

Possum had a well-established elliptical use (with *futuere* deleted), which is common in Martial (3. 32. 1 twice, 3 twice; 3. 76. 4 twice; 11. 97. 1, 2). This makes it particularly easy to understand *futuere* as the unexpressed complement of *potest*.

J. N. ADAMS

University of Manchester

the behavior of the Latin basic obscenities ("Meaning," p. 42): "no other primary obscenity in Latin [i.e., including *irrumare*] shows signs of any weakening—*futuere*, *pedicare*, *fellare* [*sic*] are always used with their sexual meaning. Latin simply shows no sign of a phenomenon of which English affords a rich variety of examples." I shall deal with the weakening of sexual terms in Latin elsewhere. It will suffice here to draw attention to the example of *irrumo* found on a wall of the room of the Seven Sages at Ostia (see G. Calza, "Die Taverne der sieben Weisen in Ostia," *Die Antike* 15 [1939]: 103): "amice fugit te prouerbium bene caca et irrima medicos." There is no question here of *medici* suffering *irrumatio*, or being threatened with *irrumatio*; they are not even addressed. The act of *bene cacandi* constitutes a figurative *irrumatio* of doctors. The verb is no more than a generalized expression of contempt (= Eng. "fuck the doctors").

CRITICAL NOTES ON SYMMACHUS' PRIVATE LETTERS

Unless otherwise stated, passages are cited from O. Seeck's edition of 1883 (Mon. Germ. Hist. VI). My copy formerly belonged to W. B. Anderson, who left a few penciled notes in Books I and II. These two Books have appeared in the Budé series in 1972, edited by J. Callu. I am much indebted to criticisms made by the referee of this paper, Professor Charles E. Murgia (= C. E. M.).

1. 2. 7. virtutem, Verine, tuam plus mirer in armis,
 Eoos dux Armenios cum caede domares,
 an magis eloquium morum vitaeque leporem,
 et—nisi in officiis, quotiens tibi publica curae—
 quod vitam innocuis tenuisti laetus in agris?

Callu has a comma after *eloquium* in 9, but the asyndeton seems intolerable. I had thought of *eloquium* <an> *morum*, but prefer *et* (C. E. M.) to *an*, leaving a binary division between the arts of war (military prowess) and peace (eloquence, personal charm, and a taste for country life).

1. 4. 1 studium quidem Menippe Varronis imitaris, sed vincis ingenium. nam quae
 in nostrates viros nuper condis epigrammata, puto hebdomadon elogiis prae-
 nitere; quod haec aequae sobria,[†] nec tamen castigata sunt, illa bono metallo
 cusa, torno exigi nescierunt.

Symmachus pater's epigrams equalled Varro's as to content, but had more polish. Callu reads "quod haec <et illa> aequae sobria, haec tamen castigata." More simply: "quod haec aequae sobria, nec tamen <in>castigata." Serious content went along with elegance of form. Anderson proposed "nec tamen ieiuna sed castigata."

1. 7. 2 mensae ab edulibus copiosae sunt, quibus tu amicorum catervas minaris. sed mihi honestae multitudinis nulla minatio est, et si bis tanto plures, quam scribis, adfuerint, frugem bonam feceris. non deerit, quo famem polluant; nam comitibus *vestris* utpote sobriis caedundae saginae cura posterior est.

Vestris] *meis* cod. Carrionis. No matter how large a company Symmachus pater brings with him, there will be plenty for them to eat. The vulgate adds a quite incongruous reason: these people were sobersides, not much interested in food. That would imply that if they ate heartily supplies *would* run short, which makes nonsense of *si bis . . . feceris*. For *vestris* (*ūris*) read *nostris* (*ñris*). Symmachus adds a joke: his own friends hardly count, they eat so little (*nam* is “occupatory”).

As C.E.M. has pointed out, *nostris* contrasted with implied *vestris* might have been expected to come before the noun. But Symmachus’ practice in this matter is not invariable: cf. 7. 2 “ut salutis meae certus tuam cures”; 7. 35. 2 “ex quo intellegis, sortem meam multo esse potiore[m] [sc. *sorte tua*].” *Honestae* (“a goodly crowd”) implies that a large number of (presumably well got up) friends looks well: cf. Cicero *Pro Tullio* 22 “Tullius statim dimittit ad amicos, quorum ex vicinitate Thurina bona atque honesta copia praesto fuit.”

1. 14. 3–4 nequaquam tibi crederem de Mosellae ortu ac meatu magna narranti, nisi certo scirem, quod nec in poemate mentiaris. unde illa amnicorum piscium examina repperisti quam nominibus varia tam coloribus . . . quae tu pigmentis istius carminis supra naturae dona fucasti?

Tamen seems required after *unde*.

1.17 Seeck notes that the opening of 2. 67 is echoed in 7. 53, but not that this letter of recommendation from Symmachus to Ausonius on behalf of one Ambrosius is reproduced almost word for word in 7. 113 recommending a different person to a different correspondent.

1. 26 dudum parvus es litterarum, sed non imitabor exemplum, ut qui noverim, viro in specula honorum locato et ideo varia et magna curanti non tam studium deesse quam copiam. ea quippe natura rerum est, ut quae *praeter industriam* negleguntur ignoscenda ducamus.

Callu translates “des négligences involontaires.” The Latinity seems questionable and Anderson’s noted *prae industria* (“negligence due to diligence”) suits the context much better. But Symmachus probably wrote *propter*, not *prae*.

1. 47. 2 neque ego te pingues ferias agere contendo aut virtutem puto friguisset deliciis. sed dum tibi legis, tibi scribis et urbanarum rerum fessus ingentem animum solitudine *domas*, amicitiarum munia nullus exequeris.

Sollicitudine F. Callu renders “vous maîtrisez votre grand esprit dans la solitude.” But this is not a case of subduing pride or anything of that sort. Agorius had a mind equal to great affairs, but he was sacrificing it to solitude, that is, to his love of solitude: read *solitudini donas* (cf. Sen. *Epist.* 90. 35 “non de ea philosophia loquor . . . quae virtutem donavit voluptati” et sim.).

1. 85 tandem bonae valetudinis compos, quae a me hucusque dissenserat, nunc te societate meae commoditatis inperio, quem praeteritae sollicitudinis participem habere vitavi; etsi *scio*, ne illo quidem tempore, quo officium meum morbus inhibebat, ab huiusmodi munere temperatum.

Obviously Symmachus knew what letters he had written, but why say that? Surely he is appealing to his correspondent’s knowledge. I think he wrote *scis*.

2. 4. 2 haec interim ratio scribenda suggestit. curabo, ut frequentibus litteris merear de te similis officii diligentiam.

Haec are some simple facts about Symmachus’ present whereabouts, etc. He could well have written *scribenda putavi*, but—“reason suggested”? Why drag in reason? Something like *⟨praesentis temporis⟩ ratio* is called for; cf. 5. 97 *temporis mei ratio*. This text is more than ordinarily rich in lacunae.

2. 52. 2 collegarum tractatus, qui me exciverat, aeternis principibus legandorum in Africam virorum reddidit optionem.[†] cessat ergo patrum deliberatio *non* vocemur.

Deliberatio non P: *deliberatione non* Φ. Callu reads Suse’s conjecture “cessante ergo patrum deliberatione vacamus,” making good sense but with a considerable amount of change. Perhaps “cessat ergo patrum deliberatio, ne vocemur” (cf. 2. 59 “vocat enim te in curiam . . . candidati mei designatio”). For *ne* expressing result (= *ut non*), see Kühner–Stegmann II 251. Anmerk. 4.

2. 66. 2 nam quo res notior fieret, publicae epistolae malui exempla sociare, ne quid[†] *fiducia* dicere per gratiam iudicaret.

Fiducia tui Seeck; but *ficticium* (Gruter) is the answer, except that Symmachus will have written *ficticii*.

3. 11. 3 arma a Samnitibus, insignia ab Tuscis, leges de lare Lycurgi et Solonis sumpturamus: tuus nobis posthaec addidit labor peregrina monumenta, quae iam sui nesciunt. nunc vere civitas nostra[†] *populum* omnium parens facta est; docere enim *singulas* potest antiquitates suorum.

Populum P: -lorum F: *propalam* coni. Seeck. The addressee had written on the early history of various communities. Read *populorum* and *singulos*.

3. 19 germani mei vicaria potestate gaudeo, tamquam mihi decus honoris accesserit. vestro quoque in eum favore delector, tamquam aliquid ipse *praestiterit*.

Read *praestiterim*.

3. 30 supplementa autem desiderii eius a tabellario epistulae *suggeruntur*, quae stilo persequi supervacaneum duxi.

In 3. 69. 1 “querellae autem genus hominum eius suggestio, si iusseris, prosequitur” Seeck rightly puts *persequetur* (Mommsen) in the text and likewise in 7. 55 *sugeremus* (Iuretus) for *sugerimus*. Here *suggerentur* (Schottus) demands promotion. Cf. 8.15 “quae Castor . . . promovenda suggesserit.”

3. 36 summa est igitur inpositi mihi muneris: contra absentem civem simulque districtum publicis curis non sinas *quidquam* de iustitia tua sperare praesidium.

Not *anything*, surely, but *anyone*, *quemquam*. If *quidquam* is taken with *praesidium*, *sinas* has no object; and Symmachus would write *praesidii*, which is in fact a minority reading (Pm.2V).

3. 45. 2 accesserunt etiam litterae tuae tam lepidae ac venustae, ut in re iam cognita novum mihi putarem de te gaudium nuntiari. erat in illis fiducia conscientiae bonae sed cum laude iustitiae publicae. nam et principibus *maximis* gratias ut absolutus egisti, et de sola fortuna ut innocens questus es.

Read *maximas* (cf. *TLL* 6. 2225. 18 and 3. 6. 4 *cumulatissimas gratias* ago, 3. 51 *ago quidem studio tuo uberes gratias* [sim. 4. 23. 1]). I do not think *maximis* can be defended as a conventional epithet (cf. *TLL* 8. 185–88).

3. 62 mandatis tuis perfunctus apparitor, ubi ad destinata pervenimus, testimonii nostri vacuus abire non debuit, praecipue ne studium circa me tuum male locatum putares, † si gratiam relatus sermo solvisset. have igitur dico et praemitto iam petitionem, ut *sqq.*

Nisi (Suse) is the obvious correction, and fully acceptable were it not for 5. 21 “potuit sine litteris nostris sanctus Aurelius, si quid de me quaereres, explicare; sed quia fastidiosa salutatio est, quae nudo sermone defertur, iunxi scripta mandatis. have igitur dico tibi simulque deprecor, ut” *sqq.* This suggests “si gratiam relatus (nudus) sermo solvisset.” Symmachus normally uses *sermo* of letters, so that a distinguishing adjective is required.

3. 81. 1–2 o nuntium voto tuo similem! nullum decuit haec scribere nisi eum, quem constat optasse. ne tamen praeter gaudium, quod de processu fratris ad-
quiro, etiam iudicium tuum admodum decolorem! solus enim tibi visus
sum reparatis virtutum praemiis posse gaudere.

The letter begins with a complaint about Rufinus' silence; Symmachus had intended to reproach him, but must now thank him instead. Something has dropped out after *optasse*, e.g., “(et querella quamvis iusta urgenda vereor) tamen ne” (or *vereor ne iam*) sqq.

3. 88. 2 quare parce *oblique* stilo caedere, quod displicere auribus tuis timui.

Read *obliquo*?

- ibid. vereor ne mihi posthac utilius sit mittendis litteris abstinere; nam proximam de
te paginam offensione taciturnitatis elicui, et *ideo* praestabis forsitan culpae
meae, quod non reddis officiis.

For *ideo* read *id*.

4. 11 saepe ad te litteras dedi, quas credo suppressas . . . nunc eventus optabilis
veterum morum sequestrem scriptis meis praestitit. igitur *diligentia*, quam mihi
proficiscentis fidelitas pollicetur, erga te cultum salutationis instauro.

I do not understand *diligentia quam . . . pollicetur*. Read *diligenti(ae fiduci)a?*

4. 37 nec despexeris hominem, si numerum stipendiorum eius examines; sed tardiores
processus habet verecundia, quae facit, ut intra merita *honoris* sui haereat.

Read *honor sui*: “makes the honor paid to it (i.e., its possessor) stop short of desert.”

4. 50 cum illo autem mihi privatae vitae condicio communis est. atque utinam boni
principis circumspectio ipsius quoque operam sibi vindicet! ferendum! ambo
devotione placeatis, si circa me litteris ambo cessetis.

Ferendum P m. 1, ΓΦ: -*dam* VMF: -*da* P m. 2. *Ferendum!* seems incredibly abrupt (early editions have *fiet ut*). *Sed* (*set*) could be supplied between -*et* and *fe*-.

4. 59. 1 priores igitur litterae meae magis desiderium sermonis tui quam castigationem
taciturnitatis habuerunt, et ideo elaborandum tibi non est, ut mihi amoris
tui fidem *faciat*.

Evidently a misprint for *facias*.

4. 63. 2 credo *mireris*, cur non potius de gregibus tuis postulem.

Read *credo, miraris*.

4. 64. 1 nec tantum epistulas meas poscis, sed oratiunculas quoque nostras nondum *tibi* editas deferri in manus tuas praecipis.

I suspect that *tibi* should be ejected; cf. 7. 58 “duas oratiunculas meas nuper editas.”

5. 18 meae quieti nullus invidet; *quin* longius producenda est, cum vicem nostram bonorum amicorum cura fungatur.

Quin is Mommsen’s correction of *quia*. *Quin* in these letters is used in questions and commands (4. 10 *quin* age, 4. 30. 3 *redeamus quin ergo ad infucatos nominum titulos*), also in combination with *etiam*, *immo*, and *potius*. It would be safer to read *quae*.

5. 30 quae res si tibi grata est, et mihi fenus solve conloqui et perlatori talium litterarum benignus adride. cui ut ipse nihil potui praestare quam litteras, ita tu nihil poteris *plus* tribuere quam favorem.

Nihil magis potui P m.2. Omit *plus*, which does less than nothing for the sense and spoils the rhetorical balance. “I could but give him a letter and you can but give him your favor” implies that Magnillus cannot give *less*.

5. 40 quos ut mature urbi studiisque restituas, vicissim de te postulo. nam [†] si te ab ac petitione dissimulem, videor eorum peregrinationem non tuae detulisse reverentiae, sed meo praestitis fastidio.

Ita P (*hac* m.2): *nam si te tali hac* (*hac* om. M) *petitioni* VM. Seeck conjectures *nisi te hac petitione destimulem*, misunderstanding the sense. Read with early editions *si ab hac petitione dissimulem*, “if I should neglect to make this request.” *Dissimulare* regularly means “neglect” in Symmachus (e.g., 1. 34. 2, 1. 88, 2. 6. 2, 4. 17, 5. 44, 5. 72). For the construction with *ab*, see *TLL* 5. 1. 1483. 72.

5. 56 ad te diptychum candidati et apophoretum librarum argenti duarum per hominem tuum misimus adprobare cupientes, editioni te nostrae *(re)*, non animo defuisse.

Re is Seeck’s supplement, but Symmachus will have written *corpore*.

5. 60 horum unus vir probabilis Turasius familiaris meus, qui indictae sibi litis iniuriam fortunae imputat, gratiam vero boni *reditus* de tuo potissimum sperat auxilio.

Reditus ("income"?) scarcely seems to fit. *Exitus*?

5. 67 iuvenalis industriae est excire saltibus feras et liberalia studia silvestri voluptate distinguere. sic olim Marsus inpiger et fortis Sabellus robur habuerunt. nostris annis parta proficiant. est huius indulgentiae in quibusdam avibus exemplum, ut nutrimenta senescentibus aetas vicissim prima conportet.

Read *nostris annis* (*ab aliis*) *parta proficiant* or an equivalent supplement (e.g., *vestro labore*).

5. 75 ergo exoratus ac facilis non ut transfugam sedis alterius, sed ut adfectatorem fori quietioris amplectere; qui tibi † beneficiisque debet, quidquid ei ex officio bonae fortunae aut commoditatis accesserit.

Que om. V: *qui tibi beneficii instar usque debet* coni. Seeck. What is wrong with *beneficiisque* <*tuis*> (*tuisque beneficiis* iam Scioppius)?

5. 97 maluerim quidem tuum solamen adipisci, (sed) quia litteris secundus ad gratiam locus est, desiderio tui scriptorum compensatio satisfecit.

Seeck added *sed*, but the sense is incomplete. *Praesentis* is needed after *tuum*.

6. 49. 1 homine vestro ad Campaniam revertente scribenda consumpsi, et tamen sanctum atque honorabilem virum parentem vestrum Severum nolui † *adhibere* vacuum litterarum mearum, ut et morem salutationis exsequer et de opere, quod domi construis, iudicium meae inspectionis aperirem.

Abire Iuretus. Better *ad te abire*. The letter is addressed *NICHOMACHIS FILII*S, but is really written to the elder brother, like some others; see Seeck, p. clxi.

6. 66. 1 paucis a patria diebus afuimus, et theatralibus ludis reditum nostrum suffragia civium poposcerunt. nos tamen etiam nunc suburbanum viae Ostiensis incolimus recursum tantisper morantes, ne preces expectasse videamur. *quo* si facere ex sententia religionis tuae ante voluissim, et vitassem periculosa, *sqq.*

Quo turns out to be another misprint, for *quod* (*nobis* in 2. 13. 1, for *novis*, is another, but Callu has put it right).

7. 52 quid tibi pro tanta in me meosque cura dignum rependam? officia tua revera aequare non possum, spondeo tamen, numquam me tibi cultu mentis et adfectione cessurum, nec ambigo, *etiam* te pro benefactis solam boni animi exoptare mercedem.

The definitely inappropriate *etiam* should be replaced: *nec ambigo autem te* sqq. (cf. *TLL* 2. 1594. 45).

7. 59. sacras mihi litteras Iulius agens in rebus exhibuit leopardorum munificentiam continentes; idem tuam desideratam nobis paginam simul tradidit. principe igitur loco salutationis tibi solvo reverentiam: dehinc postulo, ut pro me gratias agas votivae largitatis auctori—quae iucundior erit, si *ei* commendationem prosecutio oportuna [*sic*] praestiterit—, et quod verecundia mea vix implere potuisset, oris tui adfabilitas *prosequatur*.

The words *si ei . . . praestiterit* make no sense to me. Read *mei*: “if a timely accompaniment (by you) provides a recommendation of myself.” The Emperor’s gift will be all the more agreeable if Symmachus’ thanks, as conveyed by the (unknown) addressee, recommended Symmachus himself to the imperial favor. For *prosecutio* cf., e.g., 7. 105. 2 “adieci praeterea commonitionem . . . ut . . . familiares meos datis ad potissimos Hispanorum litteris prosequatur,” 7. 111 “fratrem meum Severum multo sermone prosequeretur,” 7. 122. 1 “sed, ut scio, luculentioribus verbis . . . absentis gaudium presequeris.” *Exsequatur* (Iuretus) is required below.

7. 62 ideo † amicitia comparatum est, ut officiorum vicibus mutua gubernetur utilitas.

The obvious correction *comparata* (Iuretus) is established by the passage which Symmachus is echoing: Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 111 “idcirco amicitiae comparantur ut commune commodum mutuis officiis gubernetur.” *A deo comparatum est* (Suse; *a deo* iam edd. vett.) and *ita amicitia comparatum est* (Kiessling) can be forgotten.

7. 128. 2 quare hortor et deprecor, despuas, si qua sunt inculcata mendacia, atque hunc honorem meritis tuis vindices, ut qualis ipse es, talem te ab omnibus intellegas iudicari. nemo in te transferat odii sui semina. iam dudum enim genus artis est ad alendas vires discordiae suae *metum* sollicitare potiorum.

The letter is written on behalf of one Scipio, an old friend of the addressee, from whom he had been estranged by evil tongues. To say that such slanderers aroused the *fears* of great men like Patruinus seems tactless. Symmachus would surely not wish to imply that he was afraid of Scipio. Perhaps *mentes*.

8. 42 quis enim Siciliam recto itinere petens sermonem meum potest reddere in longinquis † *studiis* constituto?

Seeck thought that *studiis* conceals the name of a town in south Italy, perhaps *Rudiis*. But *in longinquis Rudiis* is not the way a Latin writer would normally express "in distant Rudiae." Perhaps *solitudinibus* or *saltibus* (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 27. 1).

9. 16 interea de animalibus ludorum apparatus praeparandis admonitionem frequentare non desino, cum *ineam* sponsionem, *quam* me istius curae vacuum reddidisti.

Quam me istius Γ: *tu me huius* (II). Seeck reads his conjecture *quod iam me istius*, which I do not understand. Substitute *cum ingeram sponsionem* ("promise"), *quam me* (Scioppius) *istius*.

9. 86. 1 conpotem me optati nuntii praestitisti: fateor enim verae amicitiae hanc esse rationem, ut commoda nostra mutuo gaudeamus. gratulor igitur cum tibi *familiaritatis* nostrae, tum famae temporum, quam recentis iudicii aequitas in aeternam gloriam vindicavit.

Read *tibi*, <*tum*> *familiaritati nostrae*?

D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY
Harvard University

ODOVACER THE HUN?

The recently issued second volume of the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* will stimulate, as well as facilitate, reconsideration of the many difficulties which beset our understanding of the poorly reported fifth century.¹ The purpose of this article is to reexamine one such problem—the ethnic identity of Odovacer, the first barbarian king of Italy—and to argue that in this instance the editors of *PLRE* have put their authority behind a theory of his origins which is extremely dubious.

The entries for Odovacer, Onoulphus, and Edeco state that Odovacer and his brother Onoulphus were Huns because they were the sons of that Edeco, Attila's bodyguard and ambassador, whom Priscus explicitly calls a Hun.²

The acceptance by some contemporary scholars of the notion that Odovacer was a Hun can be traced to an article that perhaps few will remember, written thirty-five years ago by R. L. Reynolds and R. S. Lopez.³ In it they undertook to combat an unduly Germanicized view of late Roman history by proposing Ural-Altaic etymologies for a number of barbarian personal and tribal names

1. J. R. Martindale, et al., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II: A.D. 395–527 (Cambridge, 1980).

2. Priscus frag. 8 (ed. Müller, *FHG* 4, p. 78): τοῦ Οὐννου γένους.

3. "Odoacer: German or Hun?" *American Historical Review* 52 (1946): 36–54.