

is no parallel instance in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* of *ager* (or any word like it)⁶ being used as an object of *levare*; the regular construction appears to be that either the direct object is personal and the ablative some type of burden or the burden is the direct object and the ablative personal.⁷ Thirdly, there is evidence of corruption in the text immediately before *levavit*: at some stage *vectigali* became *vectigale*. It is possible that the corruption goes deeper. As it is impossible to produce sense by changing one letter, I would change two and emend *levavit* to *locavit* and thus read *Sp. Thorius, ... qui agrum publicum vitiosa et inutili lege vectigali locavit*.⁸

There is now only one possible translation: 'Thorius, ... who let out the public land for a rent by means of a faulty and useless law.' As examples of the use of an ablative of price with *locare*, compare Livy (27. 3) *locavit omnem [agrum] frumento* and Pliny (*Ep.* 9. 37. 3) [*praedia*] *si non nummo sed partibus locem*. Both Appian and Cicero can now be seen as referring to the same bill of the same tribune. Moreover, the implied criticism of the first half of the sentence of Cicero can have its expected conclusion. Finally, the implication is clear that this law was justly repealed *οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον*.⁹

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⁶ The nearest example I can find in Cicero of an impersonal object with an impersonal ablative is at *Flacc.* 33: *sumptus... civitates levaret*, but in this instance it is easy to see how the object could be regarded as personal since it is the people of those states who are being relieved of the expense.

⁷ This point is, unfortunately, not as strong as it might appear in view of Cicero, *ad Att.* 1. 19. 4, *liberabam agrum*. Whilst *liberare* and *levare* are not exact synonyms, nevertheless it is far from certain that Cicero could not have written *agrum publicum... vectigali levavit* had he so wished.

⁸ R. Seager has criticised conventional solutions in lines similar to those adopted here (*CR* n.s. 17 (1967), 12). But his own proposal *vexavit* produces an unhappy run of long syllables and an unsatisfactory clausula; one also feels doubts about two instrumental ablatives in the same clause. It is, none the less, comforting to find oneself in agreement with that scholar on so many points.

⁹ I am deeply indebted to Professor R. G. M. Nisbet, who has done much work on my behalf and greatly helped me with his suggestions, and to Mr P. S. Derow of Wadham College, without whose initial encouragement and subsequent guidance this note would never have been written. Neither, of course, is in any way responsible for such mistakes, whether of omission or commission, as remain.

PHILODEMUS 26. 3 G-P

ἐνθάδε τῆς τρυφερῆς μαλακὸν ῥέθος, ἐνθάδε κείται
 Τρυγόνιον σαβακῶν ἄνθεμα σαλμακίδων,
 ἥ καλύβη καὶ δοῦμος ἐνέπρεπεν, ἥ φιλοπαίγμων
 στωμυλὴ, μήτηρ ἦν ἐφίλησε θεῶν,...

Gow and Page take it, no doubt rightly, that the subject is a eunuch priest of Cybele, called Trygonion, 'little dove' (like the *palumbulae* of Apul. *Met.* 8. 26), and grammatically feminine for the same reason as Attis in Catullus 63.¹ The alternative possibility is that the subject really is a woman, whether called Trygonion or Tryphera (line 1);² in that case, since the Great Mother loved her, she might be a dancing-girl like Kallistion in the poem immediately following this one in the *Anthology* (7. 223,

¹ A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: the Garland of Philip II* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 396.

² The lemmatist glosses it εἰς Τρυγόνιον ἑταίραν τοῦ Σαβακῶν ἔθνους ὁρμωμένην.

by Philodemus' contemporary Thyillus), who danced at the festivals of Dionysus and Cybele.

The problem is the third line. Half the difficulty was solved by Louis Robert, who showed from three inscriptions that *δοῦμος* means a religious club or council.³ Gow and Page accept this explanation, and go on: 'The vindication of *δοῦμος* makes us reluctant to alter *καλύβη*, which may have had a suitable meaning now unknown... In the present context the *καλύβη* might be the meeting-place of the *δοῦμος*, the centre of their *φιλοπαίγμων στωμυλίη*.'⁴

Help may be at hand, if we suppose – what is not at all improbable, given Philodemus' career – that the scene of the epigram is Rome. The temple of the Great Mother was on the Palatine, and on the Palatine there was a *καλύβη*, referred to by Josephus in his narrative of the murder of Caligula (*AJ* 19. 75, 90). In the topography of the pre-Neronian *Palatium*, the description of its site as *πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου* fits most naturally at the western corner of the hill, precisely where the Great Mother's temple stood.⁵ Moreover, the hut at the top of the *Scalae Caci*, which was attributed variously to Cacius, Faustulus, Remus, and even Romulus himself (though the *casa Romuli* proper was on the Capitol), must have been in the same area, and should, I think, be identified with the one mentioned by Josephus.⁶ Conon, a mythographer of the Augustan period, calls Faustulus' dwelling a *καλύβη*, and sites it *ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερῷ*. Dio refers to a temple of Jupiter 'in the precinct of Victory' (*ἐν τῷ Νικαίῳ*). The temple of Victory was at the western corner of the hill, above the Lupercal; it was evidently close to the temple of the Great Mother, since the latter's image, brought from Pessinus in 204 B.C., was housed there until her own temple was built.⁷

The simplest explanation is that the *καλύβη* was next to the temple of the Great Mother, and served as the club-house or common-room of her eunuch priests. Its attribution to figures of Rome's ancient past may indicate an attempt to 'naturalize' her into the Roman tradition, comparable perhaps to the way Romulus' mother Ilia became Rhea Silvia,⁸ borrowing one of the names of the Great Mother herself.

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³ L. Robert, *REG* 58 (1945) xii; *CIG* 3439, *Ath. Mitt.* 23. 362, 35. 144; cf. also Hesych. s.v. *δοῦμος* (Wackernagel), Hipponax fr. 30. 2 (Masson).

⁴ op. cit. 397–8.

⁵ See *LCM* 5. 10 (Dec. 1980), 231–8, esp. 235 f.

⁶ Diodorus 4. 21. 2 (Cacius), Varro *ap. Solinus* 1. 18 (Faustulus), Prop. 4. 1. 9 (Remus); Dion. Hal. 1. 79. 11, Plut. *Rom.* 20. 5–6, *Notitia urbis Romae* s.v. 'regio X'; cf. Dio 53. 16. 5 (Romulus). *Casa Romuli* on Capitol: Vitruv. *Arch.* 2. 1. 5, Sen. *rhet. contr.* 2. 1. 5, Macr. *Sat.* 1. 15. 10, *CIL* xvi 23. 2. 25.

⁷ Conon, *FGH Hist* 26F 1.48.8; Dio 45. 17. 2, cf. 47. 40. 2, 60. 35. 1 (Zeus *Nikaïos*); Dion. Hal. 1. 32. 3–33. 1 (Lupercal); Livy 29. 14. 13, with F. Castagnoli, *Arch. Class.* 16 (1964), 185 f. For the site of the temple of Victory, see *Ant. Jnl.* 61. 1 (1981), 35–52.

⁸ First attested in Varro, *LL* 5. 144 and Castor of Rhodes, *FGH Hist* 250F 5.

AN ALLUSION IN THE LITERARY TRADITION OF THE PROSERPINA MYTH

...locus ut ipse raptum illum virginis, quem iam a pueris accepimus, declarare videatur

Cicero, *Verr.* 2. 4. 107

exigit ipse locus raptus ut virginis edam:

plura recognoscas, pauca docendus eris

Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 417–18