

he derived so much learned detail. Evander then is appealing to Jupiter as a fellow Arcadian, *docte*.

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### MEZENTIUS' REMORSE

tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas,  
ut pro me hostili paterer succedere dextrae,  
quem genui? tuane haec genitor per vulnera servor  
morte tua vivens? heu, nunc misero mihi demum  
exitium infelix, nunc alte vulnus adactum!

(*Aeneid* 10.846–50)<sup>1</sup>

Mezentius has been exiled because of his savage tyranny ('infandas caedes,...facta tyranni/effera', *A.* 8.483f.) but until now has felt no remorse for his unspeakable crimes. In battle he has been wounded by Aeneas and would have lost his life had his son not heroically come to his rescue. Now at last, as he sees Lausus' corpse brought in, the proof of such unmerited piety moves him. He feels shame that his own love of life should have caused his son's death, and that his barbarity and the resulting disgrace of his exile should have dishonoured the young man's name: 'idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen,/pulsus ob invidiam solio sceptrisque paternis' (*A.* 10.851f.). For the first time, therefore, he feels both the shameful wretchedness of exile and the pain of his wound. At v.850 we should thus read not *exitium*, but *exilium*.

These are the arguments rightly put forward by R. D. Williams.<sup>2</sup> To them we could add the point that for Mezentius death, far from being *infelix*, is now the only honourable course capable of easing his guilt and grief. Hence his resolve to die: 'nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo./sed linquam' (*A.* 10.855f.). It could be objected, however, that manuscript evidence for *exilium* is weak. Page,<sup>3</sup> for example, declared that *exitium* was 'certainly right' and pointed out that it was 'the reading of the best MSS.'. *Exilium* does seem originally to have stood in *P* before correction<sup>4</sup> and was also read by Servius, but we should welcome evidence from nearer Virgil's own time. Such evidence is forthcoming. At Statius, *Theb.* 9.49ff., Polynices, another exile, laments his devoted companion Tydeus, who has given his life in his friend's cause. Polynices' situation is essentially the same as Mezentius': although he was in exile before, it is only now that the self-sacrifice of one dear to him makes him feel the full misery of his shameful condition. His words clearly echo those of Mezentius, and he too expresses amazement at such unlooked-for *pietas*, and shame that he lives while Tydeus is dead: as Mezentius' speech was concluded by his resolving to seek death in battle so Polynices' speech is the prelude to an attempt at suicide (9.75ff.). To the passage quoted above compare especially *Theb.* 9.49–53:<sup>5</sup>

hasne tibi, armorum spes o suprema meorum,  
Oenide, grates haec praemia digna rependi,  
funus ut invisa Cadmi tellure iaceres  
sospite me? nunc exul ego aeternumque fugatus,  
quando alius misero ac melior mihi frater adeptus.

<sup>1</sup> Text by R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> *CR* 11 (1961), 195ff.

<sup>3</sup> T. E. Page, *The Aeneid of Virgil, Books VII–XII* (London, 1900).

<sup>4</sup> R. D. Williams, art. cit. 196.

<sup>5</sup> Text by D. E. Hill, *Mnemosyne* Supplement 79 (Leiden, 1983).

Given the general similarity of Statius' imitation to its model '*nunc exule ego .../quando alius misero ac melior mihi frater adeptus*' must surely be a deliberate verbal echo of '*nunc misero mihi demum/exilium infelix*'. We may accordingly assume that little more than a century after Virgil's death *exilium* was firmly ensconced in the text of the *Aeneid*.

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## NOTES ON PIGHIUS AND VALERIUS MAXIMUS

### (1) *Horace, Janus, and Pighius' Acta*

In *PBSR* 54 (1986), 213–28 Andrew Lintott dusts down the fragments of the *Acta Urbana* published by S. V. Pighius in 1615 and universally supposed today to be a forgery. Lintott himself, after a most learned discussion, concurs, but one senses a wistful longing for the fragments to be genuine. The purpose of this note is to offer another reason why sadly this is unlikely.

In lines 17–19 of the fragment we are informed that there has been *RIXA AD IANUM INFIMUM IN CAUPONA*. Lintott *ad loc.* comments: 'Ianus infimus/imus is only known from Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.54 and Porphyry on *Ep.* 1.20.1. For possible identification with the early Ianus Quadrifons of the Forum Boarium, see L. A. Holland, "Ianus and the Bridge", *Papers and Monogr. Am. Ac. Rome* 25 [actually 21], 1961, 38f.' The passage of Horace referred to is one, as Mrs Holland remarks, 'on which much learning and ingenuity have been spent' (p. 42):

'o cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est  
virtus post nummos': haec Ianus summus ab imo  
prodocet.

Mrs Holland joins many historians and topographers in believing that there were three *Iani* at Rome. Her view is that as well as the attested *Ianus Medius* near the Basilica Aemilia in the forum, there was a *Ianus Summus* in the Argiletum and *Ianus Imus* in the Velabrum. All three were ancient crossings on the Forum brook, according to Mrs Holland's – incorrect, I think – view of the original nature of Janus.

Literary scholars have known since Bentley that *Iani non sunt multiplicandi praeter necessitatem*. There is no other evidence for a *Ianus Summus* or a *Ianus Imus* beyond Horace's words, and they admit of other interpretations. Indeed, it is doubtful whether *Ianus summus ab imo* could ever mean *a summo Iano ad imum Ianum* in Latin. Here is Bentley's comment on the passage:

Ceterum falluntur, qui *Ianos* tres hinc sibi fingunt, *summum, medium, imum*: cum unus fuerit vicus, Iani nomine insignitus. Ovidius Ibide v. 181 de Tityo. "*Iugeribusque novem qui summus distat ab imo, Visceraque assidue debita praebet avi.*" An et tres Tityos hinc comminiscunt? Noster Serm. II. 3. v. 308 de seipso: "*ab imo Ad summum totus moduli bipedalis*"; et Art. Poet. 254 "*Primus ad extremum similis sibi.*" Ergo Ianus *summus ab imo* est *totus, universus*. *Medius* autem *Ianus* dicitur, quemadmodum *media mulier* Terentio [Andr. 133], et alia sexcenta.

In fact, it is not clear that we need suppose that the whole street was called *Ianus*, as Kiessling and Heinze remark:

*Ianus*: die *argentarii*, die an und um den *Ianus medius* genannten Bogen ihre Kontore hatten (sat. II 3, 18) und sich selbst offiziell als *a Iano medio* bezeichneten, z. B. unter diesem Namen dem L. Antonius als ihrem Patron eine Statue setzten (Cic. Phil. VI 15), die aber in Volksmunde gewiss kurzweg *Ianus medius* hießen, wie denn Cicero an jener Stelle fortfahrt *itane? Ianus medius in L. Antoni clientela est?* Wenn H. statt *medius* sagt *summus ab imo*, so geht dies entweder darauf,