

word is *quousque*, and Cicero finds its use malicious: '<mihi> dici "quousque" irridentis magis est quam reprehendentis'. If he suspects Laterensis of tantalizing him with a half quotation of *quo usque tandem*, then his confusion is easily explained: he is incapable of saying nothing, but is afraid to say too much in case he has imagined the whole thing. If in addition the original words are Catiline's, he has to decide whether to be as insulted, more insulted, or less insulted than if the words had been his own.

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HORACE AND THE SIBYL (*EPODE* 16.2)

It seems clear that Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus knew, if not the third *Sibylline Oracle* itself, prophecies like it.¹ An unnoticed parallel between that work and Horace may confirm this conclusion and afford a small insight into the Latin poet's art.

Or. Sib. 3.363–4: ἔσται καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος, ἐσειῇται Δῆλος ἄδηλος,
(cf. 8.165–6) καὶ Ῥώμη ῥύμη . . .

Epod. 16.2: suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

Both *Roma* and *viribus* correspond to Ῥώμη: Horace is playing on the identity of Ῥώμη and ῥώμη in Greek,² a pun perhaps implicit in the passage from the *Sibyllines* too.³ *Ruit* corresponds to ῥύμη; exactly what kind of correspondence this is depends on the meaning of ῥύμη. Two senses are possible:

(1) 'A ruin'; cf. Nikiprowetzky:⁴ 'Rome une ruine'. It looks as though Lactantius took the word to mean this: 'at vero cum caput illud orbis occiderit et ῥύμη esse coeperit, quod Sibyllae fore aiunt . . .' (*Div. Inst.* 7.25.7). I know of no other example of ῥύμη = *ruina*; and the word does not apparently recur in the *Sibyllines*. But such an extension of sense, perhaps under the influence of the Latin word, from ῥύμη = 'impetus, rush'⁵ is not difficult; and the need for a word that would make a pun with Ῥώμη would have encouraged it.

(2) 'a (mere/single) street'; cf. Kurfess:⁶ 'Rom wird sein eine Gasse'. This is a common meaning of ῥύμη in later Greek; but it makes the phrase less weighty as a threat and more strained in expression than (1) does. However, again, the

¹ See recently D. Ableitinger-Grünberger, *Der junge Horaz und die Politik* (Heidelberg, 1972), pp. 72–4; N. Horsfall, *Prudentia* 8 (1976), 85–7; I. M. Le M. Du Quesnay, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 75–81.

² See first Lycophron, *Alex.* 1233; another clear example in Augustan poetry is Prop. 4.10.17, where Romulus is called 'urbis (Ῥώμης) virtutisque (ῥώμης) parens'. In general, see Th. Birt, *De Romae urbis nomine sive de robore Romano* (Marburg,

1887), pp. 5–11.

³ As it clearly is at 8.143–5; 12.67; 13.81; 14.40.

⁴ *La Troisième Sibylle* (Paris, 1970), p. 309.

⁵ For examples of this meaning in later Greek, see, besides LSJ, *Or. Sib.* Praef. p. 4 1.87 Geffcken; Joseph., *Ant.* 7.239; G. Mayer, *Index Philoneus*, s.v.; Origen, *De orat.* 24.3.

⁶ *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (Munich, 1951), p. 89.

need for a pun could be the cause and justification of the awkwardness; and Lactantius' paraphrase is not incompatible with this meaning.

(1) is probably to be preferred; in that case, *ruit* echoes both the sound and sense of *ῥύμη*. But if (2) is right, it still echoes its sound.

In *Epode* 16.1 Horace forcefully recalls, with some bitterness, Virgil's words in *Eclogue* 4.4:¹

Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas
Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas

Yet more forceful, and yet more bitter, if his following line recalls a *Cumaeum carmen*. And the authority of *Epode* 16.2 comes not merely from oracles, but from a familiar pattern of historical explanation for the fall of states; cf. Livy 30.44.8: 'Nulla magna civitas diu quiescere potest; si foris hostem non habet, domi invenit, ut praevalida corpora ab externis causis tuta videntur, suis ipsa viribus onerantur.'²

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¹ Which poem came first is still under discussion: for references, see Ableitinger-Grünberger, op. cit., p.66 n.1.

² Cf. Cic. *De rep.* 5.1; Florus 3.12.6; Lucan 1.70–2; Aug. *C.D.* 18.45 (lines 61–4). Also comparable in various ways

are Hdt. 7.49; 8.16.2 (cf. Thuc. 1.69.5; 6.33.5); Thuc. 6.18.6; Hor. *Od.* 3.4.65; Prop. 3.13.60. See also T. J. Luce, *Livy* (Princeton, 1977), p.288.

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A NOTE ON LIVY 21.2¹

Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane uoluntate principum, in imperio positus. (Livy 21.2.3–4)

Hamilcar's first awareness of Hasdrubal took the form of a homosexual attraction, or so at least it was said, and he remained favourably disposed towards Hasdrubal in view of his other qualities, promoting a marriage between Hasdrubal and his daughter. The other qualities are defined by the words 'profecto animi'. These two words have the appearance of a prudish addition intended as a sober redressing of the balance after an uncalled-for lapse. Without them 'aliam indolem' would have a wider frame of reference than purely mental qualities, extending to all round ability, capability in a wide area of activities and situations. This would suit the picture of Hasdrubal given in the rest of the chapter, which is that of a shrewd diplomat. The combination 'indoles animi' occurs elsewhere in Livy (1.23.10, 9.17.10, 29.31.2), and 'profecto' is a favourite word of his (see the *Concordance*, p.1163). When one adds the consideration that Livy was a very prudish man (cf. R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1–5*, p.4),

¹ Brief as it is, this note could not have stood without the generous help of Professor R. M. Ogilvie.