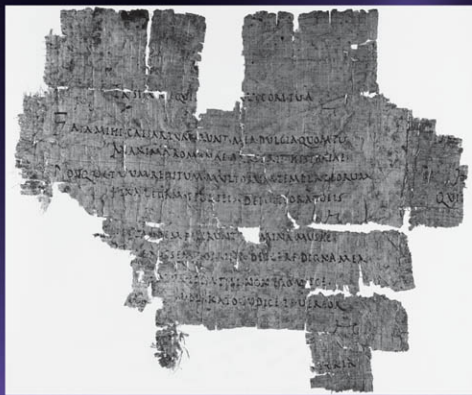


OXFORD

FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN POETRY

c.60 BC–AD 20



*Edited with Introduction, Translation, and
Commentary by
Adrian S. Hollis*

FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN POETRY *c.*60 BC-AD 20

Fragments of
Roman Poetry
c.60 B C—A D 20

Edited with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary
By ADRIAN S. HOLLIS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Adrian S. Hollis 2007

The moral rights of the author have been asserted
Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2007

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,
Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Data available

Typeset by RefineCatch Limited, Bungay, Suffolk
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Biddles Ltd, King's Lynn

ISBN 978-0-19-814698-8

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Contents

<i>List of Poets in Alphabetical Order</i>	xi
<i>Numbering of Items: Comparative Table</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
Text, Translation, and Commentary	
C. Helvius Cinna	11
C. Licinius Calvus	49
Egnatius	87
C. Memmius	90
Aemilius Macer	93
M. Furius Bibaculus	118
Q. Mucius Scaevola	146
Q. Cornificius	149
(?Q.) Hortensius Hortalus	155
Ticida	158
Volumnius	164
P. Terentius Varro Atacinus	165
C. Asinius Pollio	215
C. Cornelius Gallus	219
L. Varius Rufus	253
C. Caesar Octavianus (Imp. Augustus)	282
C. Valgius Rufus	287
Domitius Marsus	300
C. Maecenas	314
M. Tullius Laurea	326

Arbonius Silo	330
Dorcatius	332
Gracchus	334
Sextilius Ena	338
Cornelius Severus	340
Iulius Montanus	368
Albinovanus Pedo	372
Rabirius	382
Adespota Selecta	389
<i>Appendix: Named Poets of Whom No Verbatim Quotations Survive</i>	420
<i>Select Bibliography of Secondary Sources</i>	431
<i>Index</i>	436

*List of Poets in Alphabetical Order (including names
in the Appendix)*

- (Adespota Selecta), 389–419
Aemilius Macer, 93–117
Albinovanus Celsus, 420
Albinovanus Pedo, 372–81
Anser, 420
Antonius Iullus, 421
Aquin*us*, 421
Arbonius Silo, 330–1
C. Asinius Pollio, 215–18
Bassus, 421
Bavius, 421
Caecilius, 421
C. Caesar Octavianus (Imp.
Augustus), 282–6
Caesius, 421
Camerinus, 422
Capella, 422
Carus, 422
Cassius Etruscus, 422
Cassius Parmensis, 422
C. Cornelius Gallus, 219–52
Cornelius Severus, 340–67
Cornificia, 422
Q. Cornificius, 149–54
Cotta Maximus, 422
Domitius Marsus, 300–13
Dorcatius, 332–3
Egnatius, 87–9
Fannius, 423
Fontanus, 423
M. Furius Bibaculus, 118–45
Gracchus, 334–7
C. Helvius Cinna, 11–48
(?Q.) Hortensius Hortalus, 155–7
Iulius Calidus, 423
Iulius Florus, 424
Iulius Montanus, 368–71
Largus, 424
C. Licinius Calvus, 49–86
Lupus, 424
Macer, 424
C. Maecenas, 314–25
Mamurra, 425
Marius, 425
Melissus, 425
C. Memmius, 90–2
Mevius, 425
Q. Mucius Scaevola, 146–8
Numa, 425
Passer, 425
Perilla, 426
Ponticus, 426
Priscus, 426
Proculus, 426
Pupius, 426
Rabirius, 382–8
Rufus, 427
Sabinus, 427
Servius, 427
Sextilius Ena, 338–9
Suffenus, 428
P. Terentius Varro Atacinus, 165–214
Ticida, 158–63
Titius, 428
Trinacrius, 428
M. Tullius Laurea, 326–9

Alphabetical list of poets

Turranius, 428
Tuscius, 428
Tuticanus, 428
Valerius Cato, 429

C. Valgius Rufus, 287–99
L. Varius Rufus, 253–81
Volumnius, 164
Volusius, 429

C. Cornelius Gallus

138

(a) Hieronymi *Chronicon* (ed. Helm² (1956), p. 164) ann. Abr. 1990=27 a. Chr.: *Cornelius Gallus Foroiliensis poeta, a quo primum Aegyptum rectam supra* [p. 162 Helm²] *diximus, XLIII aetatis suae anno propria se manu interficit.*

(b) Asinius Pollio ap. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 10.32=415 SB. 5: *etiam praetextam si voles legere, Gallum Cornelium, familiarem meum, poscito.* Cf. 10.31=368 SB. 6: *quod familiarem meum tuorum numero habes, opinione tua mihi gratius est. invideo illi tamen quod ambulat et iocatur tecum.*

(c) Suet. *De Gramm. et Rhet.* 16.1 (ed. Kaster, 1995, p. 20): Q. Caecilius Epirota [cf. 176] . . . *libertus Attici . . . cum filiam patroni nuptam M. Agrippae doceret, suspectus in ea et ob hoc remotus ad Cornelium Gallum se contulit, vixitque una familiarissime; quod ipsi Gallo inter gravissima crimina ab Augusto obicitur.*

(d) Prop. 2.34.91–2: *et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus / mortuus inferna vulnere lavit aqua.*

(e) Ov. *Am.* 3.9.63–4: *tu quoque* [sc. Tibullo in Elysia valle obivus venies], *si falsum est temerati crimen amici, / sanguinis atque animae prodige Galle tuae.*

(f) Ov. *Tr.* 2.445–6: *non fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lycorida Gallo, / sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero.*

(g) Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.53–4: *successor fuit hic* [sc. Tibullus] *tibi, Galle, Propertius illi, / quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.*

(h) Quint. 10.1.93: *Elegia quoque Graecos provocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus; sunt qui Propertium malint. Ovidius utroque lascivior, sicut durior Gallus.*

(a) [The Chronicle of Jerome under 27 BC]: The poet Cornelius Gallus of Forum Iulium, who, as we have mentioned above, was the first governor of Egypt, killed himself with his own hand in the forty-third year of his life.

(b) [Asinius Pollio to Cicero]: If you want to read the Roman historical

drama as well, ask my friend Cornelius Gallus for it . . . [from another letter] . . . The fact that you are including my friend in your circle is more welcome to me than you might have thought. And yet I envy him that he strolls and jokes with you.

(c) When Q. Caecilius Epirota . . . a freedman of Atticus . . . was teaching his patron's daughter after her marriage to M. Agrippa, he became suspected of improper conduct towards her, and for that reason was removed. He took himself to Cornelius Gallus, and lived with him as a very close friend; this is one of the most serious charges made against Gallus by Augustus.

(d) And recently how many wounds from fair Lycoris did Gallus after his death wash in the waters of the underworld.

(e) You too, Gallus, wasteful of your blood and life [will come to meet Tibullus in Elysium], if the charge of violating a friendship is false.

(f) The reproach against Gallus was not that he had celebrated Lycoris, but that he failed to hold his tongue after too much wine.

(g) Tibullus was the successor of Gallus, Propertius of Tibullus; after them I came fourth in chronological sequence.

(h) We challenge the Greeks in elegy too, of which Tibullus seems to me the most polished and elegant composer; some prefer Propertius. Ovid is more extravagant than either, as Gallus is more harsh.

139

(a) Serv. ad Verg. *Buc.* 10.1 (p. 118 Thilo): *Gallus . . . fuit poeta eximius; nam et Euphorionem . . . transtulit in latinum sermonem et amorum suorum de Cytheride scripsit libros quattuor.*

(b) Prob. ad Verg. *Buc.* 10.50 'Chalcedico . . . versu' (p. 348 Thilo): *Euphorion elegiarum scriptor Chalcedensis fuit, cuius in scribendo secutus colorem videtur Cornelius Gallus.*

(a) Gallus . . . was an outstanding poet; for he both translated Euphorion into Latin and wrote four books of love poems about Cytheris.

(b) [on 'Chalcedic verse']: The elegiac poet Euphorion came from Chalcedis, and Cornelius Gallus in his writings seems to have followed the colouring of Euphorion.

140

(a) Ov. *Am.* 1.15.29–30: *Gallus et Hesperii et Gallus notus Eois / et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit.*

(b) Ov. *AA* 3.537: *Vesper et Eoae novere Lycorida terrae.*

(c) Ov. *AA* 3.333–4: *et teneri possis carmen legisse Properti / sive aliquid Galli sive, Tibulle, tuum.*

(d) Ov. *Rem. Am.* 765: *quis potuit lecto durus discedere Gallo?*

(e) Ov. *Tr.* 5.1.15–18: *delicias si quis lascivaque carmina quaerit, / praemoneo, non est scripta quod ista legat. / aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris, / aptior, ingenium come, Tibullus erit.*

(f) Mart. 8.73.5–6: *Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti; / ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat.*

(a) Gallus will be known both to Westerners and to Easterners; and his beloved Lycoris will share Gallus' notoriety.

(b) The west and eastern lands have come to know Lycoris.

(c) You might have read a poem of tender Propertius, or something by Gallus or Tibullus.

(d) Who could leave in a harsh frame of mind after reading Gallus?

(e) If anyone is looking for refinement or ornamental poetry, I give advance notice that he has no reason to read those poems. For such a one Gallus is more appropriate . . .

(f) . . . fair Lycoris was the talent of Gallus.

141

Verg. *Buc.* 10.42–61: *hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori, / hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo. / nunc insanus amor duri te [Heumann, Heyne: me codd.] Martis in armis / (45) tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostes. / 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! / (50) ibo et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu / carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor avena. / certum est in silvis inter spelaea ferarum / malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores / arboribus; crescent illae, crescetis, amores. / (55) interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis / aut acres venabor apros. non me ulla vetabunt / frigora Parthenios canibus circumdare saltus. / iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantes / ire, libet Partho torquere Cydonia*

cornu / (60) spicula—tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris / aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat.

(a) Serv. ad v. 46 (p. 124 Thilo): *hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus.*

(b) Serv. ad vv. 50–1 (p. 125 Thilo): *Euboea insula est, in qua est Chalcis civitas, de qua fuit Euphorion, quem transtulit Gallus . . . et hoc dicit: ‘ibo et Theocriteo stilo canam carmina Euphorionis’.*

[Virgil, *Ecl.* 10.42–61]: Here are cool springs, here soft meadows, Lycoris, here a grove; here, with you, I would be wasted away by time itself. But, as things are, mad passion keeps you [translating ‘te’] away from me in the arms of cruel Mars (45) amid weapons and confronting enemies. Do you (ah, heartless one) far from your homeland (if only I could disbelieve it!) alone without me gaze upon Alpine snows and the frozen Rhine? Ah, may the cold not harm you! Ah, may the sharp ice not cut your delicate feet! (50) I will go and play on the pipe of a Sicilian shepherd the songs which I composed in Chalcidic verse. Rather it is my resolve to endure in the woods among the caves of wild beasts, and to carve my Loves upon the young trees; they will grow and so will my Loves. (55) Meanwhile I will range over Maenalus together with the Nymphs, or hunt fierce boars. Already I seem to myself to be passing through crags and echoing groves; it is my pleasure to shoot Cretan arrows from a Parthian bow (60)—as if this could be medicine for my madness, or that god would learn through human suffering to become gentle.

(a) [Servius on line 46] All these are lines of Gallus, transferred from his own poetry.

(b) [Servius on 50–5] Euboea is an island containing a city called Chalcis, from where came Euphorion whom Gallus translated . . . And he is saying ‘I will go and sing the poems of Euphorion in the style of Theocritus’.

142

Verg. *Buc.* 6.64–73: *tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum / (65) Aonae 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 / (70) Ascræo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat / cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos. / his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo, / ne quis sit lucus qua se plus iactet Apollo.’*

Serv. ad v. 72 (p. 78 Thilo): *Gryneum nemus est in finibus Ioniis . . . in quo luco aliquando Calchas et Mopsus dicuntur de peritia divinandi inter se habuisse*

certamen: et cum de pomorum arboris cuiusdam contenderent numero, stetit gloria Mopso; cuius rei dolore Calchas interiit. hoc autem Euphorionis [fr. 97 Powell] *continent carmina, quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem Latinum.*

[Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.64–73] Then he [Silenus] sang how, as Gallus wandered by the stream of Permessus, one of the Sisters led him up into the Aonian mountains; how the whole choir of Phoebus rose to the great man, and how Linus, shepherd of divine song, his hair decorated with flowers and bitter parsley, said ‘These pipes (come, take them) the Muses give to you, (70) which previously they gave to the old man of Ascrea [Hesiod], with which he used to draw down stiff ash trees from the mountains. With these you must tell the origin of the Grynean wood, so that there is no grove in which Apollo takes more pride.’ [Servius on line 72] The Grynean Grove is in the territory of Ionia . . . in which grove on one occasion Calchas and Mopsus are said to have held a competition for their skill in divining. And when they were contending about the number of apples on a particular tree, the glory ended up on Mopsus’ side; in pain over this matter Calchas died. This story is to be found in the poetry of Euphorion, which Gallus translated into Latin.

143

Parthenius (p. 308 ed. Lightfoot, 1999), *Hist. Amat.*, praef.: Παρθένιος Κορνηλίω Γάλλω χαιρεῖν. Μάλιστα σοὶ δοκῶν ἀρμόττειν, Κορνήλιε Γάλλε, τὴν ἄθροισιν τῶν ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων, ἀναλεξάμενος ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐν βραχυτάτοις ἀπέσταλκα. τὰ γὰρ παρὰ τισι τῶν ποιητῶν κείμενα τούτων, μὴ αὐτοτελῶς λελεγμένα, κατανοήσεις ἐκ τῶνδε τὰ πλείστα. (2) αὐτῶι τέ σοι παρέσται εἰς ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας ἀνάγειν τὰ μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀρμόδια. <μηδὲ> διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ περιττὸν αὐτοῖς, ὃ δὴ σὺ μετέρχηι, χεῖρον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐννοηθῆις· οἰονεὶ γὰρ ὑπομνηματίων τρόπον αὐτὰ συνελεξάμεθα, καὶ σοὶ νυνὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ὁμοίαν, ὡς εἶοικε, παρέξεται.

Greetings from Parthenius to Cornelius Gallus. Thinking that the collection of Sufferings in Love is particularly appropriate to you, Cornelius Gallus, I have gathered them and sent them to you in the shortest possible form. For those of the present collection which occur in some of the poets, but are not told in their entirety, you will, for the most part, discover from what follows. And it will be open for you to render the most appropriate of them into hexameter and elegiac verse. You must not think the worse of them because they do not display that quality of refined elaboration which you make your objective. For I have collected them after the manner of a notebook, and they will, I trust, be of similar service to you.

144 (I Bl., C.)

uno tellures dividit amne duas

[The Scythian river Hypanis] divides two lands with its single stream.

Vibius Sequester, *De Fluminibus* etc. 77 (p. 14 ed. Gelsomino, 1967): *Hypanis Scythiae, qui, ut ait Gallus, 'uno—duas'. Asiam enim ab Europa separat.*

145 (2–5 Bl., 2 C.)

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

<? made> sad, Lycoris, by your wantonness

My fate, Caesar, will be sweet to me at that time when you become the greatest part of Roman History, and when, after your return, I survey the temples of many gods, richer for being fixed with your spoils.

. . . Finally the Muses have made <? these> poems <? for me> that I could call worthy of my mistress. <? And if she tells> you the same, I do not, Viscus, I do not, Cato, fear . . . with you as judge.

. . . Tyrian . . .

1–12 P Qaşr Ibrîm inv. 78–3–11 (L1/2), col. i (ed. Anderson, Parsons, Nisbet, *JRS* 69 (1979), 125–55).

1 fact]a *Nisbet* 2 Caesar, tum erunt] tum, Caesar, erunt *Lyne* 3 erit
pap., corr. Nisbet et Parsons 6 haec mih]i vix (*P. G. Brown*) non excluditur
9 fort. uþla (*vel uþle*) Kato þlakato (*i.e. placato*) *Hutchinson*

CORNELIUS Gallus, first Prefect of Roman Egypt and the missing member of the dynasty of four Latin elegiac poets, is a fascinating figure. In front of St Peter's in Rome stands an obelisk which originally bore an inscription of his, commemorating the foundation of a Forum Iulium, presumably in or near Alexandria (see J. P. Boucher, *Gaius Cornelius Gallus* (Paris, 1966), 33–8; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), vol. II, pp. 97–8; R. G. M. Nisbet *et al.*, *JRS* 69 (1979), 154). On the island of Philae in the Nile near Aswan (the effective southern boundary of Cornelius Gallus' province) a trilingual inscription (*CIL* III. 14147, Boucher pp. 38–45 with photograph) was discovered in 1896, wherein Gallus claims to have carried his arms further south than the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt or the Roman people before him. Both monuments were damaged (presumably in consequence of Gallus' downfall) and shortly afterwards put to other uses—the obelisk for a dedication by Caligula, *CIL* VI. 882 (the original inscription was removed and has to be reconstructed from the nail-holes of the letters), and the trilingual stele for a temple of Augustus built by the prefect P. Rubrius Barbarus in 13 B.C. Even more remarkably, in 1978 a papyrus (see 145) containing lines of Latin elegiac verse, the very first of which names Gallus' girlfriend Lycoris, was found in Egyptian Nubia at Qaṣr Ibrîm, some 150 miles south of Cornelius Gallus' territory (L. P. Kirwan, 'Rome beyond the Southern Egyptian Frontier', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 63 (1977), 13–31). The find-spot was a ruined fortress which—probably but not quite certainly (*JRS* (1979), 127)—the Romans of our period occupied only for some five years c.25–20 B.C. during the governorship of C. Petronius. So this papyrus apparently was written, if not during Gallus' lifetime, at least within very few years of his death.

Gallus was a close contemporary of Virgil—indeed, if we can trust Jerome (138a), born in the same year, 70 B.C. Some, however, by combining Jerome's figure for Gallus' age at death ('in his 43rd year') with Dio's date for Gallus' death (26 B.C., Dio 53.23) have arrived at 69 or 68 for his birth (a procedure not approved by Syme, *CQ* 32 (1938), 40 n. 7). The name Forum Iulium (Courtney 260 fears confusion with Gallus' Alexandrian foundation, see above) would be anachronistic in 70 B.C. Of the towns later bearing that name the most distinguished (and favoured for Gallus' birth place) was Fréjus in Narbonese Gaul, though Boucher (p. 11) prefers Forum Iulii Iriensium in Liguria (modern Voghera). Syme (p. 43) sees the poet as the son of a local dynast of Gallia Narbonensis: 'These men came from a class that was eminently presentable and highly civilized, Greek before they were Roman; they are the precursors of the famous Narbonensian senators of the first century of the Empire.' Probus' introduction to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* (p. 328 Hagen) speaks of Gallus as Virgil's 'condiscipulus'—if so, one might wonder where (cf. Boucher, pp. 9–10). This would take the pair's acquaintance back to the

mid-50s BC, but is probably just an inference from the introduction of Gallus into *Eclogues* 6 and 10; Probus also believed (p. 329 Hagen) that Meliboeus in the first eclogue is Cornelius Gallus. *Ecl.* 10.73–4 ‘Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas . . .’ etc. rather suggests a more recent friendship, probably arising from the shared patronage of Asinius Pollio.

The first literary recognition of Cornelius Gallus may well be in Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 3.45 ‘o poetam egregium [sc. Ennium]! quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur’. Although what we know of Helvius Cinna makes him a plausible ‘cantor Euphorionis’ (for ‘cantor’ Jane Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford, 1999), 57, suggests ‘chanter’—see her discussion), the only Latin poet explicitly connected with Euphorion is Cornelius Gallus (see below on 139). The date (July 45 BC) may be too early for complete books of elegies on Lycoris, but by then Gallus would have been approximately 25, quite old enough to have made a hit with poetry in the style of Euphorion unconnected to Lycoris (cf. Lightfoot, *Parthenius*, 64, ‘nothing requires that Cytheris had anything to do with *all* Gallus’ Euphorionic poetry’). Such poetry could well have been in hexameters, as—to our present knowledge—was all of Euphorion except for two epigrams (see on 139). Indeed it would be easier for Gallus to establish a reputation as the Roman Euphorion (*Ecl.* 10.50 ‘Chalcidico . . . versu’) if he started by writing in Euphorion’s metre; this reputation could then be carried over into his elegies.

A definite reference to Cornelius Gallus occurs in 138*b*, a letter from Asinius Pollio to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* 10.32 = 415 SB. 5) in June 43 BC, where the context is literary: Cicero can, if he wishes, ask Gallus (‘familiarem meum’) for the text of a Roman tragedy (by Balbus rather than Pollio himself, cf. F. Graf, *Gymnasium*, 89 (1982), 26 n. 18). Gallus may also be Pollio’s unnamed ‘familiaris’ in another letter to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* 10.31 = 368 SB. 5 = 138*b*). One might speculate that Cicero, after denouncing Gallus as one of the ‘cantores Euphorionis’ two years earlier, met Gallus for the first time in 43 BC and found him a surprisingly agreeable companion. If the ‘Caesar’ in 145.2 is Julius, it follows that Gallus’ poetry for Volumnia/Cytheris/Lycoris (145.1, cf. 140–1) had started by 45–4 (see Nisbet, *JRS* (1979), 151–5 ‘The Historical Framework’).

How long the relationship with Lycoris lasted (and the composition of poetry about her, which might have continued longer) we do not know, but according to Servius (139*a*) there were four books of love poems, perhaps (like Ovid’s) entitled *Amores*. Hints survive of a public role for Gallus in the aftermath of Philippi, relating to land confiscations for the settlement of veteran soldiers. In general one must be extremely suspicious of biographical material in the ancient commentators on the *Eclogues*. But Servius auctus on

Ecl. 9.10 (p. 110 Thilo) preserves an item which looks more solid: a verbatim quotation by ‘Cornelius’, attacking Alfenus Varus for exceeding his instructions and taking too much land from the Mantuans: ‘cum iussus tria milia passus a muro in diversa relinquere, vix octingentos passus aquae, quae circumdata est, admetireris, reliquisti’. The name Cornelius is of course enormously common (hence the scepticism of Nisbet, *Collected Papers* (Oxford, 1995), 408), but no more obvious Cornelius suggests himself, and it seems that speeches attributed to Gallus were known: ‘in oratione Labieni (sive illa Cornelii Galli est) in Pollionem’ (Quint. 1.5.8, though one would not expect Gallus to speak against his patron Pollio). If the extract is not genuine, where did the commentator find it? The precise measurements do not sound like an exercise from the rhetorical schools. See L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 31.

I doubt whether one can deduce anything about Gallus’ real life from *Ecl.* 10.44–5 (perhaps we should emend ‘me’ to ‘te’ in line 44, see on 141 below). In the early to mid-30s Gallus may have lived for a while in Rome, thus gaining at least the opportunity to write more poetry. That period provides a likely context for 138c. R. Kaster (Suetonius, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* (Oxford, 1995), 183) dates the marriage of Attica to M. Agrippa either c.42 or in 37 BC. By taking in Caecilius Epirota, who was suspected of impropriety towards his married pupil (still no doubt in her teens), Gallus may have been showing robust independence and support for a friend whom he believed to have been unjustly accused, but there is a hint of the incaution which later ruined Gallus. Agrippa, and through him Octavian, must have been gravely offended. Kaster (p. 185) refers ‘gravissima crimina’ (138c ad fin.) to Augustus’ *Commentarii de vita sua*, and this matter may have contributed to the charge against Gallus, ‘ingratum et malevolum animum’ (Suet. *Div. Aug.* 66.2). If so, the resentment was long-lasting, though it did not stop Octavian from employing Gallus as a commander in the attack upon Egypt (30 BC), or thereafter appointing him as first Prefect. Suetonius goes on to tell us that, after Gallus’ death, Epirota opened a school and became the first grammarian to expound Virgil ‘et alios poetas novos’ (*De Gramm.* 16, cf. on Domitius Marsus, 176). Did he include among the ‘others’ his former benefactor, Cornelius Gallus?

Syme (*The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), 252 n. 4) conjectured that Gallus served Asinius Pollio as *praefectus fabrum* in Cisalpine in 41 BC. The Vatican obelisk now reveals that he held that important office in Egypt, presumably in the final months of 30 or the very beginning of 29 (before he became Prefect). Perhaps in the same capacity, he had participated in the invasion which brought Antony and Cleopatra to their deaths. Dio (51.9) represents Gallus as playing a skilful part in winning over the forces of Pinarius Scarpus and capturing Paraetonium, while Plutarch (*Antony* 79)

describes how he conversed with Cleopatra shortly before her death. The Philae stele records quick suppression of a revolt in the Thebaid and a diplomatic settlement on Philae with Ethiopian envoys.

As for Gallus' downfall, Dio (53.23) mentions wild and insulting talk about Augustus, erection of statues of himself all over Egypt, and even inscription of his own deeds upon the Pyramids; these items were apparently the basis of a denunciation by Valerius Largus, a former friend. The senate voted that Gallus should be convicted in the courts (a process rendered unnecessary by the victim's suicide), deprived of his property, and exiled, while Augustus specified that he should be banned from the imperial provinces. Suetonius' words 'domo et provinciis suis interdixit' (*Div. Aug.* 66.2) look like an adaptation to Empire of the Republican method of renouncing friendship by denying one's house.

It must be said that Gallus' two surviving Egyptian inscriptions do not go beyond the bounds of political acceptability: the Vatican obelisk records foundation of the Forum Iulium IVSSU IMP CAESARIS DIVI F, while on the Philae stele Gallus makes no mention of his own part in the defeat of Cleopatra, giving all the credit to Octavian (POST REGES A CAESARE DEIVI F DEVICTOS). Neither Suetonius nor Ovid refers to misconduct during Gallus' governorship, which may not have stretched beyond the year 29. So Boucher (pp. 50 ff.) may have been right in arguing that Gallus' disgrace stemmed from conduct after his return to Rome. Ovid defines the charge as 'temerati crimen amici' (*Am.* 3.9.63 = 138e), adding (*Tr.* 2.446 = 138f) 'linguam nimio non tenuisse mero'. These words stress the personal nature of the offence, as does Augustus' somewhat hypocritical plaint after Gallus' suicide, 'quod sibi soli non liceret amicis quatenus vellet irasci' (Suet. *Div. Aug.* 66.2).

A famous story alleges that Virgil removed 'laudes Galli' from the Fourth Georgic after Gallus' downfall. This occurs in two forms—though the ancient commentator does not seem aware of any discrepancy. In his introduction to *Eclogue* 10 (Thilo p. 118) Servius writes 'fuit autem [sc. Gallus] amicus Vergilii adeo ut quartus Georgicorum a medio usque ad finem eius laudes teneret: quas postea iubente Augusto in Aristaei fabulam commutavit', while in the introduction to *Georgics* 4 (Thilo p. 320) we read 'sane sciendum, ut supra diximus, ultimam partem huius libri esse mutatam; nam laudes Galli habuit locus ille qui nunc Orphei continet fabulam, quae inserta est postquam irato Augusto Gallus occisus est.' *Laudes Galli* on the scale of the Orpheus section (106 lines), let alone the whole Aristaeus/Orpheus epyllion (243 lines), would completely unbalance the poem by comparison with the 18 lines on Octavian at the beginning of *G.* 1 and the three lines at the end of *G.* 4. How would Octavian have taken such praise of Gallus when Virgil recited the whole of the *Georgics* to him in the summer of 29 BC? Some (e.g. Nisbet,

JRS (1979), 155 with n. 163) have allowed that just a few lines could have been excluded (perhaps round about *G.* 4.287 ff. where there is mention of Egypt), though that does not properly accord with either of Servius' statements. But chronology suggests that the original version of the *Georgics* should have circulated for at least a year before Gallus' disgrace, and an enforced alteration (however small) on political grounds would be likely to become notorious—we would expect to hear much more about it than we do. So I am inclined to reject the story, though its origin is mysterious (it seems unlikely that an earlier commentator said 'at the end of the *Georgics*' when he meant 'of the *Eclogues*' and that Servius was deceived).

There are two Greek epigrams ascribed to a Gallus (not necessarily, of course, the same Gallus) in the *Anthology* (*Anth. Pal.* 5.49 and *Anth. Plan.* 89, Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981), 60–2). The latter is about a cup with a figure of Tantalus. Lines 5–6 read 'πῖνε' λέγει τὸ τόρευμα 'καὶ ὄργια μάνθανε σιγῆς· / οἱ γλώσση προπετεῖς ὧδε κολαζόμεθα' (for reasons unexplained Page prints τὸ γλύμμα and ταῦτα for τὸ τόρευμα and ὧδε). There is a striking coincidence with Ovid's version of Gallus' offence, 'linguam nimio non tenuisse mero' (*Tr.* 2.446 = **138f**), and several scholars since F. Jacobs have considered the possibility that 'Gallus' could be our Cornelius—most recently Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers*, vol. II, p. 205 (discovery of the first half of *Suppl. Hell.* 970, col. i, line 8 in *P. Brux. Inv. E 8934* makes it less likely that Gallus had that line in mind), and R. Aubreton in the *Budé Anthologie Grecque*, vol. XIII (Paris, 1980), 259.

138d, to which I shall return in connection with Gallus and Euphoriion, describes (perhaps in 26 or 25 BC) Gallus' death as 'recent'; Propertius may be observing political correctness in attributing Gallus' death to his painful love for Lycoris rather than the wrath of Augustus. Ovid, however, c.19 BC in his lament for Tibullus (**138e**) ventures to suggest that the charge of violating a friendship may not have been justified—otherwise Gallus would be in a much less pleasant place than Elysium—and hints that suicide was an excessive reaction. Ovid clearly had a strong sense of the dynasty of four love-elegists starting with Gallus and ending with himself, to the exclusion of any lesser figures who may also have written love elegies (e.g. Varro Atacinus with his poems for Leucadia, **133**). Several of the items in **140** stress the dynasty of four. By the time of Quintilian (**138h**) each poet had a standard characterization (it being implied that some found Propertius even more 'tersus atque elegans' than Tibullus). Perhaps these were already established in Ovid's day. In *Rem. Am.* 765 (**140d**) he asks 'quis poterit lecto durus discedere Gallo?'—the very epithet, though in a different sense, applied to Gallus by Quintilian (**138h**). Perhaps Ovid is deliberately contradicting a current view that Gallus' elegiac poetry was 'harsh' (*durus*). It is not surprising that later generations

found him technically less accomplished than Tibullus and Propertius; one may see some vindication of this view in the new papyrus (145). Gallus' *floruit* was some twenty years earlier than that of the other elegists, and in the development of poetic technique twenty years can be a long time. A feeling that Gallus was technically inferior to his younger rivals may have contributed significantly to the loss of his poetry; there is no suggestion whatever that this loss was caused by the author's disgrace and violent death.

139

In 139*a* Servius gives us a piece of information not preserved elsewhere nor deducible from the text of Virgil, that Gallus wrote four books of love poems for Cytheris (whom he called Lycoris). Also we should probably infer that Gallus' poems were entitled *Amores*, like those of Ovid; there may be a special point when the word 'amores' occurs in the tenth *Eclogue* (see on 141). But my main concern at this juncture is to explore the relationship of Cornelius Gallus to Euphorion of Chalcis, the most formidable and obscure of the learned Hellenistic poets (with the exception of his fellow-citizen Lycophron).

It seems to me certain that *Ecl.* 10.50 'Chalcidico . . . versu' (quoted in 141) refers to Euphorion, as understood by Quintilian (10.1.56) and the Virgilian commentators; Courtney's reference (*QUCC* 34 (1990), 107–8) to Theocles of Chalcis (probably mentioned in Callimachus fr. 43.26 as founder of Sicilian Naxos) seems very far-fetched and has not carried conviction (see, most recently, Lightfoot, *Parthenius*, 60). The phrase shows the importance of Euphorion in the Rome of the 40s; besides *Tusc. Disp.* 3.45 on the 'cantores Euphorionis' (p. 226 above) compare Cic. *De Divinatione* 2.133 'ille . . . Euphorion'. Perhaps Gallus himself had used the expression 'Chalcidic verse' of his poetry in the style of Euphorion, and even claimed to be the Roman Euphorion, as Virgil's 'Syracosio . . . versu' stakes a claim to be the Roman Theocritus (*Ecl.* 6.1).

But what precisely did Gallus owe to Euphorion? This question would be easier to answer if Euphorion had been a notable Greek elegist, and the Virgilian commentators say that he was (139*b* and Philargyrius on *Ecl.* 10.50 (p. 185 Thilo), cf. Diomedes, *GLK* I, p. 484 [elegia] 'quod genus carminis praecipue scripserunt apud Romanos Propertius et Tibullus et Gallus imitati Graecos Callimachum et Euphoriona'). The possibility that Euphorion wrote some elegiac poems remains open, but our knowledge of him has increased (37 more pages in *Supplementum Hellenisticum*) and there is still no sign of anything elegiac apart from two brief epigrams (*Anth. Pal.* 6.279 and 7.651 =

Euph. 140 and 141 Powell). Any notion that Euphorion was a *leading* Greek elegist, or *predominantly* an elegist, can be confidently dismissed. Athenaeus' regular term for him (e.g. 4.182e) is ἑποποιός (better 'hexameter poet' than 'epic poet'). Almost certainly the Latin commentators have deduced, reasonably but wrongly, that, since Gallus wrote elegies and imitated Euphorion, the latter too must have written elegies.

Euphorion and Gallus are brought together also in *Ecl.* 6.64–73 (142), where Gallus, wandering by the river Permessus, is conducted by a Muse higher up Helicon, there to be presented with the pipes which the Muses had previously given to Hesiod. With these he is urged to sing of the grove of Grynean Apollo. Servius ad loc. speaks of a contest in divination at this grove between Mopsus and Calchas in which the former is victorious and the latter dies of chagrin, concluding 'hoc autem [this should refer to the contest, not to the foundation of the grove, though both could have been combined in a single poem] Euphorionis (fr. 97 Powell) continent carmina, quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem Latinum'. Unlike Barigazzi (*SIFC* NS 26 (1952), 149 ff.) I do not see sufficient reason for thinking that *Suppl. Hell.* 429 preserves remnants of the contest between Mopsus and Calchas (though *Τιτρα]ρήσιος* might be restored in col. I, line 21, and referred to Mopsus). Note that Euph. fr. 98 describes the death of Mopsus in a dispute with Amphilocheus over the city of Mallos. We cannot rule out the possibility that Gallus somewhere 'translated Euphorion into Latin', as Catullus (66) did for Callimachus' *Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110). But Latin commentators regularly overstate the dependence of Latin upon Greek poets, and it seems more likely that Gallus was felt in some way to have caught the spirit and essence of Euphorion, his 'color' as Probus puts it (139b), in Latin.

When we compare *Ecl.* 6.64 (142) 'errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum' with Propertius 2.10.25–6 'nondum etiam Ascraeos norunt mea carmina fontis, / sed modo Permessi flumine lavit Amor' (surely from Gallus), it is natural to think that 'wandering by the streams of Permessus' represents a lower genre such as love poetry, while going up into the mountains and meeting the Muses suggests higher inspiration and more learned subject matter (e.g. the Grynean grove), perhaps written in hexameters rather than elegiacs, and that Euphorion was relevant only to Gallus' more learned poetry, which furthermore was written later than his love elegies. But most, if not all, of these natural assumptions may need to be modified. For example, Gallus' diversion from a lower to a higher genre may reflect not the chronological order in which he composed his poems but the supposedly higher esteem attaching to the loftier genres. We have seen that Gallus' poetry in the style of Euphorion may already have become well known by the summer of 45 BC (Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 3.45).

Virgil's reference to the Grynean Grove (a topic of interest also to Gallus' friend Parthenius, cf. fr. 10 Lightfoot = *Suppl. Hell.* 620 *Γρύνειος Ἀπόλλων*) is more likely to be praise of a poem already written than encouragement of a future project. David Ross (*Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry* (Cambridge, 1975), 79–80) adventurously suggested that the *locus amoenus* described by Servius auctus on *Ecl.* 6.72 (not unlike that in Propertius 1.20) might be derived from Gallus on the Grynean Grove. *Ecl.* 10.50–1 ('ibo et Chalcidico . . .' etc.) seem to warn us not to divorce the *color* of Euphorion from the elegies for Lycoris.

Remarkably, we may be able to substantiate the conjunction of Gallus and Euphorion from Propertius 2.34.91–2 'et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus / mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua' (*vulnera* suggests the infidelities of Lycoris as well as the passion which she inspired). The pentameter bears an unmistakable resemblance to Euphorion fr. 43, printed by Powell (and others) as *Κώκυτός <τοι> μούνος ἀφ' ἔλκεα νύψεν Ἄδωνιν*. We can surely forget about the alleged doctor called *Κώκυτος*; and I suspect that the relative pronoun *ὅς* has coalesced with the name of the river in some other case (-*ος* in three out of four syllables might be excessive), e.g. *Κώκυτόν <θ'> ὅς μούνος ἀφ' ἔλκεα νύψεν Ἄδωνιν* (? in a list of underworld rivers). For the motif, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.532 (of Hippolytus) 'et lacerum fovi Phlegethontide corpus in unda'. Perhaps Gallus, like Euphorion, applied the figure to Adonis, and Propertius transferred it to Gallus' love affair.

One may still wonder what an elegy reflecting the *color* of Euphorion might be like; there are two poems in the other elegists which could offer a clue. Propertius 2.26A is, in my view, correctly reckoned as a separate poem, and deserves to be quoted in full:

Vidi te in somnis fracta, mea vita, carina
 Ionio lassas ducere rore manus,
 et quaecunque in me fueras mentita fateri,
 nec iam umore gravis tollere posse comas,
 qualem purpureis agitatam fluctibus Hellen, 5
 aurea quam molli tergo vexit ovis.
 quam timui, ne forte tuum mare nomen haberet,
 teque tua labens navita fleret aqua!
 quae tum ego Neptuno, quae tum cum Castore fratri,
 quaeque tibi excepi, iam dea, Leucothoe! 10
 at tu vix primas extollens gurgite palmas
 saepe meum nomen iam peritura vocas.
 quod si forte tuos vidisset Glaucus ocellos,
 esses Ionii facta puella maris,

et tibi ob invidiam Nereides increpitent, 15
 candida Nesaeae, caerulea Cymothoe.
 sed tibi subsidio delphinum currere vidi,
 qui, puto, Arioniam vexerat ante lyram.
 iamque ego conabar summo me mittere saxo,
 cum mihi discussit talia visa metus. 20

The *color* of Euphorion, one imagines, would be sombre and melancholy, with more stress on the sufferings than the happiness of love. In this spirit we could count the *vulnera* inflicted by Lycoris on Gallus (138*d*) and the sadness of his life due to her *nequitia* (145.1, cf. Prop. 2.26A.3 above). Nearly all the stories in Parthenius' *Ἐρωτικὰ Παθήματα* (143) are of unhappy love and (like many of the myths ascribed to Euphorion) come to a gruesome and disastrous end. Propertius 2.26A also contains a number of motifs characteristic of Euphorion. Above all, the description of drowning—compare Euph. fr. 44 Powell:

τὸν δ' ἐκάλυψε θάλασσα λιλαϊόμενον βίοτιοι,
 καί οἱ πῆχες ἄκρον ὑπερφαίνοντο ταθέντες
 ἀχρεὶ' ἀσπαίροντος ἄλις Δολοπιονίδαο
 δυστήνου· ζωὴν δὲ μεθ' ὕδατος ἐκβαλε πᾶσαν
 χεῖρας ὑπερπλάζων, ἄλμη δ' ἐκλυσεν ὄδοντας.

'Him did the sea cover, though he longed for life, and his outstretched arms were visible above the surface as the wretched offspring of Dolopion struggled abundantly but in vain; and he expelled all his life together with the water, waving his hands above his head, and the brine washed over his teeth.'

Note particularly lines 2 and 11 of Prop. 2.26A. The damaged *Suppl. Hell.* 442.7 includes soaked hair (*βρεκτῶν τε κομάων*, cf. Prop. line 4), while the dolphin who comes to the rescue (Prop. 17) may be paralleled by *SH* 415.16 *δελφίνες πηγοῦ δι' ὕδατος ἐγκονέεσκον*, and the jump into the sea (Prop. 19, apparently to commit suicide) by *SH* 415.14 *εἰς ἄλα δειμήνασα κατ' αἰγίλιπος θόρε πέτρης*. The dream by a cliff-top is paralleled in Euph. fr. 75 P. *χθιζόν μοι κνώσσουντι παρ' Ἀργανθώνιον αἶπος*. Propertius combines all this with learned but not too taxing mythology—Helle who gave her name to the Hellespont, the vicissitudes of Ino/Leucothoe, Glaucus the amorous sea-god (a favourite subject of Hellenistic and neoteric verse, cf. on Cornificius, 96), named Nereids and finally Arion. The elegy as a whole, despite its sombre atmosphere, is strikingly beautiful.

The other poem, too long to quote, is *Amores* 3.6, which seems noticeably different from Ovid's usual manner. The poet, parted from his mistress by a river in spate, argues that rivers should help young men in love, since they

themselves had felt the effects of passion. There follows (25–82) an extended catalogue of the loves of river-gods; some of the examples are little-known or even otherwise unattested. While most are confined to a single couplet, one (the Anio and Ilia) is dealt with at much greater length (45–82), in a manner distinctly reminiscent of Virgil's sixth *Eclogue*, where Pasiphae has the lion's share (16 lines out of 51 in the song of Silenus). And *Ecl.* 6 is the nearest thing in Latin to the 'catalogue' or 'collective' poetry much favoured by Euphorion (fr. 9 Powell, *SH* 413–15, 429, 443, and perhaps other *SH* papyri), passing a great number of myths in brief review. *Amores* 3.6 may give a hint as to how Gallus could have used Parthenius' *Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα* for his own elegies.

140

In this section I pick up a few allusions to Gallus' poetry from which we can discern motifs almost certainly used by Gallus himself, a procedure to be followed in more detail with regard to the tenth *Eclogue* (141). In the passages surrounding all these extracts (apart from (a) where Ovid is concerned only with dead poets, hence omitting Propertius) the four elegists are mentioned together. For this sense of a dynasty, cf. 138g and 138h above.

The 'furthest East and furthest West' motif, applied to a poet and his work, may go back to Alcman (a list of foreign peoples who will read him, see Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* 2.20.14 and McKeown on Ovid, *Amores* 1.15.29–30). Like Ovid in 140b, Propertius (2.3.33–4, surely from Gallus) applies it just to the beloved girl: 'sive illam Hesperiiis sive illam ostendit Eois, / uret et Eoos, uret et Hesperios'. When Ovid says (140a) that Lycoris will be 'nota', we must remember that the word can also mean 'notorious' in a bad sense (*OLD* 7, e.g. Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 31 'muliere non solum nobili verum etiam nota') and that Lycoris was noted for her infidelity and *nequitia* (145.1). A poet could immortalize his subject for ill as well as good, e.g. Catullus 40, Ovid, *Tristia* 4.9.21 ff. (to a false friend), 'ibit ad occasum quicquid dicemus ab ortu, / testis et Hesperiae vocis Eous erit . . . / (25) nec tua te sontem tantummodo saecula norint: / perpetuae crimen posteritatis eris'.

140f recalls Propertius 2.1.3–4 'non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo; / ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit'. It is possible that Gallus too somewhere rejected the conventional Callimachean sources of inspiration (Apollo and the Muses) in favour of his mistress.

141

Virgil's tenth *Eclogue*, with great ingenuity, recasts the pastoral lament for Daphnis of Theocritus, *Idyll* 1 as a tribute to the love poems of his friend Cornelius Gallus. These were probably entitled *Amores* (see 139a), and we should look out for a special point whenever that word appears in Virgil's text. For example, when Gallus says to the Arcadians 'o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescent / vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores' (33–4), the words might be reinterpreted to mean 'How happy I would be to think that my *Amores* will be read by future generations after my death' (cf. e.g. Prop. 3.1.21 ff., Ovid, *Am.* 1.15.41–2). 'Tenerisque meos incidere amores / arboribus' (53–4) suggests that Gallus will inscribe not merely the beloved's name (as Acontius does in Callimachus fr. 73 'Cydippe is fair', and the poet himself in Prop. 1.18.22), but lines from his *Amores* (cf. Ovid, *Her.* 5.29–30 and Calpurnius Siculus 1.33 ff., where a poem of 56 lines is inscribed on a beech tree!). In line 54 'crescetes, amores', the verb suggests that his love poems will become ever more famous (cf. Prop. 3.1.33–4 'Homerus / posteritate suum crescere sensit opus', Horace, *Odes* 3.30.8). Individual words in *Ecl.* 10 have been tentatively attributed to Gallus, e.g. 'spelaea' (52, elsewhere in Latin poetry only at *Ciris* 467 until the time of Claudian). Likewise with phrases: when Tragoedia asks Ovid 'ecquis erit . . . tibi finis amandi?' (*Am.* 3.1.15), one may wonder about the relationship to *Ecl.* 10.28 'ecquis erit modus?' (Pan to Gallus).

David Ross (*Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry*, 85 ff.) follows F. Skutsch (*Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (Leipzig, 1901), 2–27, particularly 15, and *Gallus und Vergil* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1906), 155–92) in comparing Gallus' hunting among 'Parthenios . . . saltus' (*Ecl.* 10.57) with Milanion hunting 'Partheniis . . . in antris' (Prop. 1.1.11). Propertius 2.19.17 ff. (from a poem not discussed by Ross, but mentioned by Skutsch and, earlier, Jacoby) may comment humorously on a poem of Gallus underlying *Ecl.* 10.55 ff. Gallus hunts the boar, 'acris venabor apros' (56), but Propertius' bravery does not stretch beyond hares and birds (2.29.17–24):

ipse ego venabor . . .
 incipiam captare feras et reddere pinu 19
 cornua, et audacis ipse monere canes;
 non tamen ut vastos ausim temptare leones
 aut celer agrestis comminus ire suos.
 haec igitur mihi sit lepores audacia mollis
 excipere et structo figere avem calamo.

In Ovid, *Met.* 10.535 ff. Venus hunts with Adonis, but avoids dangerous animals and urges him to do the same.

We can with some confidence recover from *Ecl.* 10 the outlines of an elegy (or series of elegies, as Prop. 1.8B continues 1.8A) describing how Gallus' beloved Lycoris left him for a soldier rival, with whom she went to Gaul or Germany. The soldier as a rival in love to the hero is to be found in comedy. He is the Pyrgopolinices ('Conqueror of many fortresses') of Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* (and its Greek model *Alazon*) who takes Philocomasium against her will from Athens to Ephesus (99–113). This figure appears in Propertius 1.8 and 2.16 (where he is said to be a praetor). Verbal similarities between *Ecl.* 10 and Prop. 1.8 (see below) strongly suggest that Propertius is drawing on the lost poem(s) of Gallus, but he has made several changes—the rival is serving in Illyricum, not Gaul or Germany, and (at the last moment) Cynthia decides not to go with him (1.8B.1 'Hic erit! hic iurata manet!'). Ovid gives a sinister twist to the soldier rival; he is clearly a profiteer from the recent civil wars, 'sanguine pastus eques' (*Am.* 3.8.10). In a different genre, compare the senator's wife who goes off with a gladiator (Juvenal 6.82–113), cheerfully enduring the discomforts of shipboard (90, 92–4), which would be too much for Propertius' Cynthia (1.8A.5–6), and even giving the sailors a hand with the rigging (102).

Servius (Intr. to *Ecl.* 10, p. 118 Thilo) tells us that the lover for whom Lycoris abandoned Gallus was none other than Mark Antony. Certainly Volumnia/Cytheris/Lycoris (see on 145.1) was, as a matter of historical fact, attached to him, but that liaison preceded her affair with Cornelius Gallus. One might think it unnecessary to seek a real identity for the stock literary type of Gallus' soldier rival, but Nisbet (*JRS* (1979), 153) wonders about D. Brutus or Lycoris' patron Volumnius Eutrapelus. He is also concerned (*ibid.*) to find a plausible background for the military operations in Gaul or Germany, but we are not well informed about this area in the mid to late 40s BC.

On line 46 ('tu procul a patria . . .') Servius makes his famous comment 'hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus'. We have already noted (p. 231 on Gallus and Euphorion) the tendency of ancient commentators to exaggerate the dependence of their poet on a predecessor. Here one must make the obvious qualification that Gallus wrote his *Amores* in elegiacs. But in this case it seems likely that not only the theme but also the wording closely follows the model. For example 'me sine sola vides?' (48) could well end a pentameter, as observed by Coleman and Clausen in their commentaries. 'Tu procul a patria'—note that Servius makes his comment precisely at this point—might begin a new poem; several Propertian elegies open with an emphatic pronoun, including 1.8A.1 'Tunc igitur demens . . .?' It seems highly probable that Prop. 1.8A.7–8 'tu pedibus teneris positas fulcra

pruinās, / tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives?’ imitate a lost elegy of Gallus rather than the tenth *Eclogue*. Virgil’s threefold ‘a’ might be a mannerism of Gallus’ elegy (as of neoteric epyllion, Cat. 64.135, Calvus, *Io*, 20, *Ciris* 185, cf. Virgil, *Georgics* 4.526), humorously overdone. For ‘a’ in the elegists, see A. Kershaw, *CP* 75 (1980), 71–2.

A few miscellaneous points. (a) A curious parallel to speculation about the effects of the harsh climate may be found in Cicero, *In Catilinam* 2.23 ‘quo autem pacto illi [the ‘pueri . . . delicati’ who follow Catiline] ‘Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nivis perferent?’ (b) I would be inclined to put a question mark after ‘me sine sola vides’ (*Ecl.* 10.48). (c) *Ecl.* 10.44–5 ‘nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis / tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis’ are explained by Servius as referring to Gallus’ thoughts, which are constantly with Lycoris in the soldier’s camp (cf. Prop. 4.8.48 ‘Lanuvii ad portas, ei mihi, solus eram’). If that interpretation is rejected, as by Nisbet (p. 154 n. 146) and, seemingly, Clausen, I do not see how the lines are to be understood satisfactorily. Clausen writes (p. 104) ‘Gallus seems to have forgotten for the moment that he is in Arcadia’—a short memory indeed! In my opinion there is much to be said for the emendation ‘te’ (Heumann, Heyne) in 44. Gallus would like to be with Lycoris in his present surroundings (‘hic’ (43), i.e. in Arcadia), but, as things are (‘nunc’, 44), mad love (Lycoris’ love for the soldier) keeps her away from him. Coleman objects to the emendation that an officer’s mistress should not be so close to the front line (recognizing that this is not a strong objection since there could be deliberate hyperbole), that the emphatic ‘tu’ (46) implies a contrast with the person referred to in the previous lines—that could, but surely need not, be so—and that elsewhere in the poem *Gallus*’ madness is emphasized—but Cynthia is ‘demens’ in Prop. 1.8A.1. It is only Lycoris’ crazy infatuation that keeps the couple apart. We know that in real life Gallus was a soldier, but that fact is best kept out of the tenth *Eclogue*.

Professor Nisbet (*per litteras*) had thought that Gallus was in ‘Arcadia’ only in imagination, and that with ‘nunc’ (44) he returns to reality. But he now acknowledges the case for ‘te’ in 44, noting in its favour that Gallus remains in his dream-world for the rest of the poem.

142

This passage has already been discussed (on 139) with regard to Gallus and Euphronius; here I add some details. The Permessus is mentioned (but given no special significance) in Hesiod’s invocation which precedes his encounter

with the Muses (*Theog.* 5). Callimachus almost certainly wrote in his *Aetia*-prologue *Ἀγανίππη* / <—υ> *Περμησσοῦ παρθένος Ἀονίου* (lemmata from fr. 2a, in Pfeiffer vol. II, pp. 102–3); the spring is ‘daughter’ of the river from which it draws its water. Nicander (*Ther.* 12) speaks of Hesiod *παρ’ ὕδασι Περμησσοῖο*. Although mentioned by Gallus, Virgil, and Propertius (2.10.26, see above on 139), the Permessus did not become part of the standard vocabulary of poetic initiation (never, for example, in Ovid or Statius), unlike *Ἀόνιος* (Aonius), ‘Boeotian’ (e.g. Cornelius Severus, 209), which may have been inaugurated by Callimachus (above), cf. Euphorion, *SH* 442.1 *Ἀονίωιο* (probably agreeing with a lost noun). Virgil’s ‘Aonas in montis’ comes from Aon, the name of a Boeotian hero (*Stat. Theb.* 8.475). That form, as an adjective, must have occurred somewhere in lost Hellenistic poetry (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἄονες* . . . καὶ Ἄων τὸ ἔθνικὸν καὶ Ἀόνιος, Nonnus, *Dion.* 5.37 *Ἄονι* . . . λαῶι). Latin ‘Aonius’ is found first in Catullus 61.28, linked to Aganippe. In *Ecl.* 10.12 we read ‘Aonie Aganippe’; it would not be surprising if (as Clausen suggests) both the adjective and the name of the spring occurred in Gallus.

For speculation about the ancestry of the role which Virgil gave to Linus as ‘divino carmine pastor’ (67, cf. *Ecl.* 4.56–7, Prop. 2.13.8) see Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry*, 21–3, 34–6, 118–20. We have noticed (on 139) that Grynean Apollo was of interest to Parthenius (fr. 10 Lightfoot = *SH* 620) as well as Euphorion. This cult-title appeared in Parthenius’ *Delos* (perhaps part of the reason why ‘Latonia Delos’ is called a commonplace theme in Virgil, *Georgics* 3.6). So it may be significant that *Ecl.* 6.73 is quite close to Callimachus, *Hymn* 4.269–70 (Delos herself speaks) οὐδέ τις ἄλλη / γαίανω τοσσόνδε θεῶι πεφιλῆσεται ἄλλωι.

143

The collection of Parthenius’ *Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα* (‘Sufferings in Love’, Lightfoot), with its dedication to Cornelius Gallus, is a fascinating document, now admirably edited (together with Parthenius’ poetic fragments) by Jane Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford, 1999). As well as her commentary on the Preface (pp. 367–71), see her pages (50–76) on Parthenius in Rome, with much on Euphorion and Gallus. A dedicatory preface will always contain flattery of the addressee. Nonetheless there are some points which we can make with fair confidence: (a) at the time of writing Gallus had already established his reputation as a poet, and remained active; (b) he was associated with the kind of subject matter which the *Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα* contains (unhappy love, often with something monstrous attached and ending in total

disaster), such as Helvius Cinna too had chosen for his epyllion *Smyrna* (7–10); (c) in poetic craftsmanship Gallus aimed at, and achieved, τὸ περιττόν ('refined elaboration', Lightfoot), a quality associated with Gallus' admired model, Euphorion of Chalcis, in an epigram by Theodoridas, *Anth. Pal.* 7.406 = 14 Gow–Page, 1. Although the epigram is hostile and full of obscene double meanings, τὸ περιττόν would normally be commendable (cf. Lightfoot, p. 370). Thus it seems that, at the time when Parthenius wrote this dedication (? early to mid 40s BC, but see Lightfoot p. 217), Gallus' reputation for style and technique was distinctly different from Quintilian's 'durior Gallus' (138h).

Jane Lightfoot (p. 367) notes that τὴν ἄθροισιν strictly ought to mean 'the collecting' rather than 'the Collection'; and the strict sense could be particularly appropriate to Gallus if he had patronized the kind of 'collective' or 'catalogue' poetry typical of Euphorion (see on 139). Probably no one would argue nowadays that *Ecl.* 6 contains a list of subjects treated by Gallus, but it may give us an idea of Euphorion's manner in Latin; if so, the intrusion of Gallus into this poem would not be out of place. Parthenius stresses that 'in certain of the poets' (παρὰ τισι τῶν ποιητῶν) his myths may not be 'told in their entirety' (αὐτοτελῶς λελεγμένα). Although he does not name these poets, his words would suit Euphorion well.

Without doubt the 'manchettes' (Lightfoot, p. 247 n. 121) attached to most of the *Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα*, giving sources for the myths, do not go back to Parthenius himself (Lightfoot, pp. 247–56). They represent considerable effort and learning, but sometimes the annotator had to admit defeat. Even when he names a source, we cannot be sure that this was the one used by Parthenius; for example it looks as though the conclusion of 16 (Laodice) was drawn from Euphorion (fr. 58 P.) and perhaps Lycophron (*Alexandra* 494–505), but neither is mentioned in the manchettes at this point. While Parthenius' Preface speaks of poets handling these myths, the manchettes mostly cite prose writers (Lightfoot, p. 248).

Parthenius anticipates that Gallus will use the most convenient parts εἰς ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας, 'for hexameter and elegiac verse' (Clausen, *Virgil: Eclogues*, 204, slightly misrepresents with 'for either hexameter or elegiac verse'). We know that Gallus wrote elegies. These words do not prove that he wrote hexameter poems, but show at least that Parthenius expected him to do so, and are consistent with the hypothesis that he had done so already. Parthenius himself employed both metres in Greek (frs. 1–14 and 27–32 Lightfoot definitely elegiac, frs. 33–4 definitely hexametric). Of the Latin neoteric poets, at least Catullus (64 and 68) and Calvus (*Io* and *Lament for Quintilia*) wrote substantial poems in hexameters and in elegiacs; Cinna too showed metrical versatility, though his one certain elegiac fragment (13) looks to come from an epigram. Finally, some have argued that the omission of Ovid in

Diomedes, GLK I p. 484 ('Elegia . . . quod genus carminis praecipue scripserunt apud Romanos Propertius et Tibullus et Gallus, imitati Graecos Callimachum et Euphoriona') is due to the fact that Ovid wrote non-elegiac poems—it follows (so runs the argument) that Gallus, like Propertius and Tibullus, wrote nothing but elegies. That, however, would put far too much weight on Diomedes, who is almost certainly wrong in stating that Euphorion was an elegist (see on 139). On this point I agree with J. E. G. Zetzel (*CP* 72 (1977), 250), against David Ross (*Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry*, 44).

144 (1 Bl., C.)

uno tellures dividit amne duas: Vibius Sequester (? c.A.D. 500) compiled an alphabetical list of rivers, fountains, etc., mentioned by certain poets. It seems enormously unlikely that Vibius had access to a complete text of Cornelius Gallus; we have to take it on trust from whoever originally made the quotation that Gallus referred to the Hypanis rather than e.g. the Tanais (see below). The probable source is a commentary (fuller than anything we now possess) on either Virgil, *Georgics* 4.370 'saxosusque sonans Hypanis' or—note the mention of Scythia—Ovid, *Met.* 15.285 'Scythicus Hypanis de montibus ortus'. If the latter, this would be an addendum to my paper 'Traces of Ancient Commentaries on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', *PLLS* 9 (1996), 159–74. Vibius must have been proud of this rare item, since (unusually) he both names the poet and quotes verbatim, as he does for Varro (Atacinus) in 125.2, where we can see that his source is a commentary on the *Eclogues*. Another item surviving uniquely in Vibius (83) is a reference to Stesichorus on the Himera, possibly (see Gelsomino, *Vibius Sequester*, p. xlvii) from a commentary on Silius Italicus 8.233 ff.

There is nothing 'durum' about Gallus' pentameter; on the contrary, his word-patterning is highly artistic. Two numbers span the line ('uno . . . duas'); 'uno tellures . . . amne duas' produces both an ABAB arrangement (ablative–accusative–ablative–accusative) and a chiasmus (number–noun–noun–number). 'Dividit' appropriately stands at the mid-point of the line (with two words on either side) and the word 'amne' splits 'tellures . . . duas' just as the river itself splits the continents.

Most commonly (as indeed in Vibius 148) the river which divides Europe from Asia is the Tanais (Don), e.g. in Manilius 4.677, Lucan 3.273–6, Dion. Per. 660–1, cf. J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge, 1948), 254. No other authority makes Hypanis (Bug) the boundary. Propertius uses the Hypanis to illustrate the width of his separation from Cynthia

(1.12.3–4 ‘tam multa illa meo divisa est milia lecto / quantum Hypanis Veneto dissidet Eridano’) and elsewhere suggests ways in which a faraway river might have functioned in love poetry: e.g. to show the impossibility of escape (2.30.1–2 ‘tu licet usque / ad Tanain fugias, usque sequetur Amor’), or the extent of the poet’s and his beloved’s fame (2.7.17–18 ‘hinc etiam tantum meruit mea gloria nomen, / gloria ad hibernos lata Borysthenidas’, cf. Catullus 95.5 = 7(a) on Cinna’s *Smyrna* and the Satrachus).

Ovid expands Gallus’ pentameter into a whole couplet in *Ex Ponto* 4.10.55–6 ‘quique duas terras, Asiam Cadmique sororem, / separat et cursus inter utramque facit’, but he must have in mind the Tanais, since the Hypanis has just been mentioned (47). Gallus may have named the Hypanis in his preceding hexameter. Finally, note Ovid, *Heroides* 19.142 (on the Dardanelles) ‘seducit terras haec brevis unda duas’, perhaps a more distant echo of Gallus.

145 (2–5 Bl., 2 C.)

First intimations of the papyrus discovery, from a fortress in Egyptian Nubia (above, p. 225), were given by R. D. Anderson (*JEA* 64 (1978), 2, ‘a Latin poem probably in honour of Augustus’). Publication followed in *JRS* 69 (1979), 125–55, by R. D. Anderson (‘The Archaeological Context’), P. J. Parsons (‘The Papyrus’, and ‘Text, Translation and Commentary’ jointly with Nisbet), and R. G. M. Nisbet (‘The Poet, Metre and Style’, ‘The Literary Framework, and the Historical Context’) with actual size and enlarged photographs. Nisbet’s contribution was reprinted in his *Collected Papers on Latin Literature*, ed. S. J. Harrison (Oxford, 1995), 101–31, but I refer to the original *JRS* publication because it contains the other sections.

For more on the papyrus, see G. Ballaira, *Esempi di scrittura latina dell’età romana*, I (Alessandria, 1993), 31–42. His bibliography takes into account the view put forward by F. Brunhölzl (*Codices Manuscripti*, 10 (1984), 33–7) that the writing on the papyrus is a modern forgery (an idea entertained by one or two others). On this topic I have also seen an unpublished paper by P. J. Parsons, rebutting Professor Brunhölzl’s papyrological arguments. The great majority of scholars have accepted the fragments as genuine and by Gallus (G. Giangrande, *QUCC* NS 5 (1980), 141–52, believed that they were ancient, but written by a poet other than Gallus who could have addressed Gallus’ Lycoris in the vocative). The alleged forger, who would have needed at least the complicity of the excavation team, also must have possessed a mixture of learning, incompetence, cunning, and sheer good luck that stretches credulity

to breaking point. Presumably a test on the ink would be decisive, if it were thought worth destroying a portion of the writing for this purpose.

As Parsons explains (*JRS* (1979), 129), ‘The text is articulated, after col. i. 1, 5 and 9, and col. 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).’ These signs are naturally taken to mark an important break between col. i. lines 1 and 2, 5 and 6, 9 and 10, and col. ii. 4 and 5 (the only letters in col. ii which can be read certainly are Qui at the start of line 5). Ballaira (p. 33) thought that the symbol represents Hic desinit and Hic incipit; J. B. Hall, *CR* NS 47 (1997), 227, is not totally convinced. On the face of it we seem to have a sequence of separate four-line epigrams, but see the further discussion at the end of commentary on this item. We do not know how much is lost at the foot of column i (Parsons, *JHS* (1979), 127). I will not discuss in detail the orthography of the papyrus (which may be Gallus’ own); see *JHS* (1979), 132–4. It is interesting that Gallus’ Philae inscription has ‘deivi’ (genitive singular) and ‘dieis patrieis’ among many spellings in simple ‘i’ (*JHS* (1979), 134 n. 67), whereas the Vatican obelisk had ‘divi’.

1. In this pentameter [. . fact]a (Nisbet) would be good, [. . fat]a perhaps (but not certainly) on the short side. Nisbet (140) supplied as the preceding hexameter (purely *exempli gratia*) ‘tempora sic nostrae perierunt grata iuventae’.

nequitia: both Propertius (1.15.38; 2.5.2) and Ovid (*Am.* 3.11.37) ascribe *nequitia* to their mistress, and stand accused of it themselves (*Prop.* 2.24.6; *Ov. Am.* 2.1.2 and 3.1.17). The word is not to be found in Tibullus.

Lycori: it is indeed fortunate that this very first line contains the beloved’s name, thus pointing to the authorship of the text. Horace chooses the name Lycoris in a poem addressed to another elegist, Tibullus (*Odes* 1.33.5 ‘insignem tenui fronte Lycorida’).

The lady’s proper name, as a freedwoman of P. Volumnius Eutrapelus, was Volumnia (the identification already in Servius’ introduction to *Ecl.* 10, p. 118 Thilo, ‘Cytheridem meretricem, libertam Volumnii’). That was how respectable townspeople had to address her in May 49 BC (*Cic. Phil.* 2.58, written some five years later): ‘inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti, obviam necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine [sc. Cytheris] sed Volumniam consalutabant’ (cf. *Ad Att.* 10.10=201 SB. 5 and 10.16=208 SB. 5, both written at the time). So too Cicero calls her in a letter to his wife (*Ad Fam.* 14.16=163 SB, January 47 BC), ‘Volumnia debuit in te officiosior esse quam fuit, et id ipsum quod

fecit potuit diligentius facere et cautius'—evidently an unsatisfactory episode for Terentia! On stage she was Cytheris, and late in 46 BC Cicero found himself at dinner with her and her patron (*Ad Fam.* 9.26=197 SB. 2): 'infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit . . . non mehercule suspicatus sum illam adfore', but he seems to have enjoyed the occasion well enough.

'Lycoris' was thus an exact metrical equivalent of the stage name Cytheris; this principle applies to all the poetic pseudonyms for which we know the real names (Lesbia/Clodia, Delia/Plania, Perilla/Metella (see on Ticidea, 101)) with the odd exception of Cynthia/Hostia where the real name would sometimes cause a hiatus or fail to lengthen a preceding syllable. Most of these pseudonyms suggest either a Greek lyric poetess (Lesbia, Corinna) or a title of Apollo (Cynthia, Delia); Varro Atacinus' Leucadia (133a) did both. It is appropriate that Gallus drew on a more obscure cult-title (as he did with 'Grynean' Apollo), *Λυκωρεύς*, used by his hero Euphorion (fr. 80.3 Powell *Λυκωρέος οἰκία Φοίβου*) and, earlier, by Callimachus (*Hymn* 2.19). Ap. Rh. (4.1490) has *Λυκώρειος*.

2–5. The identification of 'Caesar', and of his anticipated military campaign, has been much debated without producing general agreement. If he is Octavian, we could think of operations in Illyria in the mid-30s (favoured by Hutchinson, *ZPE* 41 (1981), 37–42 at 40) or the attack upon Egypt in 30 BC—David West, *LCM* 8 (1983), 92–3, thinks that Gallus is remaining in Egypt and sending Octavian off homewards. Both these possibilities were considered by Nisbet (*JRS* (1979), 152). Even allowing for the exaggerations of panegyric (Hutchinson), the Illyrian campaign would hardly make Octavian 'maxima Romanae pars . . . historiae', and, if Gallus were in Alexandria bidding farewell to Octavian in the summer of 30 BC, 'it seems tactless to imply in the aftermath of victory that he will be sad till he reads of the triumph in the histories' (Nisbet p. 152, though I would understand 'legam' (5) differently). Thus I am inclined (with Nisbet, *ibid.*) to go back to Julius Caesar and to his planned invasion of Parthia which was only three days away when the Dictator was assassinated. Victory in this would have made Caesar a second Alexander and 'the greatest part of Roman history', greater even than the Scipios who defeated and destroyed Carthage. In favour of Octavian, Hutchinson (*ZPE* 41 (1981), 38) urges the 'extreme warmth' with which Gallus addresses 'Caesar', better suited (in real terms) to Gallus' relationship with Octavian. But the expression of what sounds like personal devotion to a ruler, even when there is no personal link to justify it, can be paralleled down the ages.

There are two other poems which seem considerably indebted to these lines of Gallus. The first is Propertius 3.4, predicting an (unrealized) invasion of Parthia by Augustus in the mid to late 20s BC—this slightly supports reference of Gallus' words to the Dictator's Parthian project. Links between the poems,

recognized by Nisbet, were usefully stressed by C. J. Putnam, 'Propertius and the New Gallus Fragment', *ZPE* 39 (1980), 49–56. Propertius sends the expeditionary force on its way to be of service to Roman history by avenging the Crassi (9–10):

Crassos clademque piate!
ite et Romanae consulite historiae!

He looks forward to the time when he will witness Caesar's triumph and the wagons laden with spoil (12 ff.):

ante meos obitus sit precor illa dies
qua videam spoliis oneratos Caesaris axis . . . etc.

A third parallel may be delusive: Propertius will read the placards bearing the names of captured towns as the floats go by (16 'titulis oppida capta legam'). No problem there, but it is by no means certain that this helps us to understand 'legam' in Gallus, line 5 (see ad loc.).

The other relevant poem is surprising: the pseudo-Ovidian *Consolatio ad Liviam*, a poor composition supposedly marking the death of Drusus in 9 BC but perhaps written in the principate of Tiberius (J. Richmond, *ANRW* II.31.4 (1981), 2768–83). This poem was adduced by H. Schoonhoven, *ZPE* 53 (1983), 73–8. Livia's son did not return in triumph, but (267–8)

pars erit historiae, totoque legetur in aevo,
seque opus ingeniis carminibusque dabit.

It seems highly probable that the minor poet borrowed 'pars erit historiae', and something of the surrounding context, from Gallus, even though the situation which he described was very different.

2 fata . . . mea: *pace* Nisbet (p. 141), who remains unconvinced, I think that this phrase means 'my death'; the plural is often used for the death of one individual (e.g. *Aen.* 4.20 'fata Sychaei'). There was an established *topos*, 'May I die as soon as I receive some particularly welcome news / witness or experience something particularly pleasurable.' Thus Euripides, *Electra* 663 (of Clytemnestra's death) *εἰ γὰρ θάνοιμι τοῦτ' ἰδὼν ἐγὼ ποτε*. See further my note on Callimachus, *Hecale* fr. 161 *τεθναίην ὄτ' ἐκείνον ἀποπνεύσαντα πυθούμην* and Kost on Musaeus 79 *αὐτίκα τεθναίην λεχέων ἐπιβήμενος Ἥροῦς* (a moment of felicity which could never be bettered). This interpretation of 'fata . . . mea' would go with 'survey' or 'read the inscriptions on' (rather than 'read in the history books') for 'legam' (5). If there is meant to be an artistic contrast between 'dulcia' (2) and 'tristia' (1)—as seems likely, though not certain—the quatrain (?) which ended with line 1 could have contained a suggestion that Lycoris' *nequitia* would be the death of the poet (*Ecl.* 10.10

‘indigno cum Gallus amore peribat’, perhaps 138*d*, cf. Prop. 2.1.78 ‘huic misero fatum dura puella fuit’).

tum erunt: this (and other examples with final ‘m’) should perhaps be considered not a ‘hiatus’ but rather the survival of an old licence whereby -m was not always disregarded before an open vowel (Priscian, GLK, II p. 30 ‘vetustissimi non semper eam subtrahebant’, quoting Ennius, *Annals* 330 Skutsch ‘milia militum octo’). Other examples are *Ann.* 514 ‘quidem unus’, Lucilius 4 Warmington ‘quam homo’, Lucretius 2.681 ‘cum odore’, 3.394 ‘quam in his’, 3.1082 ‘dum abest’, 6.276 ‘cum eo’, Horace, *Sat.* 2.2.28 ‘num adest’. There is also the remarkable *Ecl.* 8.11 ‘a te principium, tibi desinam. accipe iussis’, which is facilitated by the heavy pause at the bucolic diaeresis (likewise the complete hiatus at *Aen.* 1.405 ‘patuit dea. ille ubi matrem’). If allowing metrical force to -m before an open vowel was an old-fashioned feature, like cutting off a final ‘s’ (see introduction to Egnatius, p. 87 above), that too might be considered ‘subrusticum’ and a sign of Gallus’ less than perfect technique. There is no parallel for ‘tum erunt’ in elegy; Courtney compares Catullus 97.1 ‘di ament’ but such correption (shortening) of a long vowel or diphthong is surely quite different. Lyne (ap. Nisbet, *JRS* (1979), 141) would remove the anomaly by rearrangement (‘tum, Caesar, erunt’) but I prefer to keep the transmitted order.

quom: *cum* began to replace *quom* in Cicero’s time, but Quintilian (1.7.5) tells us that many people still maintained a distinction between *quom* (conjunction) and *cum* (preposition). See Parsons, *JRS* (1979), 132, and Helvius Cinna, 2, where manuscript variants may point to an original ‘quom’.

3. maxima Romanae pars eris historiae: in fact the scribe wrote ‘erit’, which one or two have tried to defend, in vain. For ‘Romanae . . . historiae’ (or another case) thus placed, cf. Propertius 3.4.10 (quoted above), [Virgil], *Catalepton* 11.6, Martial 14.191.2).

historiae: I would understand this, with M. C. J. Putnam (*ZPE* 39 (1980), 51) ‘not as written record but as *res gestae*, as the chain of events whose accounting constitutes that record’ (cf. *OLD*, *historia* 3). According to Nisbet (p. 141) ‘*historiae* refers to historiography, not to the events themselves’; this goes with his interpretation of *legam* (5). ‘The greatest part of Roman History’ would be an appropriate designation for a leader who could conquer the Parthian Empire (see above on lines 2–5).

4–5. An extraordinarily contorted couplet, of which the interpretation remains far from clear.

4. postque tuum reditum: as Nisbet says (p. 141), the -que indicates that 4–5 are still under ‘quom’ (2).

5. fixa . . . spolieis: normal would be ‘spolia in templis [or ‘templis’] figere’, but Gallus’ phrase extends normal usage in the kind of way which one

expects from a poet. Courtney (p. 266) compares Lucr. 5.1205 ‘stellisque micantibus aethera fixum’. The precise attachment of ‘deivitoria’ is uncertain—perhaps ‘the richer for being hung with your trophies’ (Nisbet, p. 143, admitting that the word-order is very artificial).

legam: perhaps the most puzzling of all the difficulties. Without great confidence I take this to mean ‘scan’, ‘survey’, a rare sense of the verb (*Aen.* 6.755, Silius 12.569); see Putnam, *ZPE* 39 (1980), 52 with n. 10. Courtney follows Schoonhoven (*ZPE* 53 (1983), 77) in understanding ‘templa legere’ as ‘to read the dedicatory inscriptions on the temples’ (a ‘concentrated sense’, Courtney 266). Nisbet, in accord with his interpretation of ‘historiae’ (3), takes ‘legam’ as ‘I will read about [in the history books]’. He speaks (p. 141) of Eastern wars as a subject for ‘instant historiography’. But Caesar’s triumph would surely anticipate even the most energetic historian, and so the impact of Gallus’ words would be curiously weakened. As David West says (*LCM* 8 (1983), 92), Gallus could see the enrichment of the temples just by walking down the street—Nisbet’s remarks (p. 142) about Gallus’ isolation from Caesar’s victories were designed to counter such an objection. Things would be different if Gallus had made clear that he faced a prolonged absence from Rome, and West (*LCM* 8 (1983), 92) dates the epigram to 30 BC, at the beginning of his governorship of Egypt, but that is less attractive for other reasons (Nisbet, p. 152).

6–9. A quatrain on Gallus’ inspiration and the quality of his verse. Since it comes from the Muses and [perhaps] has the approval of Lycoris herself, he need not fear the adverse judgement of critics.

6. tandem: an appropriate word to express satisfaction as a work nears completion. So there may be implications for our overall view of the papyrus (to be discussed below). We need not take ‘tandem’ literally as referring to a lengthy period of composition (like the *Smyrna* of Cinna) or to any previously unsuccessful efforts. Before ‘tandem’ Peter Brown suggested ‘haec mihi]i vix’, and Parsons (*JRS* (1979), 144) judges ‘vix’ to be ‘possible, except that the highest traces at the end must be taken as stray ink’. Alternatively one might think of an epithet for the Muses (e.g. ‘Castaliae’, ‘Aonides’), but neither -es nor -ae fits the traces at all well (*JRS* (1979), 143).

fecerunt carmina Musae: it was not uncommon to represent the Muses as co-authors with the poet, as does Euphorion, fr. 118 Powell *Μούσαι ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀπροτίματος Ὀμηρος* (the object may be the *Iliad* and/or *Odyssey*, or part(s) thereof). That fragment was adduced by D. E. Keefe in *CQ* NS 32 (1982), 237–8. I would not put too much weight on the fact that the author is Gallus’ model, since the *topos* is found elsewhere, e.g. in Asclepiades, *Anth. Pal.* 9.63 = 32 G–P, 4 τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου (on the *Lyde*), Crinagoras, *Anth. Pal.* 9.513 = 49 G–P, 2 ἔγραφεν ἢ Μουσέων σὺν μηϊ ἢ

Χαρίτων (sc. the plays of Menander), Lucr. 1.24 (to Venus) ‘te sociam studeo scribendis versibus esse’. From such joint composition it is but a short step to representing the deity as responsible for everything (thus, of course, guaranteeing the quality) as in Horace, *Epist.* 2.2.92 ‘caelumque novem Musis opus’ (of an elegiac poet), Prop. 4.1.133 ‘tum tibi pauca suo de carmine dictat Apollo’.

7. quae possem domina dicere digna mea: ‘that I could call worthy of my mistress’; Courtney’s interpretation (p. 267), now accepted by Nisbet (who in *JRS* (1979), 144 had offered ‘utter as worthy of my mistress’). This suits ‘idem’ (apparently a critical judgement) in 8. The poems are ‘worthy of Lycoris’ perhaps not only because of her beauty but also because she was a discriminating critic (cf. *Ecl.* 10.2 ‘quae legat ipsa Lycoris), like Propertius’ Cynthia (2.13.12 ‘auribus et puris scripta probasse mea’).

domina: though it is found in Lucilius (738 Warmington), Gallus introduced to elegy this term for the beloved. In Catullus 68.68 we should retain the manuscripts’ ‘dominam’, referring to the châtelaine of Allius’ house (see L. P. Wilkinson, *CR NS* 20 (1970), 290).

digna mea: Stephen Hinds, ‘Carmina Digna . . .’ (*PLLS* 4 (1983), 43–54) collects many examples of that combination, one or two of which may be deliberate echoes of Gallus (e.g. Ovid, *Amores* 1.3.20 ‘provenient causa carmina digna sua’, cf. *CQ NS* 30 (1980), 542).

].atur: as possible patterns for the beginning of the hexameter, Nisbet (pp. 144–5) offers ‘quodsi iam videatur’, ‘quae si iam testatur (or “confiteatur”’, describing the latter as ‘more pointed’ but finally preferring the former, because ‘though Gallus can address both Lycoris and the critics, Lycoris does not so naturally address the critics’. That seems an unnecessary worry: Lycoris could be imagined as a *testis*, appearing before Viscus as *iudex* to give evidence for the quality of Gallus’ verse.

8–9. non ego, Visce, / . . . iudice te vereor: one can hardly doubt that there is deliberate reminiscence between these lines and Virgil, *Ecl.* 2.26–7 ‘non ego Daphnin / iudice te metuam’. Nisbet (p. 144), followed by Courtney, is inclined to give priority to Virgil, and several small indicators point that way. Virgil’s words have some warrant (*Id.* 6.37, ὡς παρ’ ἐμὴν κέκριται) in the Theocritan model for this passage of *Ecl.* 2 (Courtney 267); also (Nisbet p. 144) ‘non ego Daphnin’ after the bucolic diaeresis is characteristic of the *Eclogues* (cf. 7.7 ‘atque ego Daphnin’, 8.102 ‘his ego Daphnin’).

If Gallus is the imitator, there are chronological implications. Nisbet (p. 144 with n. 109) takes up C. G. Hardie’s dating of *Ecl.* 2 as early as 45 BC (‘Octavian and *Eclogue* 1’, in *The Ancient Historian and his Materials: Essays in Honour of C. E. Stevens* (1975), 111). I doubt, however, the force of Hardie’s argument that Pollio must have been in Italy to encourage Virgil to start the

Eclogues (cf. 8.11–12 ‘iussis / carmina coepta tuis’) and that 45 BC was the only convenient gap in Pollio’s absences from Italy. Pollio could well have made the request by letter. Courtney (p. 267) maintains the traditional date (c.42 BC) for *Eclogue* 2, and welcomes the conclusion that lines 6–9 of 145 were written some two years after 145.2–5 (if the ‘Caesar’ is Julius), because he believes that this papyrus contains an anthology of extracts from Gallus’ poetry. I myself would not regard the arguments for Virgil’s priority as decisive.

8. Visce: Horace in *Satires* 1.10.83 mentions two Visci whose judgement he values (‘et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque’). According to [Acro] ad loc. they were brothers, whose father had been a friend of Augustus (when Augustus was still Octavian?) but remained an *equus* after his sons had become senators. If the information can be trusted (a considerable doubt), this reference would suit the 30s BC rather better than the 40s—a point conceded by Nisbet, p. 145. A single Viscus appears also in Horace, *Sat.* 1.9.22 and 2.8.20 (cf. F. Verducci, *QUCC* NS 16 (1984), 127 n. 16).

9. A baffling and most frustrating line. With what we can read, and traces of some preceding letters, it ought to be possible (one feels) to suggest plausible restorations. Particularly puzzling is KATO. Is this a proper name? The initial K might possibly indicate so, but the evidence is murky (Parsons, *JRS* (1979), 134 with n. 77). In that case there should be a preceding interpunct, and the traces before K could indeed suggest an interpunct preceded by a very narrow letter (I or E); if, however, A (not impossible and apparently more promising) preceded K, any interpunct must have stood higher up, in an area where the surface of the papyrus is now damaged.

Almost everyone has taken ‘Kato’ to be a proper name here, and a suitable candidate presents himself in the person of the scholar-poet P. Valerius Cato (Appendix, p. 429, where I list references to him and his works in several other writers). There is no problem (*pace* Hutchinson, *ZPE* 41 (1981), 41) in linking this Cato with Viscus, since the former probably lived on till the 20s BC, and even a positive inducement to recognize him here since the ‘Gallus’ who is informed about Cato’s financial plight in *Furius Bibaculus* 85.1 could quite well be Cornelius. For his activity as a severe critic we can compare the spurious lines (240) prefixed to Horace, *Satires* 1.10 in which Cato is said to ‘correct’ (*emendare*) inferior verses of Lucilius. Nisbet and the great majority of scholars take ‘Kato’ to be vocative case. If so, ‘te’ (9) must cover both ‘Visce’ and ‘Kato’, which has caused some concern (e.g. to Courtney 267–8 and myself in *CQ* NS 30 (1980), 541–2). Hutchinson (*ZPE* 41 (1981), 41) compares *Catullus* 4.13–15 ‘Amastri Pontica et Cytore buxifer, / tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima / ait phaselus’. He notes, however, that the conditional clause, as well as ‘te’, would have to

apply also to Cato, concluding 'The total result feels to me exceedingly uncomfortable in its compression.'

Before KATO the traces could represent V̄PL̄A or V̄PL̄E (*JRS* (1979), 139, 145); before V̄ apparently 'a short oblique, descending from left to right, a little above base-level', perhaps an interpunct or part of the right side of A, K, M, R, X, though W. S. Barrett suggested to me (*CQ* (1980), 541 n. 1, in connection with the possibility of đupl̄a, mentioned below) that the apparent 'short oblique' might conceivably be a cross-section from the thick base of a D. If there is a word-break before KATO, the only Latin words consonant with the preceding traces are quad]rupla (or -e) and perhaps dupla (or -e). F. Verducci (*QUCC* 16 (1984), 123 n. 8), starting from Nisbet p. 145, wonders whether Viscus might have been addressed as 'quadruple Kato', i.e. a critic four times as severe as Valerius Cato (one might alternatively think of Cato the severe Censor). C. Murgia (ap. Verducci) compared Sentius Augurinus (Courtney 365–6) quoted by Pliny, *Epist.* 4.27.4, line 7, 'ille o Plinius, ille quot Catones'—i.e. Pliny is the equivalent of any number of Catos. A repeated 'non' could then have begun the line. This interpretation would remove the problem (if it is one) of the double address.

Although 'vereor' could stand absolutely ('non . . . vereor' = 'I have no fears'), one naturally looks for an object (cf. 'Daphnin' in *Ecl.* 2.26). Nisbet (pp. 145–6) considers 'quadrupla', 'four-fold penalties'. In *CQ* NS 30 (1980), 541, I suggested that 'Kato' might be nominative rather than vocative (a notion entertained also by Courtney 267–8), offering 'quae volt dupla Kato', 'the double punishment which Cato recommends', with one eye on the Censor's *De agri cultura* 1 'furem dupli condemnari' (though this is the prescription of the ancestors, not Cato's own). Nisbet (p. 146) also played with the idea of literary theft. If the sequence of thought were that Gallus has stolen his poems from their true authors, the Muses (line 6 above), but defends himself on the ground that nothing else would be good enough for Lycoris, that would seem a very whimsical argument. Another Cato (the father of Uticensis) recommended a double penalty for those who failed to mention defects of which they were aware in goods offered for sale (Cicero, *De officiis* 3.65, cf. Val. Max. 8.2.1). This case may have attained some celebrity as a singular instance of a *iudex* giving a reason for his judgement. Finally (a complete shot in the dark), on the analogy of stories about Choerilus of Iasus (see on *Suppl. Hell.* 333), one might imagine that Valerius Cato had jokingly proposed to reward every good line of verse but to exact twice as big a penalty from every bad line.

Nothing in the above paragraphs provides an easy solution. In *ZPE* 41 (1981), 37–42, Gregory Hutchinson gently returned to his suggestion, considered but rejected by Nisbet (p. 146), that we should obliterate Cato and

interpret the letters as PLAKATO (the past participle). He did not wish to detach 'te' from 'iudice' ('plakato iudice, te vereor'), but rather to take 'plakato iudice te' together, starting the line (*exempli gratia*) 'haec dare'. This was most ingenious; there is indeed a trace before PΛA which could represent an interpunct. But the word-order in Hutchinson's suggestion seems strained and improbable. One naturally views 'iudice te' as a self-contained phrase (cf. *Ecl.* 2.27). So I leave this line with the melancholy reflection of Professor Nisbet (p. 146) 'Since none of these approaches gives a satisfactory solution, there is a strong possibility that the traces should be read in some other way.'

Let us now consider the papyrus as a whole. These fragments have been viewed as (a) a series of separate four-line epigrams, with certain thematic connections between them (so e.g. the first editors); (b) continuous lines from a single elegy, despite the marking of quatrains (cf. Parsons, *JRS* (1979), 129, J. E. Miller, *ZPE* 44 (1981), 173–6, opposed by S. J. Heyworth, *LCM* 9 (1984), 63); (c) an amoebean poem with two speakers competing against each other (Janet Fairweather, *CQ NS* 34 (1984), 167–74); (d) an anthology of extracts from different poems by Gallus (Heyworth, *LCM* 9 (1984), 63–4). Courtney (p. 264) somewhat unenthusiastically acquiesces in (d). It seems to me (*pace* Courtney) that lines 2–5, interpreted as I have suggested above, make quite a satisfactory epigram; likewise 6–9. After 9 another quatrain may have followed, though the papyrus breaks off after three lines (we cannot tell how much is missing at the foot of col. i), and the only legible word is 'Tyria' at the end of 11 (clearly a pentameter). Col. ii. 1–4 (nothing legible) may represent yet another quatrain, since a dividing mark stands between lines 4 and 5; of the latter we can read the opening Qui.[

Although the evidence is not wholly clear, such uniformity of four-line pieces would be surprising (in Catullus 69–116 there are only eleven four-line poems) and might be used as an argument by those who believe that the papyrus contains extracts—i.e. the anthologist was looking for four-line extracts. Nonetheless it is worth considering whether we might have here remnants not of a book of Gallus' *Amores* but of a collection of his epigrams. Two fragments of other poets are said to have occurred not 'in an epigram', which could have been a one-off piece, but 'in Epigrammatis', rather suggesting a collection of epigrams: Cinna 15 (part of a hexameter) 'in Epigrammatis', likewise Ovid, fr. 3 Blänsdorf, Courtney 'Larte ferox caeso Cossus opima tulit'. Ovid, fr. 4 Bl., C. 'cur ego non dicam, Furia, te furiam?' ('apud Ovidium ludentem') also seems to indicate that he recognized epigram as a genre with less strict technical requirements, in which he could end his pentameter with a trisyllable. It would be rash to put too much weight on a citation 'in Epigrammatis', but Catullus 69–116 could be part of such a collection. As we learn primarily from Martial, certain poets (Catullus, Furius

Bibaculus, Domitius Marsus, Albinovanus Pedo) won a recognized place in the tradition of Latin epigram, but others may also have contributed to this genre.

Lines 6–9 perhaps point in a different direction. The poet speaks with satisfaction of a task completed, and with confidence about the quality of his achievement. These lines suggest that the preceding poems have been at least predominantly about Gallus' beloved Lycoris. 'Fecerunt carmina Musae' (6) could pick up something which occurred near the beginning of the same book—an appeal to the Muses for help or even an initiation scene in the tradition of Hesiod and Callimachus (cf. 142). In fact 6–9 could, in themselves, quite well be the concluding lines of a book, and Nisbet (*JRS* (1979), 149–51) suspects that the fragments, at least of col. i, belong near the end of a book of elegies, perhaps (p. 151) Gallus' very first book. Unfortunately the mysterious H signs at the beginning and end of quatrains give no hint that the break after col. i. 9 is any more significant than other breaks.

Certain features of the new verses are much as we might have expected. The metre most resembles that of Propertius I, particularly in the pentameter endings: one quadrisyllable ('historiae') and two trisyllables ('vereor' and 'Tyria'—though if Gallus wrote e.g. 'in Tyria' that would become in effect a quadrisyllable) match three disyllables ('tua', 'tueis', 'mea'). Propertius would not have written 'tum erunt' (2). Two molossic words ('multorum' and 'fecerunt') after the hexameter's masculine caesura, such a prominent feature of Catullus 64, 'give a heavy and slightly old-fashioned effect' (Nisbet, p. 148). On the other hand the subject matter differs from what we might have predicted. There is no learned and obscure mythology in the style of Euphronion (a parallel from Euphronion for 145.6 has been drawn, but seems not especially significant). And we would not have expected a series of four-line poems (if that is what they are).

In the first publication Nisbet was not uncomplimentary, but widespread disappointment has been expressed about the quality of these lines, e.g. by Stephen Heyworth, *LCM* 9 (1984), 64, 'the unbalanced and jejune group of verses' (due, he believes, to the selection made by an anthologist), Duncan Kennedy, *CQ NS* 32 (1982), 371, 'those wretched lines from Qaşr İbrîm'. Conferences which had arranged sessions on the new fragments found their initial eagerness abating (J. Van Sickle, *QUCC NS* 9 (1981), 122–3, on the American Philological Association meeting in December 1979). Some have gone further, arguing that the new fragments expose Gallus' reputation as a fraud, based upon Virgil's personal friendship for him.

This last reaction seems to me quite excessive. Suppose that we had lost all the poems of Catullus, having to judge him wholly on later testimonia, and then recovered a papyrus (of the same length as the new Gallus) from

Catullus' elegiac epigrams near the end of his book. Would we be any less disappointed? I conducted this imaginary exercise in *Collecting Fragments*, ed. Glenn Most, *Aporemata*, 1 (Göttingen, 1997), 116–17, choosing Catullus 92.1–95.1 (nine continuous lines). This was partly in response to a colleague who suspected forgery and had challenged his audience to find a passage of the same length which contains so many pointers to the identity of the author. The sensible reaction, in my view, is that these are not the bits of Cornelius Gallus which we would have chosen to recover, though they do (in a number of ways) illustrate his position midway between the generation of Catullus and the Augustan elegists. Assertions of Gallus' quality do not depend on Virgil alone, but are reinforced by Propertius (138*d*) and particularly Ovid (140). Such testimonies from great poets are the most valuable evidence; in this I agree with Duncan Kennedy (*CQ* NS 32 (1982), 371), though his hunt for Gallus in the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex* seems to me chimerical.

Finally, I continue to doubt (with Syme, *History in Ovid*, 99 ff.) whether any of the Galli in Propertius I are to be identified with the poet Cornelius Gallus, though there has been a definite movement of scholarly opinion in that direction, at least with regard to Prop. 1.20 (see Francis Cairns, *PLLL* 4 (1983), 83 ff.).

Postscript: For a very detailed discussion of the Gallus Papyrus, together with enlarged photographs of col. i, see now M. Capasso, *Il ritorno di Cornelio Gallo: il papiro di Qaṣr Ibrîm venticinque anni dopo* (Napoli, 2003). I am grateful to Professor Gregory Hutchinson for bringing this book to my attention in 2006.