

point. Catullus is not using the traditional farewell to the dead as his model here, so much as he is saying, "Hail and farewell." While it is true that Lewis and Short under the entry for *aveo* render *ave* to mean "hail" as well as "farewell" and go so far as to cite the final line of 101 as an example of the latter meaning, a problem remains. The reader must try to resolve the question, why does the poet use this phrase rather than some other which would avoid the confusion which appears to be the result of carelessness. The argument that Catullus uses the phrases for metrical considerations implies that he is a second-rate technician, something which only the most insensitive of readers could believe. The solution to this difficulty can be arrived at by considering *ave* as an example of Empsonian ambiguity, by which is meant "any verbal nuance, however slight, which gives room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language."⁶ In other words, *ave* carries the dual meanings of "hail" and "farewell" and combines them to create a bitter irony.

This phrase serves as the summation to the poem, for Catullus has journeyed to the grave, performed the rites, and must leave, all within a brutally short time. Hence he must say, and not without a touch of tragic irony, "Hail and

farewell." The use of "good-bye, good-bye" here would be too formulaic, not for what Catullus, the brother, must do, but for what Catullus, the poet, must write.

Catullus 101 is an elegy of the highest order. It is taut and compact without being barren. This is accomplished through the poet's use of the central conceit and through his poetic economy, which here is turned to brilliant advantage. As a result, the reader's attention is focused on the poet's feelings for his brother. However, the poet's emotions alone would not be sufficient to create a poem of this quality; there must be craftsmanship. It is Catullus' great triumph that he is possessed of craftsmanship in such abundance that he is able to write with this great felicity. As a result, the pyrotechnics of the poem assume their proper, secondary, position.

Let the final words, however, be those of Robert Herrick, that seventeenth-century poetic brother of Catullus:

Then this immense cup
Of *Aromatike* wine,
Catullus, I quaffe up
To that Terce Muse of thine.⁷

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6. W. Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*³ (New York, 1966), p. 1.

7. "To Live Merrily, and to Trust to Good Verses," in

L. C. Martin (ed.), *The Poetry of Robert Herrick* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 80-81.

SUETONIUS AND SWIMMING: A NOTE ON *DIV. AUG.* 64. 3

Describing the way in which Augustus brought up Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Suetonius states that the emperor "nepotes et litteras et natate aliaque rudimenta per se plerumque docuit, ac nihil aeque elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum" (*Div. Aug.* 64. 3): "he taught his grandsons reading, swimming, and other basic lessons, for the most part instructing them personally, and he

took especial care to see that they could imitate his own handwriting." Although all the manuscripts undoubtedly read *natate* in this passage,¹ a majority of scholars prefer Lipsius' conjecture *notate*.² For it has been argued not only that some form of writing is far more appropriate to the context,³ but also that it "is difficult to imagine the aging princes in the role of swimming instructor."⁴

1. See the editions of M. Ihm (ed. maior, Leipzig, 1907; ed. minor, Leipzig, 1908), J. C. Rolfe ("Loeb," 1914), and H. Ailloud ("Budé," 1932). The reading is accepted without comment only by M. Adams, *Suetoni Divus Augustus* (London, 1939), E. R. Parker, *AJP*, LXVII (1946), 36, and H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London, 1972), p. 117.

2. Thus Ihm in the app. crit. to both editions notices the conjecture with the comment *fort. recte*. See also J. Geel

(ed.), *Ruhnkenii scholia in Suetoni Vitas Caesarum* (Leyden, 1828), p. 179; E. S. Shuckburgh, *Suetoni Divus Augustus* (Cambridge, 1896); M. A. Levi, *Suetoni Divus Augustus*² (Florence, 1958). The conjecture is printed without more ado by C. L. Roth, *Suetoni Opera omnia* (Leipzig, 1886), by Ailloud, and by M. Rat ("Garnier," Paris, 1931).

3. Cf. Shuckburgh and Levi *ad loc.*

4. M. L. Clarke, *CP*, LXIII (1968), 44; cf. Geel, *loc. cit.*

In defense of the emendation scholars urge that *notare* means either "to write in cipher" or "to write in shorthand." There is a major difficulty in such a view, however. Although Suetonius uses the noun *notae* to denote ciphers or shorthand, he does not so employ the verb *notare*. His expression for "to write in cipher" is *per notas scribere* (*Div. Iul.* 56. 6; *Div. Aug.* 88), and for "to take down in shorthand" he resorts to *notis excipere* (*Titus* 3. 2).⁵ By contrast, the verb *notare* is most commonly employed to denote censuring (*Div. Aug.* 39 [bis], 70. 2; *Tib.* 3. 2, 19, 42. 2; *Claud.* 16. 2–3; *Dom.* 8. 1 and 3; *Rhet.* 4), or noting and noticing (*Div. Aug.* 87. 3, 88, 96. 1; *Tib.* 11. 3; *Cal.* 60), or—in its passive forms—being known and/or notorious (*Tib.* 2. 4, 38; *Nero* 4, 5. 2; *Vit.* 3. 2). Otherwise it once carries the meaning "to point at" (*Nero* 39. 3), and twice that of using symbols for numbers instead of writing out the words in full (*Div. Aug.* 97. 2; *Galb.* 5. 2). And not even this last usage can be stretched sufficiently to produce a reference to the "arithmetical notation" desiderated by M. L. Clarke.⁶ So there is no support for the conjecture elsewhere in Suetonius' work.

If we look now at Suetonius' references to swimming, we will find that the biographer clearly thought this an accomplishment required by members of the imperial house. Yet the significant fact lies not in his statements that this, or that member of the house could swim, be it Caesar (*Div. Iul.* 57 and 64), Tiberius (*Tib.* 44. 1), the younger Agrippina (*Nero* 34. 3 and 39. 3), or Domitian (*Dom.* 22). Rather it is to be found in a remark which he makes of Caligula. Having expatiated on the many skills that emperor acquired, Suetonius concludes with the statement, "atque hic tam docilis ad cetera natare nesciit."⁷ This alone provides

strong grounds for adhering to the manuscript reading at *Div. Aug.* 64. 3. On the face of it Augustus taught his grandsons *natare*, swimming.

One could perhaps surmise that Augustus was especially impressed by the need for this skill as a result of his campaigns against Sextus Pompey; although we lack independent evidence to show whether the emperor himself could swim, there were certainly occasions enough when his men had to save themselves this way during those campaigns.⁸ It is most likely, however, that Augustus' aim was to give his grandsons instruction in the traditional Roman education. For there are any number of references to show that swimming was an accomplishment expected at all levels of Roman society.⁹ Vegetius indeed, insisting on the need for a recruit to be able to swim (*Epit. rei mil.* 1. 10; cf. 2. 23; 3. 4 and 7), asserts that the ancient Romans chose the Campus Martius as their exercise ground because it was next to the Tiber, "in quo iuventus post exercitium armorum sudorem pulueremque dilueret ac lassitudinem cursus natandi labore deponeret." And the frequent references to this practice in Horace and Ovid¹⁰ suggest strongly that in Augustus' day swimming became (officially or otherwise) one of the athletic skills required of the *iuventus*—and Gaius and Lucius Caesar were duly appointed *principes iuuentutis* in 5 and 2 B.C. respectively.

There is no difficulty in the supposition that Augustus personally instructed his grandsons. Suetonius tells us that the emperor gave up "exercitationes campestris equorum et armorum" immediately after the civil wars, but he also states that Augustus continued other less strenuous forms of exercise for a considerable time thereafter.¹¹ And if he was physically

5. On ciphers and the like in antiquity see Gell. *NA* 17. 9. 1; Isid. *Etym.* 1. 25.

6. Clarke, *loc. cit.*, adducing Quint. *Inst.* 1. *pr.* 7.

7. Suet. *Cal.* 54. 2. I wish to thank Mr. Richard Lounsbury for bringing this passage to my attention, and for suggesting improvements in the paper as a whole.

8. See, e.g., App. *BC* 5. 85–90; Dio 48. 47. 3–48. 4; 49. 1. 3–5. 5.

9. Plaut. *Aul.* 595–96; Plut. *Cato cens.* 20. 4; Cic. *Fam.* 7. 10. 2 and *Cael.* 36; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 4. 120 and 2. 1. 7–8; Liv. 2. 10. 11 and 5. 46. 8; Sen. *EM* 83. 5; Frontin. *Str.* 3. 13. 6; Juv. *Sat.* 8. 265. Cf. Ov. *Rem. am.* 121–22 and *Pont.* 3. 7. 7–8; Mart. 5. 20. 8–10. For modern discussions, see A.

Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford, 1926), p. 18; H. I. Marrou, *History of Education in Antiquity* (New York, 1956), p. 238; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (New York, 1969), pp. 160 f.

10. Hor. *Odes* 1. 8. 8; 3. 7. 27–28; 3. 12. 5. Ov. *Ars am.* 2. 181–82; 3. 385–86; *Trist.* 2. 486; 3. 12. 21–22; *Pont.* 1. 8. 38. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9. 603–604.

11. Suet. *Div. Aug.* 83. When he remarks, "ad pilam primo folliculumque transit, mox nihil aliud quam uectabatur et deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatiis subsultum decurreret," the important point to note is that *mox* does not mean "soon": see E. Badian, *CQ*, XIX (1969), 201 and n. 1.

capable of doing the work, he was also morally bound to undertake it. This was one of the duties expected of the traditional *paterfamilias*, and when Augustus took himself seriously in this role, he could hardly decline a practice carried out by worthies like Cato the Censor and L. Aemilius Paullus.¹² So there is nothing in the least improbable about his training his grandsons personally. And if Suetonius chose to link swimming with reading, two considerations clearly led him to this seeming incongruity. First, his liking for arranging his material "non per tempora sed per species"¹³ presumably led him to select an intellectual skill and a physical skill, to show that the princes received an all-round education even at the elementary level. Second and more important, there was a Greek proverb according to which an uneducated person was one who could neither read nor swim;¹⁴ since his

comment on Caligula—"tam docilis ad cetera natare nesciit"—proves that the biographer knew the proverb, we have the reason for his linking reading and swimming in the passage under consideration here. The biographer's going on to talk about Augustus' wish that Gaius and Lucius Caesar be able to imitate his own handwriting is no more incongruous. On several occasions in the *Divus Augustus* Suetonius mentions two topics in sequence and then backtracks to provide further details on the first of the two to be mentioned.¹⁵

In short, we must accept the manuscript reading in the passage we have been discussing. However surprising we may find it, in or out of context, Augustus did indeed teach Gaius and Lucius Caesar *natate*, swimming.

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12. Plut. *Cato cens.* 20. 2–8, *Aem. Paull.* 6. 4–5; cf. Plin. *Epist.* 8. 14. 6. The whole of *Div. Aug.* 63–65 is designed to portray Augustus as very much the traditional *paterfamilias*; 64. 2 is especially noteworthy.

13. See W. Steidle, *Sueton und die antike Biographie*² (Munich, 1963), pp. 108 ff., 113 ff.

14. Plato *Leg.* 3. 689D; cf. Marrou, *op. cit.*, p. 118, and Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 117.

15. Thus at *Div. Aug.* 82. 1 Suetonius refers in sequence to Augustus' discomfort in winter, his tolerance of summer, and his inability to endure the winter sun. Not very different is *Div. Aug.* 49. 1, where he talks of the troops, the fleets, and then—in much greater detail—the troops again.

A NOTE ON THE FAMILY OF THE SENECAE

Discussing Helvia, the mother of Seneca *philosophus*, Karlhans Abel recently wrote, "Als H.s Heimatland vermutet man—ohne ausreichenden Anhalt—Spanien."¹ There are, certainly, a great many Helvii to choose from.² But perhaps the required *Anhalt* can be found in *CIL* II. 999, from Hispania Baetica. This reads:³

M·HELVIO·RVFINO·VRO
ANN·LX·ET·M·HELVIO
NOVATO·FR·ANN·XXXXI
ET·AM·HELVIO·RVFO·FR
ANN·XXXX·HELVIA·L·F
SEVERA·ET·M·HELVIVS
RVFINUS·F/////F·C
H·S·S·S·V·T·L

1. K. Abel, *s.v.* "Helvia (22)," *RE*, Supp. XII (1970), 426.

2. Ours is the twenty-second in *RE*. There are twenty Helvii in *PIR*². The indexes to *CIL* II list twenty-six individuals with the name. The sepulchral inscriptions from Rome, *CIL* VI³, include twenty-six of Helvii.

3. In the substantially different corrected form given in *Eph. Epigr.* IX. 147, p. 60. The original publication in *CIL* gives two versions so different as to seem separate inscriptions

The three sons of Helvia and Lucius Annaeus Seneca were, in order of birth, M. Annaeus Novatus, L. Annaeus Seneca, and M. Annaeus Mela. Now, under the empire, it is not at all unusual for the father's cognomen to be given not to the first son, but to the second.⁴ But the first son's cognomen is hardly chosen at random. According to Thylander, on the subject of naming practices under the empire, "Dans tous les cas où les grands-parents ainsi que les deux parents sont connus, les enfants ont pris un surnom formé de celui d'un des parents ou de celui d'un des grands-parents. Il est vrai que les exemples sont peu nombreux mais assez pourtant pour qu'on puisse sup-

naming two different Helvii Novati. Since the mere occurrence of the name Helvius Novatus is what concerns us here, I have simply relied on the version of *Eph. Epigr.* None of the editors gives any indication of the inscription's date.

4. H. Thylander, *Etude sur l'épigraphie latine* (Lund, 1952), p. 119: "Le surnom du père n'a pas été hérité seulement par l'aîné des enfants, mais à peu près aussi souvent par le second."