

As for the source of the error, I suppose that a couple of lines, either 422–3 or 424–5, were left out by accident and written at the foot of the page with a marginal indication of their proper position; at some later stage they were restored at the wrong place. No simple palaeographical explanation for the omission leaps to the eye, but this does not mean that nothing at all can be said by way of explanation. Bailey's list of what he regards as certain restorations of misplaced lines in Lucretius contains four passages consisting of more than a single line, 4.551–2, 5.437–9, 5.594–5, 5.1131–2.<sup>8</sup> We can add 6.934–95, which is no conjecture since the lines appear in the proper order in Book 4. In the second of these five passages omission may with some confidence be ascribed to homoeoteuton (-tis, 445, 439). In the first it is possible that omission may have occurred through homoeomeson (*corpore* 541, *levore* 552), while in the third no plain reason is apparent. However, in the other two passages it is remarkable that the first word of the omitted lines is identical with the first word of the preceding line. 5.1126...1127 runs:

...	
invidia interdum contemptim in Tartara taetra;	1126
invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant	1131
plerumque et quae sunt aliis magis edita cumque;	1132
ut satius multo iam sit parere quietum	1127
...	

Likewise in Book 6: 'cum... (929), cum... (934), usque... (935), fertur... (930).' It is easy to see why 5.1131 and 6.934 might be overlooked, but not why 5.1132 and 6.935 should go too. Now, if both lines were in fact omitted in each case, the process is strikingly similar to our passage, where, assuming the omitted pair of lines to be 422–3, the last word of the first omitted line is *videtur* (422) while the last word of the preceding line is *videntur*. The omission of line 422 is thus easily explained: the scribe finishes *videntur* and thinking that he has written *videtur* goes on, leaving out line 422; but this does not explain the loss of line 423 as well. However, if both lines did in fact fall out in this way, they could have been wrongly replaced, leading to the manuscript word order. The similarity of these three passages suggests that the repetition of prominent words, although not classifiable among the regular mechanical causes of omission, may have contributed to an oversight which led to the initial displacement.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> C. Bailey, 'The Mind of Lucretius', *AJPh* 61 (1940), 283 n. 11.

<sup>9</sup> For helpful comments on this article I am grateful to my colleague Dr M. J. Athorp and to the referee and editors of *Classical Quarterly*.

#### A PUNNING REMINISCENCE OF VERGIL, *Ecl.* 10.75–7 IN HORACE, *Epist.* 1.5.28–9

The fifth poem in Horace's first book of *Epistles* takes the form of an invitation to Torquatus<sup>1</sup> to attend a dinner which the poet is preparing for that evening, the eve

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<sup>1</sup> On the identity of this Torquatus, see R. G. M. Nisbet, 'Notes on Horace, Epistles 1', *CQ* 9 (1959), 73–6. W. Allen, Jr, *et al.*, 'The addressees in Horace's first book of Epistles', *Studies in Philology* 67 (1970), 255–66.

of the Emperor's birthday (line 9 *cras nato Caesare*). The fare will be simple but Horace will see to it that the furnishings, napkins, vessels and plates will be clean and bright and that the company and the seating-plan will be to Torquatus' taste (21–6). Horace will get Butra and Septicius to be there, and Sabinus, too, as long as he is not kept away by a prior dinner engagement or by a girl he'd rather spend the evening with. With Torquatus and Horace, that makes four or five diners, so that there is room for others before the *triclinium* is full, although there shouldn't be too many; or, as Horace puts it (28–9):

locus est et pluribus umbris;  
sed nimis arta premunt olidae caprae.

The letter then concludes abruptly (30–31):

Tu quotus esse uelis rescribe et rebus omissis  
atria seruantem postico falle clientem.

('Write back and tell me how big you want the party to be, and then put your business aside / and avoid the client waiting in your hall by slipping out of the backdoor!')

On the meaning of lines 28–9 there is little disagreement among commentators, whether ancient or modern. Horace's *umbrae* are the hangers-on who, though not invited in their own right, accompany the notable guest to his dinner-engagement.<sup>2</sup> The *olidae...caprae* refer to malodorous armpits which become oppressive if the *triclinium* is overcrowded.<sup>3</sup>

The sudden introduction of b.o. as a limiting factor on the number of people to bring with one to dinner is funny in its own right, if only because it is so unexpected. But I think that there is a further point to Horace's words here which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been noticed.<sup>4</sup> Horace, I think, smoothes the coarseness of the sentiment and refines and enriches its humour by inlaying at least two punning reminiscences of the closing lines of Vergil's tenth eclogue (75–77):

Surgamus: solet esse grauis cantantibus umbra,  
iuniperi grauis umbra; nocent et frugibus umbrae.  
ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae.

Horace brings Vergil to his listener's mind with the series of clear and direct echoes of vowels and rhythm, together with the final *umbris*, at the end of line 28:

locus est et pluribus umbris;  
compare Vergil's:

nocent et frugibus umbrae.

It is possible that Horace intends a pun already in *locus est*, which could yield two readings of line 28: (i) 'there is room for several uninvited guests' and (ii) 'there is a

<sup>2</sup> Maecenas brought two *umbrae* with him to Nasidienus' dinner-party: *cum Seruilio Balatrone / Vibidius quos Maecenas adduxerat umbras* (S. 2.8.21–2). The pseudo-Acronian scholia gloss these *umbras* as *parasitos* (ed. O. Keller [Leipzig, 1904], Vol. 2, p. 199, 9); the same scholia comment as follows on the *umbrae* in *Epistles* 1.5.: *quia umbrae ut putō dicuntur quos secum ducunt qui rogantur ad prandium* (ibid. p. 231, 4–6).

<sup>3</sup> So Porphyrio: *ait arte discumbentium molestum esse odorem alarum eorum, qui hirci dicuntur* (ed. W. Meyer [Leipzig, 1874], p. 274, 14–15); quite other, sexual, interpretations in the scholia of codd. Par. Lat. 7974, 7971 (ed. H. J. Botschuyver [Amsterdam, 1935], p. 355, 27–9) and 17897 (ibid., Vol. 4, p. 345, 18–24). Among modern commentaries that of E. C. Wickham (Oxford, 1891) stands out with this circumspect translation avoiding mention of armpits: 'when a party is too crowded a flock of goats is disagreeably near' (Vol. 2, p. 240).

<sup>4</sup> Not in Carl Hosius, *P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica cum auctoribus et imitatoribus* (Bonn, 1915), nor in Carl Weyman, 'Similia zu Vergils Hirtengedichten. VIII', *WS* 49 (1931), 142–8, nor in subsequent commentaries on Hor. *Epist.*

passage of literature<sup>5</sup> with several mentions of shade'; (ii) is certainly appropriate to *Ecl.* 10.75–6 which contain three mentions of *umbra* in two lines. Furthermore, in the *Eclogues* taken together, Vergil ends the hexameter with a form of *umbra* no fewer than 13 times.<sup>6</sup> Whether or not he has this in mind in *locus est*, with his echo of Vergil's *nocent et frugibus umbrae*, Horace opens a second level at which his own words in line 29 can be understood. What he actually says there – and what alone makes sense in the context of the invitation – is: 'Let's keep the numbers down and avoid problems with b.o.!' The ear attuned to the Vergilian reminiscence hears as well: 'Let's keep those smelly goats out of our dinner-party!'. I suggest below a further possible underlying message.

The last word of line 29 also contains a pun. Horace's *caprae* is the prosaic and colloquial word for '(she-)goat'. It recalls Vergil's poetic word *capellae*,<sup>7</sup> but refers in the invitation, as already noted, to the *foetor alarum* of putative *umbrae*. The goat is a notoriously smelly creature in Latin literature; its smell provides the stock simile for rank armpits in Plautus, Horace's *Satires*, Seneca (echoing Horace), the elder Pliny, Martial and Sidonius;<sup>8</sup> there is even the extravagant image, in Plautus, Catullus, Horace in the *Epodes* and Ovid (echoing Catullus), of a goat actually under the armpit accounting for the unpleasant smell that repels lovers.<sup>9</sup> In all these instances, however, it is the masculine forms *caper*<sup>10</sup> and, especially, *hircus* that are used and it is quite clear, also from other passages, that the smelly creature intended is specifically the he-goat.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the Latin for he-goat, at least in this connection, is properly *hircus*, which in later subliterate Latin comes even to denote the armpit itself.<sup>12</sup> In the context of the *foetor alarum*, the feminine *capra* is found only in the present line of Horace.<sup>13</sup> It has been suggested<sup>14</sup> that Horace uses the feminine in order to bring a delicacy to his expression of the coarse sentiment. In view, however,

<sup>5</sup> For *locus* 'a passage of literature', cf. Ter. *Ad.* 8, 9; Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.223; Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.36, 8.6.44, 47; and see *ThLL* s.v. VII.2, 1592, 40ff.

<sup>6</sup> The word, or a derivative, occurs elsewhere in the line only at 2.8 (*umbras*), 2.3 (*umbrosa*), 9.42 (*umbracula*) and 10.76 (*iuniperi grauis umbra*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ThLL* s.v. III, 304, 56ff., and B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund, 1945), pp. 44–5.

<sup>8</sup> Pl. *Ps.* 738 *hircum ab alis*. Hor. *S.* 1.2.27 (= 1.4.92) *pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum* (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 86.13 *proinde... ac si hircum oleret*). Plin. *Nat.* 27.107 *herba cuius radix... uirus hirci redolet*. Mart. 6.93.3 *tam male Thais olet, quam non... ab amore recens hircus*. Sidon. *Epist.* 8.14.4 *hircorum... uirulentiam*.

<sup>9</sup> Pl. *Cas.* 1018 *ei pro scorto supponetur hircus unctus nausea*. Catul. 69.6 *uallē sub alarum trux habitare caper* (cf. Ov. *Ars.* 3.193 *admonui ne trux caper iret in alas*); Catul. 71.1 *sacer alarum obstitit hircus*. Hor. *Epod.* 12.5 *polypus an grauis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis*.

<sup>10</sup> In our earliest evidence for the word, *caper* means 'castrated he-goat' (Varro in Gellius 9.9.9–10; cf. Martial 3.24.14. Gloss. V 275, 17); this meaning would give additional bite to Catullus 69.6 and to Horace *Epodes* 10.23! *caper* means 'he-goat' first in Verg. *Ecl.*

<sup>11</sup> When he-goat and she-goat are together, it is the male that is smelly: Ov. *Ars.* 2.486 *sustinet immundum sima capella marem*. Mart. 4.4.4 *quod pressā piger hircus in capellā [redolet]*.

<sup>12</sup> For *hircus* = *ala*, *axilla* see *ThLL* s.v. VI.3, 2822, 25ff. Note also *subhircus* (with reflexes in Romance, *REW* 8360). The adjective *hircosus*, which one would expect to mean 'resembling a he-goat' is attested (until Apul. *Met.* 5.25) only with the specialized meaning 'smelling like a he-goat' (adj.) or (noun) 'one smelling like a he-goat' (*ThLL* VI.3, 2819, 77ff.). The same sense is found also for *hircinus* (Pl. *Poen.* 873; see *ThLL* VI.3, 2819, 54ff.) which alone can mean also, neutrally, 'coming from a he-goat': note especially Plin. *Nat.* 28.165 *caprini cornus... magisque hircini*; 28.145 *medulla... hircina et caprina*. No such developed sense relating to bad odour in attested for *caprinus* or *caprilis* (see *ThLL* III, 360, 17ff., 42ff.).

<sup>13</sup> Q. Serenus (*liber medicinalis* 175 *olidae graue quod minxere capellae*) and Sidonius *carm.* 9.238 *olidae marem capellae* are surely echoing Horace (the latter having perhaps misunderstood Hor. *carm.* 1.17.7 as *olentis uxores mariti?*).

<sup>14</sup> See the commentary of A. S. Wilkins (New York, 1885), ad loc.

of the Vergilian echo in line 28, it seems more likely that the point of the unusual use of the feminine (generic) is to call to mind Vergil's own feminine *capella*<sup>15</sup> which in Vergil comes always and only at the end of the line and, just like *umbra*, ends the hexameter thirteen times in the *Eclogues*, including three times in *Ecl.* 10.

To be sure, Horace could have achieved about the same meaning by writing (line 29): *sed nimis arta premunt olidī conuiuia capri*. Factors weighing against this choice of words may have been the unpleasing effect of the succession of long īs (*olidī conuiuia capri*) and, perhaps more heavily, the connotations of *caper*: probably it was a poeticism, certainly it had negative sexual overtones which would have irrelevantly complicated Horace's joke. *caprae* was the perfect solution: it meant 'goats', including but not foregrounding the especially malodorous male; it avoided the coarser, sexual, nuances of the metaphorical use of the proper terms for the he-goat; it was (as far as our Latin record lets us know) a *new* use of the word and this fact, together with its *a*-stem, better recalled the bucolic *capellae*.

It may be worthwhile to dwell a moment longer on the question *why* Horace should here allude to Vergil in the *Eclogues*. I wish here merely to suggest some possibilities and to raise a few questions which others more competent than I may either rule out or take further.

In the first place, is it possible that Torquatus, like Horace, knew and admired Vergil? A humorous Vergilian allusion would have sharper point if the men involved were friends. Is there any reason to suppose that this was so? None, except the interesting fact that Torquatus' famous ancestor (T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus) appears in the 'highlights' of Roman history in *Aeneid* 6.824–5:

quin Decios Drusosque procul saeuumque securi  
aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.

It is perhaps reasonable to infer that Vergil thus pays a compliment to a respected friend.<sup>16</sup> Probably Horace does exactly the same here in saying that the wine that he will serve for Torquatus this evening comes from the site of Imperiosus Torquatus' famous defeat of the Latins in 340 B.C. between Minturnae and Sinuessa (line 5 *inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum*).<sup>17</sup> Since, however, it was at Sinuessa that Horace was joined by Vergil and friends on his journey to Brundisium described in *Satires* 1.5 (39–41 *namque / Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque / occurrunt*), both the placename itself and its position in the hexameter would perhaps have had further resonance for Torquatus and the rest of Horace's audience.<sup>18</sup>

As Mette has observed,<sup>19</sup> with reference to the *Odes*, there is a clear relation in

<sup>15</sup> A less likely alternative is that Horace intends *caprae* to mean goats in general (as in e.g. Varro, *res rust.* 2.1.5. 2.3.3). See J. N. Adams, 'The generic use of *mula* and the status and employment of female mules in the Roman world', *RhM* 136 (1993), 35–61, esp. 53–4.

<sup>16</sup> For other instances of compliments paid to contemporaries by way of mention of or allusion to their ancestors see S. J. Harrison's commentary on *Aeneid* 10 (Oxford, 1991), on lines 345 and 752.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Livy 8.11.11 and R. G. M. Nisbet, op. cit. [n. 1].

<sup>18</sup> On the epicureanism in the letter to Torquatus—a further possible link, I suggest, between the *gens Manlia* and Vergil—see now J. S. C. Eidinow, 'Horace's epistle to Torquatus (*Ep.* 1.5)', in this volume of *CQ*, above pp. 191–199. I am grateful to the author for showing me this article in advance of its publication. I would hear in Horace's line 2 *hōlūs ōmnē pātēllā* not merely Epicurean content but also Vergilian, especially bucolic, rhythm: the pattern [s-stem neuter] #ūs# *omne* in feet 4–5 of the hexameter occurs twelve times altogether in Vergil and the line-ending #ēlla(–)# eighteen times in the *Ecl.* Horace's choice of the words *holus* and *patella* to fill these familiar Vergilian rhythmic slots will have been striking and funny.

<sup>19</sup> H. J. Mette, '*genus tenue* und *mensa tenuis* bei Horaz', *MH* 18 (1961), 136–9.

Horace between the *mensa tenuis* (a simple meal with friends as a symbol of the good life) and the *genus tenue* (simple, straightforward, unpretentious language, style and genre). Pastoral is one such genre and pastoral allusions would, then, in principle, have suited Horace's invitation to a friend to a simple dinner. On the other hand, the reminiscence here suggested is, if real, far from straightforward. The time of day, evenfall, is the same in both *Eclogue* and *Epistle*, and an important part of the setting of each, but, while Vergil urges his goats home when they have eaten their fill (line 77), Horace is politely reluctant to admit Torquatus' flock to eat at his home. The particular verbal echoes are even, so to say, 'anti-bucolic' since two stock features of the Vergilian pastoral scene, shade and goats, in their standard Vergilian position at the end of the hexameter, are turned to mean uninvited guests and malodorous armpits.<sup>20</sup>

I take it, however, as generally acknowledged that Horace takes delight in exploring and exploiting the ranges of meaning that words can bear. That is, the puns on *umbra* and *capra* are not so very surprising in a poet who enjoys stretching and playing with meanings not only of everyday prosaic words<sup>21</sup> but even, more playfully, of personal names.<sup>22</sup> There is indeed a personal name early in the letter to Torquatus which may have occasioned Horace's (anti-) pastoral references. Could his humorous debunking of the bucolic be an elaborate pun on his injunction to Torquatus (8–9): *mitte ... / ... Moschi causam*, which allows not only its historical sense<sup>23</sup> ('Leave your work on your legal case in defence of the rhetor Moschus!') but also 'Give up the cause of Moschus, the bucolic poet!'<sup>24</sup>

There is perhaps even one further allusion to the end of *Ecl.* 10 in Horace's line 29, namely in the word *premunt*. Could Horace have meant with this word to recall the adjective *gravis* that Vergil uses twice of *umbra* in the lines here considered (75, 76)? In meaning, at any rate, *premere* is very close to *gravis esse*, both literally 'to be heavy, weigh down' and metaphorically 'to oppress, tend against, harm'.<sup>25</sup> If the listener is alerted by Horace's line 28 to Vergil's line 76, probably he recalls Vergil's previous line also (*solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra*) but hears it perhaps with the current Horatian meaning as 'an uninvited guest is usually annoying to those singing' (or, even, 'to those dining', *cenantibus*?!). So that this could be Horace's elegant and amusing way of asking Torquatus to come alone.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> On the turning already by Vergil of the connotations of *umbra* in the closing lines of the *Ecl.*, see D. F. Kennedy in *LCM* 8 (1983), 124. Might Vergil's innovation have prompted Horace to go further?

<sup>21</sup> Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, 'The language of Vergil and Horace', *CQ* 9 (1959), 181–92. R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Words and the Poet* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 4–7. On other puns in this poem of Horace, involving especially legal and rhetorical words, see J. S. C. Eidinow, op. cit. [n. 18].

<sup>22</sup> Four nice examples from *Epistles* I are: 1.4.1 *Albi nostrorum sermonum candide iudex*; 1.8 on *Celsus* 'Lofty' (see C. W. Macleod in *JRS* 69 (1979), 21); 1.13.8–9 on *Asina*; and 1.13.19 (addressed to Vinnius *Valens*) *uade, uale, caue ne titubet mandataque frangas* (see M. J. McGann in *CQ* 13 (1963), 258–9). Others include: *Odes* 3.28.8 on *Bibulus*, *Odes* 1.5.4 on *Pyrrha* and the jokes on the poet's own name in *Epod.* 15.12 and *Serm.* 2.1.18f.

<sup>23</sup> So Porphyrio ad loc., p. 273, 29–274, 3 Meyer.

<sup>24</sup> To say nothing of the meaning of *μόσχοι*!

<sup>25</sup> Alternatively or in addition—*premunt* is appropriate in Horace's context as the metaphor of weight, heaviness, oppressiveness is frequently used of smells in Latin. Although I have not found parallels for *premo* of smells, a smell is often described as *gravis*: note, for example, *Lucr.* 4.125. *Catull.* 17.25. *Verg. G.* 4.49 *odor caeni gravis*. By extension, the source of the smell may be so described: for example the *gravis* .. *hircus* in *Hor. Epod.* 12.5.

<sup>26</sup> This would also be an implication of Horace's instruction to Torquatus to leave for dinner