

Maximus himself. The peculiar status of Book 4 as a private work, in which Artemidorus does speak his mind more freely, but yet a work which may circulate (and evidently did since it survives) may explain both why the criticism at 4. 22 is made and why it is left anonymous. I take the refusal to name a certain name as an overflow of the suppressed feeling from the more polite passage, 2. 44.

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A NOTE ON THE HUNTING HORN (*BUCINA*) IN THE LATIN POETRY OF LATE ANTIQUITY

The hunting horn plays a prominent part in the modern fox hunt. But the evidence for its use in classical antiquity is scant indeed. The only mention of a hunting horn in cynegetic literature (Xenophon, Grattius, Arrian, Oppian, Nemesianus) is a passage in Oppian describing the bear hunts of "those who live on the banks of the Tigris and in Armenia famed for its archery" (*Cyn.* 4. 355 *Τίγριν ὅσοι ναίονσι καὶ Ἀρμενίην κλυτότοξον*).¹ Here the trumpet is used to flush the bear from its cover and into the waiting nets (4. 397–99):

αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν κατὰ κόσμον ἐπαρτέα πάντα πέλονται,
σάλπιγξ μὲν κελάδησε πελώριον, ἡ δὲ τε λόχμης
ὀξὺν ἐέληκε βορούσα καὶ ὀξὺν δέδορκε λακοῦσα.

There can be no question here of normal Greek practice. The Mesopotamian and Armenian bear hunt is recorded by Oppian because it is so extraordinary (cf. 4. 354 *κλυτὴν περιώσιον ἄγρην*).

J. Aymard, it is true, believes the hunting horn was occasionally used in the Roman hunt to contribute to the general hue and cry.² But, as he notes, the evidence is meagre and ambiguous; he cites the passage from Oppian and three representations in art, sufficient perhaps to establish the occasional presence of the horn at a Roman hunt, but certainly not indicative of normal practice.³ The purpose of this note is to draw attention to two passages in the Latin poetry of late antiquity that present a different picture. Far from suggesting there is anything unusual in the use of the hunting horn, the poets view the horn as typical of the hunt.

The first passage is from the *Heptateuchos*, a Latin hexameter version of the first seven books of the Bible, all that survives of a larger poem that once included all the historical books of the Old Testament.⁴ It is traditionally attributed to a

1. For the passage in Oppian, see F. Orth, s.v. "Jagd," *RE* 9 (1914): 600, and D. B. Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1964), p. 95.

2. *Essai sur les chasses romaines des origines à la fin du siècle des Antonins (Cynegetica)* (Paris, 1951), p. 289.

3. A. Reinach, s.v. "venatio," *Daremberg-Saglio* 5 (1919): 688, remarks, "Il est possible qu'on se servît de cors et de trompettes pour exciter ou diriger les chiens, comme dans la vénerie moderne," but the evidence he cites is unconvincing. The passage in Varro (*Ling.* 5. 99) is not relevant and the only artistic evidence he adduces is an Etruscan fresco. A. J. Butler, *Sport in Classic Times* (New York, 1930), pp. 101–3, is equally unconvincing.

4. Medieval library catalogs from Lorsch (10th century) and Cluny (12th century) for Kings, Chronicles, Esther, Judith, and Maccabees; the catalogs are quoted by R. Peiper (ed.), *Cypriani Galli Poetae*

"Cyprianus Gallus," but, as R. Herzog has recently shown,⁵ the evidence for this attribution is unreliable. The work is generally thought to have been composed early in the fifth century.⁶

For the most part the *Heptateuchos* follows the biblical text closely, especially in the narrative passages. Thus in the passage to be discussed, *G* 804–7 (= Gen. 25:27 "et erat Esau homo sciens venari, agrestis, Iacob autem homo simplex habitans domum"), the biblical comparison provides the framework for the poet's amplification:

Lustrabat senior vacuos venatibus agros,
bucina raucisono dum complet saxa tremore.
Ast alius, blandi conservans pectoris acta,
gaudebat patriis inlaesus vivere tectis.

The alterations and amplifications are typical of the poet's methods. Periphrastic breadth is employed to insist on a moral point, the character of Jacob and his peaceful domestic existence ("blandi conservans pectoris acta, / gaudebat . . . vivere" for "homo simplex habitans").⁸ The passage is improved, at least according to classical literary criteria, by the parallelism of verb forms in the comparison (*lustrabat* . . . *gaudebat*) and the avoidance of the awkward repetition in the original (cf. Gen. 25:25) of the brothers' names. Finally, the reference to Esau's hunting pursuits in the original is amplified with poetic color.

Hunting scenes are common in Greek and Latin poetry from Homer on. E. Steindl has collected a number of references,⁹ but the list is far from exhaustive. It is not surprising, then, that the poet of the *Heptateuchos* took the opportunity to enhance the poetic qualities of his text by lingering over the detail that Esau

"*Heptateuchos*" (Vienna, 1891), p. i (CSEL 23). Fragments from Kings and Chronicles are preserved in Aldhelm's *De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis*, ed. R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi opera*, MGH: AA, vol. 15 (Berlin, 1919), p. 80, and Mico of St. Riquier's *Florilegium*, ed. L. Traube, MGH: *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 271–94.

5. *Die Biblepik der lateinischen Spätantike: Formgeschichte einer erbaulichen Gattung* (Munich, 1975), pp. xxv–xxxii, 53–60. Cf. M. Roberts, *The Hexameter Paraphrase in Late Antiquity: Origins and Applications to Biblical Texts* (Ph.D. diss., Urbana, 1978), pp. 249–50.

6. Here again the evidence is imprecise. A definite terminus post quem is provided by a reminiscence of Claudian's panegyric on the fourth consulate of Honorius (written in 397), *IV Cons. Hon.* 97–99 = *E* 474–76. No definite terminus ante quem can be given, although it is probable the *Heptateuchos* was written before Claudius Marius Victorius' *Alethia*, which is now generally dated to the third decade of the fifth century (for the evidence, see Roberts, *The Hexameter Paraphrase*, pp. 250–51, and, for a dissenting opinion, Herzog, *Die Biblepik*, p. 54, n. 20). That would mean the *Heptateuchos* was written between 397 and 430.

Herzog's abbreviations are used for the books of the *Heptateuchos* (*G* = Genesis; *E* = Exodus; *L* = Leviticus; *N* = Numbers; *D* = Deuteronomy; *Jo* = Joshua; *Ju* = Judges).

7. The text is quoted in the Old Latin version, which was used by the poet. The edition used is that of B. Fischer, *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, 2. *Genesis* (Freiburg, 1951–54).

8. For the poet's techniques of amplification, especially the use of periphrases and verbal abundance, see Roberts, *The Hexameter Paraphrase*, pp. 265–66. For the pleonastic use of the verb *gaudeo*, see *G* 379, 910, 1398, *E* 41, 131, 403, 696, 1261, *Jo* 126, *Ju* 624. The present passage is cited by Herzog, *Die Biblepik*, p. 153, n. 385, as an example of "Objektivierung des Erbaulichen," the process whereby objective description carries an emotive appeal to the Christian reader, although, as he admits, in the *Heptateuchos* it is often simply the descriptive vividness of epic that is imitated, without any regard for underlying Christian connotations. That is surely true of the description of Esau as a hunter. It is difficult to interpret the details of Esau's hunting activity allegorically.

9. "Die Jagd in der antiken Dichtung," *Das Altertum* 17 (1971): 208–24. For a discussion of the Latin poetry of the late Republic and early Empire, see Aymard, *Essai*, pp. 89–154.

was a hunter.¹⁰ His language betrays the literary intent. *Raucisonus* is found in Lucretius (2. 619, 5. 1084) and Catullus (64. 263 *raucisonos* . . . *cornua bombos*, here too of a trumpet), but not in Virgil or the epic poets of the first century A.D. Apparently it was felt to be an archaism. This distinction is unlikely to have been felt by the poet and the frequency of such compound adjectives in the *Heptateuchos*¹¹ suggests they were believed to have a specifically poetic quality. The simple adjective *raucus* is the *verbum proprium* for the sound of a *bucina*, *cornu*, or *tuba* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 474–75 *rauca* . . . / *bucina* and *Hept. D* 69–70).¹² By placing the adjective immediately before the third-foot caesura and the noun with which it agrees at the end of the verse, the poet has further drawn attention to the expression. The notion of a sound reverberating in the surrounding hills can also be paralleled from the pagan poets (for instance, Virg. *Aen.* 5. 148–50, 8. 305, *G.* 4. 49–50—these examples all refer to the human voice), although normally the sound is described as echoing back from the crags rather than simply “filling” them.

The language of the passage, then, is traditional, but the reference to the hunting horn is unparalleled in the authors of classical antiquity. Only one example of *bucina* in the sense of “hunting horn” is cited by the *Thesaurus*,¹³ from the early fifth-century pagan poet Rutilius Namatianus: “Tum responsuros persultat *bucina* colles” (*De reditu* 1. 629). The *bucina* is sounded, apparently in triumph,¹⁴ after the boar has been killed; its note reechoes in the surrounding hills.

There is nothing to suggest that Rutilius is not describing normal practice. In the case of the passage from the *Heptateuchos* it is certain that this is the case. It is characteristic of the *Heptateuchos* poet to minimize the unfamiliarity to the Roman reader of biblical life and customs by assimilating such cultural Hebraisms

10. In the case of Nimrod, however, the biblical hunter par excellence, it is his impiety and massive size that are emphasized rather than his hunting activities (*G* 377–81): “Corpore de quorum Nembrodis nascitur, acro / venatu aduetus et membris grandibus exstans / atque deum gaudens contra se addollere sanctum, / heroum de more ferox, quos ardua cervix / immensumque caput sublimes tollit in auras.” For the form *acro*, *G* 377, see *TLL*, 1. 357. 12–13.

11. The following compound adjectives are found in the *Heptateuchos*: (1) *-dicus* : *veridicus* (*Ju* 569); (2) *-fer* : *aurifer* (*G* 57), *frugifer* (*D* 162), *legifer* (*Jo* 19), *letifer* (*N* 310), *mortifer* (*E* 1299), *pestifer* (*D* 258, 272, *Jo* 554), *salutifer* (*N* 101), *signifer* (*N* 681, *D* 46, *Jo* 173); (3) *-ficus* : *ditificus* (*N* 676), *horrificus* (*E* 1118), *magnificus* (*G* 597, *E* 896), *maleficus* (*E* 927), *mirificus* (*E* 1067, 1083), *mitificus* (*G* 1005, 1061, *E* 258, *N* 298), *mundificus* (*E* 386, but the text here is uncertain), *pacificus* (*G* 601, 703, 862, *E* 173, 264, 1321, *N* 514), *regificus* (*G* 1237), *sanctificus* (*G* 535, 612, 789, *E* 265, 1061, 1328, *L* 43, *N* 712, *D* 6, 147, 207, *Jo* 568), *terrificus* (*G* 1136, *N* 756, *Jo* 53, 145, 148, *Ju* 55), *tristificus* (*G* 485, *D* 175), *vulnificus* (*E* 1306, *D* 248); (4) *-fidus* : *quadridus* (*G* 56); (5) *-genus* : *caprigenus* (*Ju* 527), *clarigenus* (*E* 1129), *omnigenus* (*G* 246); (6) *-ger* : *aliger* (*G* 731), *astriger* (*G* 80, 1012, 1106, *E* 559, *N* 5, *Jo* 403), *belliger* (*E* 671, 1023, *Jo* 147), *criniger* (*N* 688, *D* 85), *fraudiger* (*G* 114), *laniger* (*E* 126, 1288), *stelliger* (*D* 267); (7) *-gradus* : *lentigradus* (*G* 1064); (8) *-iugus* : *celsiiugus* (*G* 291, 375); (9) *-loquus* : *blandiloquus* (*L* 187), *doctiloquus* (*G* 1139), *sanctiloquus* (*G* 887), *ventriloquus* (*L* 196); (10) *-lucus* : *noctilucus* (*E* 1089); (11) *-modus* : *multimodus* (*G* 836); (12) *-sonus* : *horrisonus* (*G* 661, *E* 357, *Ju* 548, 626), *raucisonus* (loc. cit.); (13) *-vagus* : *noctivagus* (*L* 200). The adjectives *celsiiugus*, *ditificus*, *fraudiger*, and *lentigradus* are listed by the *Thesaurus* as occurring only in the *Heptateuchos*; *clarigenus* only in the *Heptateuchos* and *Gloss.* 5. 617. 17.

12. In addition, cf. Lucan 1. 238 *rauco* . . . *cornu*; Val. Flaccus 6. 92 *rauco* . . . *cornu*; Sil. 12. 182–83 *litui raucoque tumultu* / *cornua*; and Stat. *Theb.* 3. 708–9 *rauca* . . . / *signa tubae*; and for the expression *rauca bucina*, *TLL*, 2. 2232. 30–34.

13. *TLL*, 2. 2232. 63. The *Heptateuchos* passage is not cited. For the shape of the *bucina*, see E. Saglio, s.v. “*bucina*,” *Daremberg-Saglio* 1 (1877): 752–53.

14. For the comparison of the successful hunt with a military triumph, see E. Doblhofer, *Rutilius Claudius Namatianus: “De reditu suo sive Iter Gallicum,”* 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1972–77), 2:257, ad 1. 630.

to normal Roman practice. Herzog calls this process of assimilation "Romanisierung," that is, "das Phänomenon . . . des Eindringens römisch-antiker Vorstellungen in die Wiedergabe der Bibel."¹⁵ Such "Romanisierung" occurs even when no particular difficulty is presented by the biblical text. In the present passage the poet intends his description of Esau's hunting to strike a responsive chord in his readers. It would be quite alien to his purpose to incorporate a detail, the hunting horn, that was atypical of the hunt as he knew it. We must conclude, then, that at least in the milieu in which the poet is writing the horn has an assured place in the hunt.

The reference to the hunting horn is not without significance for the date and provenience of the *Heptateuchos*. The passage in Rutilius Namatianus' *De reditu suo* provides the only parallel. Rutilius, we know, was a member of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy. His poem describes a journey he undertook, probably late in the year 417, from Rome to his native land of Gaul.¹⁶ The episode of the hunt takes place in Triturrita, in northwestern Italy, just south of Pisa. Now, for quite separate reasons, the *Heptateuchos* has generally been dated to the first three decades of the fifth century. The author is thought, primarily on the basis of biblical text form used, to be from southern Gaul or northern Italy.¹⁷ Such a date and provenience accord well with the Rutilian parallel. It is unlikely that the poet would have consciously borrowed the detail of the hunting horn from his pagan contemporary. Their agreement on this point is explained by their reliance on the same facts of experience, not by literary borrowing. Both were familiar with the use of the hunting horn. It is likely that both had observed its use at roughly the same time and in the same general locality. This coincidence is a striking one and furnishes some confirmation of the traditional date of the *Heptateuchos* (the first three decades of the fifth century) and provenience (southern Gaul or northern Italy).

That the *bucina* came to be used in this way by Roman huntsmen should cause no surprise. It had always been a rural instrument, used to call men and animals from the fields.¹⁸ No doubt it had been sporadically associated with the hunt even before the fifth century. What caused its increase in popularity—so much so that the poet of the *Heptateuchos* could mention it as typical of the hunt—we do not know. Perhaps it was the influence of the Gallo-Roman nobility, for we know of the popularity of the hunt in Gaul and of innovations that were introduced from

15. Herzog, *Die Biblepik*, p. 108; cf. Roberts, *The Hexameter Paraphrase*, pp. 262–63. An interesting parallel is provided by Juvenecus 3. 390–92: "En maris undisoni rupes quae prodit in altum / scandatur tibi summa Simon, hamusque profundo / stamine saetarum conexus praecipitetur." The biblical text (Matt. 17:27) simply has "vade ad mare et mitte hamum." Juvenecus has borrowed the details from Virgil (*Aen.* 10. 693 *rupes . . . quae prodit in aequor*) and Statius (*Ach.* 1. 198 *undisonis . . . in rupibus*), as Herzog, *Die Biblepik*, p. 152, notes.

16. It is assumed that the poem was written shortly after the completion of the journey. I follow Alan Cameron, "Rutilius Namatianus, St. Augustine and the Date of the *De Reditu*," *JRS* 57 (1967): 31–39, for the date of the journey: Rutilius left Rome in October 417; cf. Doblhofer, "*De reditu*," 1: 35–36. For Rutilius' Gallic ancestry, see Doblhofer, "*De reditu*," 1: 22–27.

17. See above, n. 6, for the date. L. Müller, "Zu Ennius und den christlichen Dichtern," *RhM* 21 (1866): 127, was the first to suggest that the poet of the *Heptateuchos* was from Gaul. At the time it was little more than an educated guess; later research has tended to support Müller's hypothesis, but the evidence remains inconclusive. Cf. Herzog, *Die Biblepik*, pp. 59–60, and Roberts, *The Hexameter Paraphrase*, pp. 249–50.

18. *TLL*, 2. 2231. 64–2232. 24; note esp. Varro *Rust.* 2. 4. 20, 3. 13. 1, 3. 13. 3; Cic. 4 *Verr.* 96.

that region.¹⁹ In any case, the passages in the *Heptateuchos* and Rutilius Namatianus are of interest as the first references to the hunting horn in Latin poetry and a step on the way to the figure of the *venator tibicinans*, familiar in medieval art and literature.²⁰

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19. For the popularity of the hunt in Gaul, see Reinach, "Venatio," p. 696, H. Leclercq, "Chasse," *DACL* 3 (1948): 1083–84, and Aymard, *Essai*, pp. 65–66. For Gallic innovation, see Arr. *Cyn.* 1. 4–3. 7, 19. 1–2, 21. 1, 34. 1–35. 1; cf. Hull, *Hounds and Hunting*, p. 75. C. E. Hare, *The Language of Sport* (London, 1939), pp. 107–8, says of the use of the hunting horn: "The French were always fonder of the music of the chase than were the English, and they inherited their love for the winding of the horn, with the halloas of the huntsmen added to the melody of hounds, from the ancient Gauls."

20. The earliest passages cited by K. Taut, *Die Anfänge der Jagdmusik* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 26–29, are in the *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa* of Angilbert of St. Riquier (8th/9th century), 179–80, 210–11 (*rauca/cornua*), and 285–87 (ed. E. Duemmler, *MGH: Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. 1 [Berlin, 1880], pp. 366–79). It is clear that Angilbert is describing normal practice. The references presuppose a quite well-developed system of horn signals. Taut is unable to cite any evidence for the use of the hunting horn in classical antiquity.