



Ausonius' Ephemeris and the Hermeneumata Tradition

Author(s): Joseph Pucci

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Classical Philology*, Vol. 104, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 50-68

Published by: [The University of Chicago Press](http://www.uchicago.edu)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/603571>

Accessed: 02/04/2012 07:39

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



The University of Chicago Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Classical Philology*.

AUSONIUS' *EPHEMERIS* AND THE HERMENEUMATA TRADITION

JOSEPH PUCCI

A VARIETY OF ISSUES conspires against an easy understanding of Ausonius' *Ephemeris*, not least the difficulties attending to the construction of a stable text.¹ Manuscript V, the only witness for the collection, records seven poems, including Poem 3, the so-called *precatio matutina* or *oratio*, which alone of the collection's pieces is separately witnessed (in MS Z). But the collection as constituted by modern editors includes an additional piece, Poem 7, usually called *In notarium*, recorded separately in Z and included in the *Ephemeris* on interpretive rather than paleographical grounds,² the idea being that Ausonius could not have meant for such a piece to stand alone.

More difficult perhaps is the issue of the collection's genre. Since Ausonius is an assiduous student of the ancient literary tradition, one expects to find clear signals in the *Ephemeris* as to generic assumptions, not to mention the challenges put to them. Yet no such signals are readily apparent. The old view of Wilhelm Brandes that the collection is a mime of the kind mentioned by Pliny (*mimiambi*) seems impossible to defend. For Brandes reads *minus* for *minus* in a gloss in V—*hic minus abet finem causae superi<ori>s et initium sequentis ephemeris* ("here the end of the preceding piece is lacking and the beginning of the following piece")—meant simply to mark the *lacuna* between the ending of *Ephemeris* 6 and the beginning of the next piece in the collection.³ No less difficult is the view put forward by Kurt Wagner that the piece is modeled on the *Opuscula ruralia* of Serenus, a claim difficult to defend given the paucity of what remains of Serenus.⁴

Anna Carlotta Dionisotti has offered a more plausible view, suggesting that the collection represents a literary reworking of ancient school colloquia. This argument has the attraction of coupling Ausonius' obvious familiarity

1. My text is R. P. H. Green, ed., *The Works of Ausonius* (Oxford, 1991). The collection is virtually unstudied in the scholarship, though several translations of it, apart from the standard Loeb version, have been ventured, on which see Green, *Ausonius*, 246.

2. A datum of the manuscript tradition not lost on Sesto Prete (*Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula* [Leipzig, 1978], 330–31), who alone among Ausonius' editors prints the *In notarium* as a separate piece (XXVII) in his reckoning of the collection.

3. W. Brandes, *Beiträge zu Ausonius* 4 (Wolfenbüttel, 1909) and Green, *Ausonius* (n. 1 above), 245–46.

4. See J. K. Wagner, *Quaestiones neotericae imprimis ad Ausonium pertinentes* (Leipzig, 1907), 45–46, and Green, *Ausonius*, 246.

with this form with his tendency to experiment with genres.⁵ But Dionisotti makes this claim in passing, by way of concluding an edition of, and brief commentary on, one such school colloquium that she found while reading through humanistic Greek dictionaries. She mentions Ausonius only at the very end of her paper's forty-two pages:

Ausonius not only tells us explicitly about teachers and teaching, his poetry has exceptionally close links with scholastic culture, . . . where scholastic content is elevated to a more polished style. I do not know if the sources of the *Ephemeris* have been investigated or with what result . . . At any rate, there is quite a suggestive likeness between parts of the *Ephemeris* and the . . . colloquium [of the *Hermeneumata* tradition]. . . [and enough] remains [of the *Ephemeris*] . . . to suggest that the poem may be a literary reworking of the school colloquia of [Ausonius'] day, too lowly otherwise for recognition in the exclusive world of Latin literature.⁶

In what follows I hope to document more fully the "suggestive likeness" recognized by Dionisotti. My claim is that Ausonius explicitly models the *Ephemeris* on school colloquia found in ancient *Hermeneumata*.⁷ I take up where Dionisotti leaves off, attending in some detail to the verbal linkages affiliating Ausonius' collection and ancient *Hermeneumata*. As the details of my argument emerge, I will be able to argue for a new ordering of the poems of the collection and offer an emendation to the initial line of Poem 5. If my claims in what follows are persuasive, it will make possible the more important task of investigating the ways in which Ausonius reworks the *Hermeneumata* tradition into a literary form, about which, too, I will have something, albeit brief, to say. I begin with some general comments about this tradition, then compare passages from the *Ephemeris* to those found in the colloquium edited by Dionisotti, taking up specific claims as they arise.

THE *HERMENEUMATA* TRADITION

Hermeneumata are bilingual schoolbooks of which there are many surviving examples conveniently edited by Georg Goetz.⁸ They are difficult to assess. They seem to have been long-lived, were deployed for at least several centuries in the West, and adapted to changing cultural and pedagogical assumptions. Thus, the manuscripts that report them, which date from no earlier than the eighth century, are sure to be different from the late antique autographs from which they derive. Nonetheless, Dionisotti's accounting of Goetz' redactions sheds light on a consistency among them not heretofore recognized, demonstrating that across redactions nearly all *Hermeneumata*

5. A. C. Dionisotti, "From Ausonius' Schooldays? A Schoolbook and its Relatives," *JRS* 72 (1982): 83–125.

6. *Ibid.*, 124–25.

7. To so argue is to run against the grain, needless to say, of a tradition in which those who have examined the *Ephemeris* have seen in it not traces of school primers but vestiges of higher literary forms. On this view, see R. E. Colton, "Ausonius' *Ephemeris* and Three Classical Poets," *CB* 51 (1974–75): 27–30, and M. Galdi, "Sulla composizione dell' *Ephemeris* ausoniana," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 12 (1931): 77–89.

8. G. Goetz, ed., *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1882) [hereafter, *CGL*].

contain four parts: (1) an alphabetical dictionary, usually devoted to verbs; (2) a topical dictionary; (3) a section of colloquia, composed of scenes depicting everyday life in dramatic form; and (4) some set texts for reading practice, such as Aesop’s fables, mythological compendia, and so on.⁹

Dionisotti also uncovers a consistency of presentation in the narratives making up the colloquia portions of the *Hermeneumata* that Ausonius would seem to follow in the *Ephemeris*. His apparent reliance on the form, like the consistency of the extant colloquia by which we can measure it, is best examined by reproducing Dionisotti’s tabular comparison of colloquia across redactions (table 1). In this, *C* represents the *Hermeneumata* edited by Dionisotti, while *M/E*, *Mp*, *L*, and *S*, represent, respectively, the Monacensia/Einsidlensia, Montepessulana, Leidensia, and Stephanus redactions.¹⁰ The numbers represent the ordering of material in each redaction. At the far right column, under *A*, the ordering of material in the *Ephemeris* is indicated, using the numeration I propose for the poems (with the traditional numeration in brackets).

TABLE 1: NARRATIVES IN COLLOQUIA AND AUSONIUS’ *EPHEMERIS*

	C	M/E	Mp	L	S	A
Getting up	1	1	1	1	1	1
School	2	2		2	2	2
Business/social		3	2	5		3/4/5 [= 3/4/7]
Lunch	3	4	3	3		6/7 [= 5/6]
Preparing dinner	4		4			
Baths	5	5	5	4		
Dinner		6		6	6	
Bedtime	6	7	7			8

SOURCE: A. C. Dionisotti, “From Ausonius’ Schooldays? A Schoolbook and Its Relatives,” *JRS* 72 (1982): 93 (with modifications to column *A*).

One gains from Dionisotti’s table a sense of the consistency of these narratives across redactions. This is an unexpected coherence, given that *Hermeneumata* as we now possess them were compiled in western Europe across centuries in multiple locations and in many hands. Yet this consistency clears some stable ground, for it is difficult to imagine that the order of colloquia material in dozens of manuscripts across redactions could have somehow consistently changed from late antique exemplars. On the contrary, because it exists across redactions, this consistency suggests that extant colloquia are more stable witnesses to their late antique exemplars than heretofore imagined. More to the point, this stability is important for the *Ephemeris*, because it makes it much easier to say that extant colloquia reflect in their ordering and contents something comparable to the colloquia Ausonius would have known in the fourth century. The consistency also means that we can assume on the part of Ausonius’ readers more than a

9. Dionisotti, “Schoolbook” (n. 5 above), 86–87.

10. *CGL*, 3: 119–279 (*M/E*); 3: 283–343 (*Mp*); 3: 3–72 (*L*); 3: 347–90 (*S*).

general familiarity with the colloquia as a type of writing. Given that the multiple versions of the colloquia conform to the same order, to know the type is all that is necessary.

Coherence of this sort is strengthened across redactions by shared vocabulary, revealing a verbal consistency that also affiliates the extant colloquia. Not surprisingly, Ausonius keys into this verbal tradition in the *Ephemeris*, further bolstering the case to be made for his reliance on the colloquia, but also linking individual poems of his collection to corresponding sections of the colloquia in precise ways. In demonstrating this reliance more fully in what follows, I use Dionisotti's colloquium as my model text. In my citations from it, I ignore the Greek only because Ausonius also ignores it as he seems to make his way toward reworking the school primers of late antiquity.

THE *COLLOQUIA*, A POSSIBLE PREFACE, AND *EPHEMERIS* 1–4

I begin with a conjecture occasioned by Ausonius' presumed reliance on the colloquia tradition. One of the striking features of Ausonius' *Ephemeris* is that it lacks a preface, something virtually all of Ausonius' other collections possess, even one so small as the *Bissula*. In fact, Ausonius relies on prefaces in his output so consistently that it is fair to say he practically creates for them a new function in the Latin literary tradition, employing them to establish biography and to articulate *recusationes*, but also to affirm the protocols of his poetry, keying his readers into the generic and literary assumptions of his pieces that otherwise might go unnoticed.

The prefaces to the *Parentalia*, for example, make clear that the collection is to be viewed against the backdrop of Ovidian elegy, taking shape from the *Fasti*, *Amores*, and *Heroides*. The prefaces to the *Bissula*, by contrast, clear a lyric space for the collection, making evident the poet's intent to engage Horace and Catullus in his own attempt to write private poetry of a specific kind. For a collection as idiosyncratic as the *Ephemeris*, therefore, it seems odd, to say the least, not to have some sort of assistance in this way from a poet who in some cases goes so far as to write not one but two prefaces to some of his collections.

Yet perhaps we do have some assistance in this regard after all. There is an intriguing gloss to the *Ephemeris* in manuscript V: *incipit Ephemeris id est totius diei negotium* ("Here begins the *Ephemeris*, that is the business of an entire day"), a seemingly nondescript phrase that nonetheless resembles the prefaces of *Hermeneumata*.¹¹ The sentiments of this gloss, for example, underlie this line from the preface to C: *sic incipiam scribere, ab exordio lucis usque ad vesperum* ("thus let me begin to write, from the rising of the sun down to evening"). More specifically, the language of the gloss itself approximates the phrasing of the preface to S: *incipiamus scribere totius diei conversationem* ("Let us begin to write of the course of the whole day").

11. On the gloss in V, see Green, *Ausonius*, 245; on the concluding lines of the preface to *Hermeneumata*, see Dionisotti, "Schoolbook," 107 n. 2.

Needless to say, the gloss may well be the work of a copyist, in which case it tells us nothing about the *Ephemeris* beyond the sentiments of a scribe removed by centuries from Ausonius' time. Yet it seems odd that a gloss written centuries after Ausonius lived could somehow by chance replicate the phrasing of the prefaces found in *Hermeneumata*. Instead, it may be that the gloss represents a corruption of the manuscript tradition of the *Ephemeris*, reflecting what was once a brief preface to the collection that somehow became garbled in the transmission of Ausonius' text—which is notoriously messy anyway. On this view, no lengthy preface was necessary, because the simple phrase *id est totius diei negotium* ("that is, the business of an entire day") made clear to readers familiar with *Hermeneumata* that what followed was to be modeled on them. This would seem to work in the same way that, say, a literary refashioning of our own primers might begin with a phrase such as "Let's read with Dick and Jane," wording that would leave no doubt as to the tradition being evoked.

If this is the case, then Ausonius signals in these brief "prefatory" remarks his literary intention to rework the colloquia narratives. His verbal reliance on the colloquia certainly supports this view, as a comparison of *Ephemeris* 1 and our model *Hermeneumata* text, *C*, suggests. First, *Ephemeris* 1:

Mane iam clarum reserat **fenestras**,
iam strepit nidis vigilax hirundo;
tu velut primam mediamque noctem,
 Parmeno, dormis.
dormiunt glires hiemem perennem, 5
sed cibo parcut; tibi causa **somni**,
multa quod potas nimiaque tendis
 mole saginam.
inde nec flexas sonus intrat aures
et locum mentis sopor altus urget 10
nec coruscantis oculos lacesunt
 fulgura lucis.
annuam quondam iuveni quietem,
noctis et lucis vicibus manentem,
fabulae fingunt, cui Luna somnos 15
 continuarit.
surge, nugator, lacerande virgis,
surge, ne longus tibi **somnus**, unde
non times, detur; rape membra molli,
 Parmeno, lecto. 20
fors et haec **somnum** tibi cantilena
Sapphico suadet modulata versu;
Lesbiae depelle modum quietis,
 acer iambe.

Already bright morning is opening her windows, already the watchful swallow twitters from her nest; but you, Parmeno, sleep on as if it were the first or the middle watch of the night. Dormice sleep the winter round, but they leave food alone; while you slumber on because you drink deep, and swell out your paunch with too great a mass of food. And so no sound enters the winding channels of your ears, a deep stupor presses on your consciousness, and all the dazzling beams of light do not vex your eyes. Old tales

pretend that once upon a time a youth slept on year in, year out, untroubled by the interchange of night and day, because Luna made his slumbers unending. Up with you, you waster. What a thrashing you deserve! Up, or a long, long sleep will come on you from where you dread it least. Out with you, Parmeno, from your downy bed. Perchance this little poem, tuned to the Sapphic meter, encourages your sleep? Come then, brisk Iambus, and banish now the restful Lesbian strain.¹²

Compare the following passage in *C* (3–6):

nutrix, nutritor, vesti me et calcia; tempus est, hora est, ante lucem ut manicemus ad scholam. **mane** cum coepi vigilare (et mane vigilavi), **surrexi**, **surrexi** de **somno** et a grabato, de lecto. hoc primum facio (primum feci): deposui dormitoria, et sumpsi linteum, amictulum, pallium, fasciam, tunicam, et reliqua indumenta. tunc ergo excitavi meum puerum, dixi illi: **surge**, puer, vide si **iam** lucet: aperi ostium et **fenestram**.

Nutrix, Nutritor, dress and shoe me; it's time, the hour is here, before daylight, for us to set out in the morning for school. For in the morning, when I have begun to be awake (and in the morning I have awoken), I have gotten up, I have gotten up from sleep and from the bed, from the cot. This I do first (I did first): I left the bedroom and put on my undergarments and overclothes, cloak, tunic and other clothes. By then I have aroused my boy and have said to him: Get up, boy, see if it is light; open the door and window.

The scene in *C* is straightforward. The narrator calls to his *nutrix* and *nutritor* to dress him, for it is time to be off to school. He is already up, and has put on some clothes and aroused his slave, who has followed his orders to open the door and window. In *Ephemeris* 1, Ausonius follows these lines verbally in important ways. Of course there can be no opening gambit in which a *nutritor* or *nutrix* have roles to play, but the poet does use the similar-sounding word *nugator* in line 17 to describe his own slave, Parmeno (*surge, nugator, lacerande virgis*, “Up with you, you waster. What a thrashing you deserve!”). Moreover, the first, second, and last words of line 1, *mane*, *iam*, and *fenestras*, hold prominent positions in the opening lines of *C*. The repetition of *surrexi* in the model becomes in Ausonius *surge*, . . . / *surge* . . . (17–18), and the phrase *surge, puer* in the model becomes in *Ephemeris* 1 *surge, nugator*. An affiliation is managed also in the shared use of *somnus/-um* in *Ephemeris* 1, whose phrasing at line 18 (*surge, ne longus tibi somnus*, “up, or a long, long sleep will come on you”) parallels the wording of *C* (*surrexi, surrexi de somno*, “I have gotten up, I have gotten up from sleep”).

Ausonius follows the same verbal strategy in *Ephemeris* 2, which offers more details about getting up and starting the day:

Puer, eia, **surge** et **calceos**
et **linteam** da sindonem;
da, quicquid est, **amictui**
quod iam parasti, ut prodeam;
da rore fontano abluam 5
manus et **os** et lumina.
pateatque fac sacrarium
nullo paratu extrinsecus:
pia verba, vota innoxia

12. Translations of the *Ephemeris* are from H. G. Evelyn White, *Ausonius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), 1: 13–31, with slight modification. All other translations are my own.

rei divinae copia est. 10
 nec tus cremandum postulo
 nec liba crusti mellei,
 foculumque vivi caespitis
 vanis relinquo altaribus.
 deus precandus est mihi 15
 ac filius summi **dei**,
 maiestas unius modi,
 sociata sacro spiritu—
 et ecce iam vota ordior
 et cogitatio numinis 20
 praesentiam sentit pavens.¹³

Hi, boy! Get up! Bring me my slippers and my linen tunic: bring all the clothes that you have ready now for my going out. Fetch me spring water to wash my hands and mouth and eyes. Get me the chapel opened, but with no outward display: holy words and guiltless prayers are furniture enough for worship. I do not call for incense to be burned nor for any slice of honey-cake: hearths of green turf I leave for the altars of vain gods. I must pray to God and to the Son of God most high, that co-equal Majesty united in one fellowship with the Holy Spirit. And now I begin my prayers: my heart feels Heaven is near and trembles.

Compare the corresponding section of *C* (5–14):

... et sumpsi **lintheum, amictulum**, pallium, fasciam, tunicam, et reliqua indumenta. ... **surge, puer**, vide si **iam** lucet: aperi ostium et fenestram. at ille ita fecit. tunc ei dixi: **da res**, porrige **calciamenta**, plica vestimenta mundiora et repone cotidiana separatim. **da amictulum** et pallium. accipe. accepi et reliqua. deinde descendo de lecto, praecingor, pallium circumdo collo, vestio me (vestivi me) ... sic poposci caligas, bracas, udones, ocreas. **calcior, calciatus sum. datur mihi aqua ad faciem**, lavo. cum lavi, **os** colluo, <cum> collui, extergo **lintheo** mundo, extersi. **da** sabanum extersorium, exterge, exterseram. affer aquam mundam tuo domino, meo fratri, ut et ille mecum (aut nobiscum) procedat in publicum ad scholam. ... sic aptatus (sic aptati) **adoravimus (adoravi) deos** omnes, et petivi (et petivimus) bonum processum et eventum diei totius.

... and put on my undergarments and overclothes, cloak, tunic, and other clothes. ... Get up, boy, see if it is light; open the door and window. And he did it. Then I said to him: get my things, prepare my shoes, fold my cleaner clothes and put away my daily garb separately. Give me my overclothes and cloak. Do it. I took the remaining clothes. Then I got out of bed, I am dressed, I put on the cloak, I dress myself (I dressed myself). ... thus I asked for my boots, sandals, pants, slippers, leg coverings. I put on my shoes, I have put on my shoes. Water is brought to me for my face, I wash. When I have washed, I rinse out my mouth, and when I have rinsed, I wipe with a clean towel, I have wiped. Bring the cloth for wiping, wipe, I had wiped. Bear fresh water to your master, my brother, so that he might go out with me (or with us) in public to school. ... Thus prepared (thus prepared) we adored (I adored) all the Gods, and I sought (we sought) good progress and outcomes for the whole day.

Ausonius' phrase *puer, eia, surge et calceos* ("Hi, boy! Get up! Bring me my slippers") initiates a series of affiliations with *C*. For example, the repetition in *C* of *da* (*da res* ... *da amictulum*) finds its way into Ausonius' piece

13. I follow Green, *Ausonius*, 8, ad loc. (and also his *Ausonii Opera* [Oxford, 1999], 8, ad loc.) in rejecting the final line of poem as an interpolation, which I thus do not print here.

in the phrases *da, quicquid est . . . / da rore fontano*, ("bring all the clothes . . . fetch me spring water," 3, 5). *C* also makes use of *calciamenta*, *calcior*, and *calciatus sum*, which resonate in Ausonius' *calceos* (1); while *lintheum* and *amictulum*, which are well represented in *C*, are also used by Ausonius in his opening verses (*lintheum*, 2; *amictui*, 3).

Verbal affiliations such as these point also to shared themes, in this case, the need to clean oneself in order to meet public obligations and to pray. The sort of prayer commended in the two pieces is not the same, of course, for the brothers of the model offer prayers to the pagan gods, and the words of their prayers go unrecorded, whereas Ausonius offers a prayer to the Christian God. But that prayer, which forms the next, longest, and most famous poem of the *Ephemeris*, affirms Ausonius' reliance on the colloquia tradition by expanding on an important moment mentioned, but left undeveloped, in it—and one that, given the dictates of Christian culture, demands expansion of this sort.

Ephemeris 4 takes up the theme of going out after prayers, and offers more details of Ausonius' normal day by keying further into the verbal texture of the colloquia tradition:

Satis precum datum deo,
quamvis satis numquam reis
fiat precatu numinis.
habitum **forensem** da, puer.
dicendum **amicis** est "**ave** 5
valeque," **quod fit mutuum**.
quod cum per horas quattuor
* * * *
inclinat ad meridiem,
monendus est iam Sosias.

Now I have prayed enough to God, albeit we sinful men can never entreat Heaven enough. Boy! Bring me my morning coat. I must exchange greetings with my friends. But since [the sun] for four full hours [****] now verges toward noon, I must speak a word with Sosias.

Compare *C* (15–16):

hinc postea procedo de domo **in publicum**, in auditorium, in pontem, in vicum, in forum, cum meo puero capsario, aut paedagogo aut condiscipulo. quis notus aut **amicus** occurrit mihi, saluto eum nomine suo. **resalutat** me nomine meo. . . . **ave, domine, avete**; bene tibi sit.

Afterwards, from here I proceed from home into the public, into a hall, onto a bridge, onto a street, into the forum, with my slave carrying my bookcase, either for my teacher or my fellow student. If any well-known friend runs up to me, I greet him by name. He returns the greeting by saying my name. Hello, Master, hello. Be well.

C continues the narration of a normal morning's activities. After praying, the boys depart for school. While making their way, they meet various and sundry friends, with whom they exchange greetings. Ausonius records a similar scenario in *Ephemeris* 4. He concludes his prayers and decides to make his morning rounds (1–4), the declaration of which, featuring the word *forensem*, links to the phrase *in publicum* found in *C*. More important, perhaps,

is the affiliation of the scenes in which the poet speaks with his friends, an exchange that includes a salutation/valediction (*ave / valeque*, 5–6), that is akin to the phrase *ave . . . avete* found in *C*. One sees also in Ausonius' phrase *quod fit mutuum* (6) the idea expressed more simply in *C* by the verb *resalutat*.

THE COLLOQUIA AND *EPHEMERIS* 5–8

In *Ephemeris* 1–4 Ausonius signals his reliance on the colloquia in two ways. First, he follows the chronology of *C*, making allowances for what does not credibly pertain to an adult's routine, but otherwise moving through the day in an easily comparable way. More important, he also relies on the vocabulary of the colloquia, using key words and phrases in such a way as to lessen considerably the likelihood of coincidence. This easy reliance dissolves, however, when one comes to *Ephemeris* 5, for it in no way accords with the schoolroom scene taken up next in *C*. Instead, *Ephemeris* 5 broaches the topic of lunch, while 6 offers up directions for the cook, Sosias, in its preparation.

Needless to say, as a grown man and teacher of some repute, Ausonius can hardly be expected at this juncture to speak, as the model does, of counting his numbers or practicing his penmanship in a schoolroom, for there is no credible way to make such activities pertain to the poet's daily habits. But the rote of a normal school day does include recitation and writing, and Ausonius speaks of just these activities in the *Ephemeris*, though not until Poem 7. I propose therefore to move *Ephemeris* 7 from its current position in the collection as the penultimate piece to a place immediately following 4, making it Poem 5 in the collection.

Such a move is warranted for three reasons. First, the ordering of topics reflected in *C* sanctions it, for Ausonius' reliance up to this point in the collection is otherwise abruptly halted at Poem 5. Second, as I hope to demonstrate below, this move also brings the order of the collection as a whole into agreement with *C*, for the new placement of Poems 5–8 accords perfectly with the order commended in *C*. More importantly, perhaps, it is a move permitted by the textual tradition of the collection, for, as I suggested at the start, in the manuscript tradition, *Ephemeris* 7 is not copied out with the other poems in manuscript V, but instead exists separately in Z and is included in the *Ephemeris* on interpretive, rather than textual, grounds.

The evidence commended by the colloquia tradition, therefore, affirms the collective editorial hunch that *Ephemeris* 7 for some reason fell away in the manuscript tradition but is indeed part of the collection. More than simply justifying this hunch, however, the colloquia tradition also helps readers to know precisely where to place Poem 7 in the collection, since editors have positioned it as the seventh poem, again, on strictly intuitive grounds. Not coincidentally, when Poem 7 is moved, Ausonius's reliance on *C* resumes at precisely that point at which the school day accords in a credible way with his own activities. Here is *Ephemeris* 7 (my 5):

Puer, notarum praepetum
sollers minister, advola.

bipatens pugillar expedi,
cui multa fandi copia,
punctis peracta singulis, 5
ut una vox absolvitur.
ego volvo libros uberes
instarque densae grandinis
torrente lingua perstrepo;
tibi nec aures ambigunt, 10
nec occupatur pagina
et mota parce dextera
volat per aequor cereum.
cum maxime nunc proloquor
circumloquentis ambitu, 15
tu sensa nostri pectoris
vix dicta iam ceris tenes.
sentire tam velox mihi
vellem dedisset mens mea
quam praepetis dextrae fuga 20
tu me loquentem praevenis.
quis, quaeso, quis me prodidit?
quis ista iam dixit tibi,
quae cogitabam dicere?
quae furta corde in intimo 25
exercet ales dextera?
quis ordo rerum tam novus,
veniat in aures ut tuas
quod lingua nondum absolverit?
doctrina non hoc praestitit 30
nec ulla tam velox manus
celeripedis compendii:
natura munus hoc tibi
deusque donum tradidit,
quae loquerer, ut scires prius 35
idemque velles quod volo.

Boy, my secretary, skilled in dashing shorthand, make haste and come! Open your folding tablets wherein a world of words is compassed in a few signs and finished off as a single phrase. I ponder works of generous scope; and thick and fast like hail the words tumble off my tongue. And yet your ears are not at fault nor your page crowded, and your right hand, moving easily, speeds over the waxen surface of your tablet. When I declaim, as now, at greatest speed, talking in circles round my theme, you have the thoughts of my heart already set fast in wax, almost before they are uttered. I would my mind had given me power to think as you outstrip me when I speak, and as your dashing hand leaves my words behind. Who is he who has betrayed me? Who has already told you what I was but now thinking to say? What thefts are these that your speeding hand perpetrates in the recesses of my mind? How come things in so strange an order that what my tongue has not yet vented comes to your ears? No teaching ever gave you this gift, nor was ever any hand so quick at swift stenography: Nature endowed you so, and God gave you this gift to know beforehand what I would speak, and to intend the same that I intend.

And the corresponding section of *C* (27–28):

deleo et praeduco ad superpostum, et scribo, et ostendo doctore meo. et laudavit me quod bene scripsi. relego quod scripsi ad distinctum. recito. recitavi prior te.

I erase and compose and write over and I write and I show it to my teacher. And he praised me because I wrote well. I read again what I wrote separately. I recite. I recited before you.

In *C*, the boy writes lessons, shows them to the teacher, and receives much praise before moving on to recite. Much the same procedure occurs later in the day, when ancient authors are set for recitation and specific passages from them are copied out. Thus there is a rhythm to this part of the day's work, with recitation and writing given equal weight. To be sure, there are no verbal linkages in *Ephemeris* 7 to the pertinent portion of *C*, but, as the passages above suggest, a clear thematic affiliation exists. For example, Ausonius sets the scene in his poem almost as if it were a schoolroom. The *puer*, his slave/secretary, has before him wax tablets (3) and is set to take dictation. Ausonius ponders important works of literature and fits them into his own compositions (7–9). All the while, the *puer* copies what Ausonius recites, never missing a word, and earning his master's praise (10–13), much like the schoolboy of *C*. It is the closest Ausonius comes in his own daily routine to a situation of the kind recorded in *C*, and Ausonius would seem to go out of his way to construct the scene in such a way as to remind readers of it, especially in the effusive praise he lavishes on his *puer*. Both boys are, so to speak, good students.

Needless to say, in placing *Ephemeris* 7 after 4, I intrude upon the order of the poems as preserved in the manuscript and upset the linkages that otherwise connect Poems 4, 5, and 6. My proposed change, however, makes good sense in the collection as we have it not only because it accords well with the order of topics commended in *C*, but also because it helps better to explain the activities described in Poems 5 and 6. Thus the poem's inclusion here bolsters the unity of the collection while strengthening the narrative logic of its pieces.

It does so in several ways. Recall that in *Ephemeris* 4, after having made his morning rounds, Ausonius says that it is four hours past dawn, that is, approximately 10:00 A.M. (*quod cum per horas quattuor * * * * inclinet ad meridiem*, "But since [the sun] for four full hours [****] now verges toward noon," 4.7–8).¹⁴ He notes his intention to speak with the cook, Sosias, in order to get preparations for lunch underway. But he also has a good space of time in which to conduct other business, for lunch will not start until noon, two hours hence. When Ausonius next mentions Sosias, in the conclusion to Poem 5 and at the beginning of 6, it is now 11:00 A.M. (*quantum iam totus in horam / sol calet; ad quintam flectitur umbra notam*, "the warm sun is already passed well on into his fourth hour, and on the dial the shadow is moving on towards the fifth stroke," 6.1–2). The *puer* is sent off in Poem 5 to invite guests to lunch, while in 6 Ausonius is left to attend to Sosias' cooking and the final preparations for lunch.

The chronology offered here is clear. *Ephemeris* 4 announces the poet's intention to get lunch plans underway, while 5 and 6 take the story down to

14. The lacuna after 4.7 does not impede the sense of what Ausonius says here.

11:00 A.M. and later. Nor is there a gap in the narratives offered in 5 and 6. That it is time in 5 to invite the poet's friends to lunch is a function of the arrangements for lunch clearly described in 6: lunch is nearly ready, so the guests can be safely brought to Ausonius' table.

Yet, while Poems 5 and 6 are clearly connected narratively and by means of diction—Sosias is mentioned in the last line of 5 and the first line of 6—no such connection is possible for 4 and 5. In fact, the internal logic of these pieces argues for a separation of 4 from 5 and 6, for a lunch invitation of the kind offered in 5 would not be forthcoming before lunch had been carefully arranged. By specifying the time of day involved in both 4 and 5 (10:00 and 11:00 A.M., respectively), therefore, Ausonius indicates in no uncertain terms that he wishes for us to recognize that a considerable space of time has elapsed between these pieces.

That being the case, *namque* makes no sense as a temporal or narrative conjunction in the opening line of *Ephemeris* 5. Normally binding a sentence more closely to what precedes, or introducing a real reason for a previous statement,¹⁵ *namque* can do neither in the initial line of 5 because the narratives of 4 and 5 are temporally distinct—and explicitly so. If we admit *namque*, the transition from 4 to 5 sounds something like this in English paraphrase: "It's 10:00 A.M. and I need to speak to my cook about planning for lunch, **for** it's time to invite my guests to lunch." But this makes little sense—in English or in Latin. Add to this the fact that 6, closely linked to 5 already, gives the time as 11:00 A.M., and it becomes clear that *namque* is difficult to defend.

A temporal adverb is needed at the beginning of Poem 5 that respects the obvious gap in time separating the initiation of planning for lunch that occurs in 4 at 10:00 A.M. and the final preparations for serving the now-already-cooked lunch described in 5 and 6. For just this reason the Renaissance editor Salmasius proposed emending *namque* to *iamque*, and Roger Green, in citing Salmasius' emendation, notes that it "could well be correct."¹⁶ Not unhelpfully, the colloquia tradition seems to support Salmasius' emendation and Green's estimation of it, for conjunctions, such as *namque*, are never used to further the simple vignettes that fill their pages. Only adverbs are used—*postea*, *deinde*, and *tunc*—and *iamque* is conveniently an adverb.

Salmasius' emendation helps to negotiate the temporal cues given in Poems 4, 5, and 6, but surely we are not meant to think that it takes Ausonius an hour to prompt Sosias into action. Moving 7 to a place immediately following 4 allows Ausonius the chance to explain what he does in the hour between 10:00 and 11:00 A.M. that otherwise goes unexplained. Emending to *iamque* thus makes clear at the beginning of 5 that the hour Ausonius spends with his *notarius* is concluded, and that "now" it is time to issue invitations for lunch because Sosias has prepared it.

It makes perfect sense that Ausonius would work with his slave/secretary in the morning, attending to letter writing and dictation—precisely the duties

15. Allen and Greenough's *New Latin Grammar* 324 h, k.

16. See Green, *Ausonius*, 260, ad loc.

liquamen, cervisiam. ad condimenta piper, laser, cyminum, mixta condimenta, sales, cepam et allium, caules et porros, betas et malvas, ova et asparagus, nuces et faselia . . . **obsonium** et parva poma . . . et alium **conditi**.

Get together with your fellow slave, I must enjoy a bath. Serve up . . . your many pots, make dinner, place the coals in the kitchen; sweep the room, and bring water . . . open the couch, arrange the seats and spread the covering . . . open the larder and bring out wine vases and wine, oil and water, beer. For seasoning, pepper, plant juice, cumin, mixed spices, salt, onion and garlic, cabbage and leeks, beets and mallows, eggs and asparagus, nuts and phaselias . . . provisions of several kinds of fish and small fruits . . . and other kinds of seasoning.

Ausonius offers in 6 a compressed version of this portion of *C*, mentioning both food and spices, though not in the same detail as *C*. His initial use of *prandendum est* further strengthens the affiliation of this poem to the previous one, while shared diction (*ollas, condita, obsonia, gustu*) confirms Ausonius' reliance on the colloquia narrative.

Ausonius' reliance on *C* in *Ephemeris* 8, the concluding poem of the collection, is not as readily apparent. Following the lunchtime vignette in *C* that accords with *Ephemeris* 6, there are sections that treat dinner, the baths, and going to bed, with a concluding segment on a visit to the forum, none of which would seem to be treated by Ausonius. Instead, in 8, Ausonius describes bad dreams and disquieted sleep, jumping from lunchtime preparations to a description of a dreamscape with no explanation offered as to the course of events that leads from lunch to sleep. Since I have moved 8 into a position immediately subsequent to 6, readers are now left with a lacuna that inhabits both the ending of 6 and the beginning of 8—a loss that the intrusion of 7 did nothing to lessen.

Given Ausonius' apparent reliance on the colloquia tradition elsewhere in the *Ephemeris*, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the missing lines at the conclusion of 6 as well as those at the beginning of 8 treated, if not all, then at least some of the topics taken up in that tradition. These include going to the baths, dinner, and the details of bedtime. As it turns out, however, there are grounds for affiliating Poem 8 and the colloquia tradition, since the description of forensic activity in *C* becomes in Ausonius' reckoning an aspect of his own dreamscape. Thus, while it is true that Ausonius does not treat the baths or dinner in the *Ephemeris* (at least as it has come down to us), 8 does seem to bring the collection around to an implicit treatment of going to bed. The poem reports, after all, a dreamscape whose diction and themes affiliate it in key ways with the final scene in *C*. Ausonius opens as follows (*Eph.* 8.1–21):

. . . quadrupedum et volucrum, vel cum terrena marinis
monstra admiscentur; donec purgantibus euris
diffatae liquidum tenuentur in aera nubes.
nunc **fora**, nunc lites, lati modo pompa theatri
visitur, et turmas equitum caedesque **latronum**
perpetior: lacerat nostros fera belua vultus
aut in sanguinea **gladio** grassamur harena.
per mare navifragum gradior pedes et freta cursu
transilio et subitis volito super aera pinnis.

may well have begun 8 with the words just as we have them. First, Ausonius' opening may be understood to replicate in its own way the style of the colloquia narratives, which often degenerate into, or do not fully develop out of, the simple word lists relevant to the scene in question. After all, the colloquia were meant to support the dictionary portions of *Hermeneumata*, offering students practice sentences using basic vocabulary in stories whose contents were innocuous and familiar.

This tendency to privilege underdeveloped narratives can be seen clearly here in the phrasing of *C*. The opening sentences are scarcely fluent, even for something so simple as a schoolbook, and especially when compared to earlier portions of *C*, which do have, in their own way, a fluent if simple Latinity. Here, on the other hand, the opening lines of this final scene offer what amounts to a rubric in the phrase *de . . . negotiis forensibus* ("on . . . public business"), followed by various inflected forms of the verb *lucubrare*, then various words that deal with darkness and sleep, a crazy-quilt style that continues for several lines, until the narrative proper picks up again in a more orderly way with the phrase *requiesce modice dum procedit dominus meus* ("rest for a bit while my lord proceeds"). Against this backdrop, Ausonius' opening seems, if anything, fluent and accessible. It begins grammatically *in mediis rebus*, to be sure, but not to the detriment of sense.

A second reason goes to the theme of *Ephemeris* 8, for, beyond perhaps mimicking the crazy-quilt style of the opening of this portion of *C* in his own opening phrasing, Ausonius may also hope here to recreate some of the immediacy of the scene he is set to describe by making style reflective of sense. His scene is a dreamscape, after all, and such a scene does not admit of fluent, straightforward narration, but, on the contrary, is more readily evoked through narrative that is disjointed and disconnected—though ultimately, as here, still comprehensible.¹⁸

Whatever one wishes to make of the opening of *Ephemeris* 8, the larger point of contact here is thematic, for Ausonius' dreamscape takes place initially in a forensic setting that, along with shared diction and situations, affiliates it to *C*. In particular, Ausonius contrasts in his poem trips to the courts and theater with images of troops striking down robbers (8.4–6). Then, perhaps in imitation of the fast-paced, somewhat illogical style of *C*, the poet becomes in his dream a victim of an attack by a wild beast in the arena and then, just as quickly, is cut by a sword. As befits a dream, there is a visual alacrity to these scenes: now Ausonius sees himself applauding

18. The *Bissula* collection helps along these points in two ways. First, Ausonius explicitly enjoins readers of the *Bissula* to drink before they read, or better, to fall asleep and think they have dreamed what they read (*admoneo: ante bibas; sed magis hic sapiet, si dormiet et putet ista / somnia missa sibi*; 2.6, 9–10). The sentiment here is similar, and the style of the opening of *Eph.* 8 may dramatize the kind of narrative that demands drinking or sleeping in order to make the best sense. The claim of fragmentation attached to the opening of *Eph.* 8 has also been applied to the closing lines of the *Bissula*, because the collection seems to end as abruptly as 8 is thought to begin. And yet in a poem about the inability of words to proffer beauty, it makes every sense for the *Bissula* to end exactly as it does, where it does, with the poet enjoining the painter to success only if he can paint motion. Since the painter cannot do this—no artist can replicate motion—the poet simply ends with that thought. Perhaps the same conclusion, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to the opening of *Eph.* 8.

in a large group, now he is a barbarian prisoner, now he is watching the temples of the gods, now he reclines on a couch at a feast, and now he sits eating at a bad restaurant (8.17–21).

Shared vocabulary confirms these thematic connections. Of course, both pieces feature words attending to sleep (*somnium*, *somnum*) and to forensic activities (*fora*, *forum*, *forensibus*), the key words that establish the shared contexts of both scenes. But the poet's attention to litigation (*lites*, 8.4) leads him to speak of *latrones* (8.5) in the same way the model speaks of both *reus* and *latro* in its narrative. The capture and punishment of bandits figure prominently in both pieces also, while the scenes detailing these activities make prominent use of the word *gladius*.

When Ausonius dispels his bad dreams at the end of *Ephemeris* 8, then, inviting *mala somnia* (8.34) to leave him undisturbed in peaceful slumber, he brings the collection around again to its first poem. There, recall, the sleeping Parmeno was roused by the poet from a drunken slumber, the poet playing the role of indulgent master to overindulging slave. Ausonius clearly has had a restful night at the start of the collection, for he is up early and ready to proceed to, and to share with us, his new day. Ausonius has done the best he could with this material, recognizing that its diction points to the morning preparations he treats in Poem 1, while parlaying aspects of the forensic vignette into a dreamscape that brings his more polished version of the daily round to its logical conclusion in sleep and dream.

In turn, dreaming allows Ausonius the opportunity to affiliate the conclusion of his poem with Virgil *Aeneid* 6.895–901, insinuating the *Ephemeris* into the Latin poetic tradition by making readers think of the ending of the *Aeneid*'s sixth book. More to the point, that move points up the literary stakes involved in poeticizing, so to speak, the ancient colloquia tradition, by allowing readers to link the *Ephemeris*' ending to Virgil's (and Ausonius') own estimations of truth and falsehood. Evoked here and at the conclusion of *Aeneid* 6, the gates of true and false sleep, with their respective emblems of horn and ivory, dramatize the connection of dreaming to an authentic kind of knowledge of human experience. In the *Cupido cruciatur*, Ausonius uses the same image to make a point about the fragility of mimetic forms, since that complex poem begins with the description of an ekphrasis that becomes a dramatization of a scene from the *Aeneid* that turns out to have been little more than the poet's bad dream. The multiple spaces thus traversed—pictorial, textual, mental—point up the wily ability of language to deceive readers, who no sooner read a description of a painting, or a dramatization of Virgil, before they find themselves wandering in the mind of the poet and eventually in the mind of Cupid himself.

The same sort of ploy is managed here, though not with quite the same effect. Readers do not find themselves, as they do in the *Cupido*, suddenly in the mind of Cupid's dreamscape, fluttering with him through the gate of false dreams. But, as in the *Cupido*, Ausonius follows the same gate, preferring its deceptions to the fears associated with the gate of true sleep. The peaceful slumber associated with the pleasures of false sleep also allow for the soothing ending the poet confects (*Eph.* 8.34–43):

ite per obliquos caeli, mala somnia, mundos,
 irrequieta vagi qua diffant nubila nimbi, 35
 lunares habitate polos; quid nostra subitis
 limina et angusti tenebrosa cubilia tecti?
 me sinite ignavas placidum traducere noctes,
 dum redeat roseo mihi Lucifer aureus ortu.
 quod si me nullis vexatum nocte figuris 40
 mollis tranquillo permulserit aere somnus,
 hunc lucum, nostro viridis qui frondet in agro
 ulmeus, excubiis habitandum dedico vestris.

Away, you evil dreams, through the sloping firmaments of heaven, where wandering storms scatter the still-vexed clouds; dwell in the moon-lit skies. Why steal you in at my doors and haunt the darkling couch in my confined dwelling? Leave me to pass night unexcited in calm repose until golden Lucifer comes back for me in the rosy east. But if soft sleep shall soothe me with his gentle breath, nor any shapes trouble my rest by night, this grove—the elm which spreads its green leaves on my estate—I dedicate for you to dwell in on your night watches.

These words, with their calm evocations of quiet repose, mingled with gentle images of light and dark cast in an almost idyllic surrounding, create at the poem's end a surreal landscape in which the *Ephemeris* collection as a whole functions. At the least, the untroubled sleep described here leads readers round again to the opening of the collection, allowing for a new day of refreshed activity.

But the simplicity of the collection is undercut on this view, which may go to Ausonius' larger purposes in composing the *Ephemeris*. For if we conceive of the colloquia narratives as naive caricatures of human experience, then perhaps the Virgilian conclusion underscores the harm of such views, in which attention to the superficial niceties of life suppresses consideration of life's deceptions. On this view, one can choose to live in defiance of life's complexity, or remain deceptively happy as a result of taking a simpler view of its bounties. Ausonius would seem to make the same point in the *Cupido*, though about the more rarified topic of mimesis, where Virgil's gates point up the ability of mimesis to deceive. We can choose, the poet seems to say there, to believe mimesis or to recognize that it lies. Here, too, the poet would seem to say, on a broader view, that we can follow the simpler path of explanation, adhering to the rote of everyday experience, which is pleasurable; or we can opt for something more complex and troubling that also surely reflects human experience more adequately. That the poet himself at the collection's conclusion seems to choose the easy path does not take away from his dramatization of both paths, and at the least places the *Ephemeris* on a new literary footing as a meditation on what it means truly to be alive and truly to feel, topics that the best poetry always attempts to take up.

How much of that taking up is owed in the first instance to the *Hermeneumata* tradition I have tried to suggest in these pages. At the least, one can argue that the poet takes as his starting point the ordering and the vocabulary of the colloquia of this tradition, thus introducing to Western literary culture a kind of writing (I am not sure genre is the right word) heretofore not

present in it. His literary intentions—the ways he insinuates his poems into the Western poetic tradition, their individual meanings, and their collective thrust—are more difficult to fathom and remain to be examined more fully than I have in the brief comments just ventured. It is certain, however, that Ausonius' poetic strategies, whatever they may be, need to be analyzed against the backdrop of the ancient schoolbooks that he presumably used himself in his own teaching, and found enough to his liking to refashion to fresh poetic purposes.

Brown University