

## Poetic Diction, Poetic Discourse and the Poetic Register

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**Summary.** A number of distinctive characteristics can be identified in the language used by Latin poets. To start with the lexicon, most of the words commonly cited as instances of poetic diction — *ensis, fessus, meare, olle, -que . . . -que* etc. — are demonstrably archaic, having been displaced in the prose register. Archaic too are certain grammatical forms found in poetry — e.g. *aulāi*, gen. pl. *superum, agier, conticuere* — and syntactic constructions like the use of simple cases for prepositional phrases and of infinitives instead of the clausal structures of classical prose. Poets in all languages exploit the linguistic resources of past as well as present, but this facility is especially prominent where, as in Latin, the genre traditions positively encouraged *imitatio*. Some of the syntactic characteristics are influenced wholly or partly by Greek, as are other ingredients of the poetic register. The classical quantitative metres, derived from Greek, dictated the rhythmic pattern of the Latin words. Greek loan words and especially proper names — *Chaoniae, Corydon, Pyrrha, Tempe, Theseus, Zephyrus* etc. — brought exotic tones to the aural texture, often enhanced by Greek case forms. They also brought an allusive richness to their contexts. However, the most impressive characteristics after the metre were not dependent on foreign intrusion: the creation of imagery, often as an essential feature of a poetic argument, and the tropes of semantic transfer — metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche — were frequently deployed through common words. In fact no words were too prosaic to appear in even the highest poetic contexts, always assuming their metricality. Native too are the aural figures of alliteration and assonance, and the exploitation of word-order variation for

pragmatic effects. Many of these characteristics can be found occasionally in literary prose; it is their frequency and accumulation that define the poetic register. Nor is this register merely a code for translating prose discourse into poetic form. It is the vehicle for distinctively poetic modes of argument. This is why we can hope to recover what a poem meant to the author who conceived it, including the occasional ambiguities and ambivalences that are in the text and not merely imposed by our own ignorance, incompetence or cultural preoccupations, only if we have some notion of what the poetic register was in detail and what its relationship was to contemporary prose usage. To attempt to articulate such a notion is the purpose of this essay.

## INTRODUCTION

**1.1.** ON A NARROW DEFINITION poetic diction can be viewed simply as the words that are used exclusively or primarily in poetry or used in meanings that are not normal to them in prose discourse. A broader definition would include also phonetic characteristics, the patterns of sound that are created in the choice and organization of the vocabulary, most conspicuously those dictated by metrical conventions, and grammatical distinctions exhibited in the choice of morphological forms and syntactic structures.<sup>1</sup> In general the distinguishing characteristics are not the presence or absence of a particular linguistic phenomenon but its relative frequency in comparison with prose.

**1.2.** The dividing line between the registers is often hard to draw. Some poetry can be classified as such only from its metrical form. Aristotle's judgement on Empedocles may have been too severe — οὐδέν δὲ κοινόν ἐστιν Ὀμήρω καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ πλὴν τὸ μέτρον, διὸ τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν δίκαιον καλεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυσιολόγον μᾶλλον ἢ ποιητὴν (*Po.* 1447b) — but there are certainly passages in the Sicilian philosopher, as in his illustrious Latin admirer Lucretius, that can only be described as versified prose.<sup>2</sup> However, the important qualification that Aristotle apparently made to his judgement on Empedocles, — δεινὸς περὶ τὴν φράσιν γέγονεν, μεταφορητικός τε ὢν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ ποιητικὴν ἐπιτεύγμασι χρώμενος (*ap.* D.L. 8.57) — applies far more aptly to Lucretius. A didactic poem that is concerned primarily with conveying information and expounding basic scientific or philo-

<sup>1</sup> The importance of *all* areas of linguistic usage in defining the poetic register is well stressed by Janssen (1941: 14, 35).

<sup>2</sup> A clear distinction is drawn in Sanskrit between scientific treatises in verse and true poetry *kāvya*.

sophical theory simply cannot operate, like Virgil's *Georgics*, at a consistently high poetic level. The effective style must be objective and univocal, not metaphoric, allusive and subjective. Coleridge was right to insist<sup>3</sup> that the fundamental distinction is between poetry and science, not poetry and prose.

1.3. To take an example from English, the couplet *True Wit is Nature to advantage dress'd, / What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd* (Pope, *Essay on Criticism* 297–8) may seem little more than a versified alternative to *True Wit is Nature dressed to advantage, What was often thought, but never expressed so well*, as Johnson's paraphrase *Wit is that which has been often thought, but was never before so well expressed*<sup>4</sup> clearly reveals. The sentiment is not especially poetic and the only properties of the poetic register are the use of *oft* and *ne'er* for *often* and *never*, the reminder in the spelling of *dress'd* and *express'd* that the archaic variant of syllabic *-ed* was still available to poets as in *learned* beside *unlearn'd* (*ibid.* 327), and the placing of the two participles in phrase-final position, a poetic order in itself but here used to secure the rhyme that is essential to the verse form. There are many couplets like this in Pope but few readers would subscribe to Matthew Arnold's description<sup>5</sup> of Pope and Dryden as 'classics of our prose'.

1.4. On the other side we can point to many passages of high literary prose that have more in common with the poetic register. The links are explicit in the view expressed by Antonius in Cic. *De or.* 2.34, *qui enim cantus moderata oratione dulcior inueniri potest? quod carmen artificiosa uerborum conclusione aptius?* and Quintilian's famous description of historiography as *proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum* (10.1.31), following the line taken by 'Antonius' again in the discussion of *historia* at *De or.* 2.51–64. The comparison is of course stylistic, but it applies also to the subject matter of historiography, which has replaced epic as the medium in which the myths and ideologies of a society are projected on to that society's past by some of its major creative writers.<sup>6</sup>

1.5. It is interesting that Aristotle (*ap.* D.L. 8.57 again) described Empedocles as the inventor of *ῥητορικὴ*, in view of the modern tendency to

<sup>3</sup> The most comprehensive exposition is in *Biographia Literaria*, especially chapter 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Lives of the English Poets: Life of Cowley* (World's Classics edn., Oxford 1952) I.13.

<sup>5</sup> *The Study of Poetry. Essays in Criticism, Second Series* (London, 1905) 42. The remark must be seen in the context of Arnold's general argument that poetry was replacing religion and philosophy as the complement to science, continuing the viewpoint held by Wordsworth and Coleridge.

<sup>6</sup> For poetry as the intellectual nucleus of prehistoric society see Meillet (1965: 121–3) and Watkins (1982: 1989). This nucleic status is recoverable in a number of poetic words and phrases in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Old English etc. that can be traced back to Proto-Indo-European. See the detailed discussions in Schmitt (1967) and Watkins (1982, 1989).

polarize *ῥητορική* and *ποιητική* and both with *φυσιολογία* (cf. the Aristotle citation in §1.2). In fact many important discussions of the ingredients of the poetic register are found in works on rhetoric, modern as well as ancient. Nor should we be surprised, since poetry and prose alike share the three classic aims of linguistic communication, to be pursued severally or in combination — *ut doceat, ut moueat, ut delectet*.

1.6. Even outside the literary registers the boundaries between prose and poetry are often hard to draw. In many cultures the rhetoric of religious prayer, secular proclamations etc. have a strongly poetic character. In Latin the *Carmen Fratrum Arualium* (CIL I<sup>2</sup>) is clearly composed in verse triads of some sort, but the corrupt text prevents useful analysis. No less clearly the prayer at the *lustratio agri* cited by Cato (*Agr.* 141) is in prose: *Mars pater, te precor quaesoque uti sies uolens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae . . . uti tu morbos uisos inuisosque uiduertatem uastitudinemque calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas auerruncesque, utique tu fruges frumenta uineta uirgultaque grandire beneque euenire siris . . .* This rhythmic and formulaic prose, enriched with alliteration, assonance, rhyme and etymological word-play (cf. §§16–18), can be paralleled in the ritual passages of the Umbrian Iguvine Tables, and so belongs to the Italic liturgical tradition. The rhythmic prose of the Christian *Te Deum*, composed in the fifth century AD belongs to the same tradition.<sup>7</sup>

1.7. The same very rhythmic character is found in political rituals, recalling the close connection between the religious and the secular in earlier societies. For instance the *Formula Patris Patrati* for declaration of war (Livy 1.32.7ff): *audi Iuppiter et tu Iane Quirine deique omnes caelestes uosque terrestres uosque inferni audite. ego uos testor populum illum iniustum esse neque ius persoluere . . . si ego iniuste impieque illos homines illasque res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me numquam siris esse.*<sup>8</sup> It is not surprising to find such productions classed as *carmina* in classical Latin.

1.8. It is worth reminding ourselves at this point that in the linguistic characterization of the elevated registers that we have been looking at both stand well apart from the *sermo cottidianus* of the mass of the population. This is not so much because the characteristic features of ordinary conversation — false starts, nonce mispronunciations, abrupt and

<sup>7</sup> Traditionally attributed to St Ambrose and St Augustine, it is probably the work of Bishop Niceta of Remesiana or a contemporary. For the rhetorical shaping of Christian collects see Coleman (1987: 45–7).

<sup>8</sup> See Gordon Williams (Kenney–Clausen (1982: 53–5)). The use of *carmen* of the Twelve Tables, however, more likely refers to its mode of recitation by schoolboys: the fragments show plenty of formulaic composition but nothing rhythmic enough to parallel the versified laws of certain early Germanic societies.

ungrammatical transitions, anacolutha, rambling pleonasm and banal repetition, not to mention mere noise, the Latin equivalent of 'er... um... ah... ' — have not survived. Even in a living language such phenomena, ruthlessly exposed in oral recording, are usually edited out of transcripts. It is rather that even the most realistic passages of Roman comedy, say, are already creative adaptations of what such transcripts would have looked like. In fact we do not possess a single example of real everyday conversation from any language before the invention of the phonograph. Even the most vulgar Pompeian graffiti were after all written by literates and subject to conventional literacy pressures.

**1.9.** The gap is considerable. Every sample of a language at whatever level of performance, whether it is intended for ephemeral communication at the oral level or for permanent accessibility in written form, belongs ultimately to the same linguistic system and must be taken account of in any description of the language claiming to be comprehensive. There is a fashion among some linguists for giving more attention to the ephemeral or casual discourse as being more representative of the way most native speakers use their language. Telephone conversations then become more important than contemporary works of literature. This view is mistaken if we are concerned to explore the full communicative resources available in the phonology, grammar and lexicon of the language. We can properly lament the absence of transcripts from the conversation of Latin farmers or artisans, but the surviving text of the *Aeneid* yields far more information about the character and potentialities of the Latin language.<sup>9</sup> The higher literary registers may well be deviations from the norms of ordinary written Latin and of the spoken Latin that we can only infer from it, but they are ultimately much more revealing to philologists and linguists.

**2.1.** Any attempt to define the poetic register and the nature of poetic diction runs into a number of practical problems. Apart from the differences between poetic and prose discourse, which is the chief concern of this essay, there are for instance the variations between the poetic genres themselves that are stressed by ancient theorists. *Sua cuique proposito lex, suus decor est, nec comoedia in cothurnos adsurgit nec contra tragoedia socco ingreditur*, writes Quintilian (10.2.22), summarizing the doctrine of stylistic *decorum*, τὸ πρέπον, already alluded to in Plato's *Laws* 700a-b. The classic statement for later ages was Horace's (*A.P.* 73-98). The conven-

<sup>9</sup> Throughout this essay examples are taken mostly from the central classical authors, Lucretius and Catullus, Propertius and Ovid and above all Virgil and Horace, who as a group represent the Latin poetic register at its richest.

tions were not of course totally rigid for all times, but as with, say, the sonnet form or the nineteenth-century symphony, innovations were generally made in the context of adherence to what had gone before.

**2.2.** Poetic discourse is of course an occasional mode of communication. It is not the way poets talk or write all the time but the product of a consciously creative process that is activated only on particular occasions. Yet there must always be a considerable input from their own normal and largely unconscious linguistic habits. If we have no other representative of their idiolectal practice, there is a very real danger of confusing these linguistic habits with the linguistic peculiarities of the poetic register in which they are composing.

**2.3.** Sometimes we have the chance to compare a poet's Latinity in different literary registers, e.g. Seneca's tragedies, philosophical treatises and letters. Again there may be an opportunity to compare contemporaries or near contemporaries writing in the same genre, as for instance the Augustan elegists, where we are also able to make comparisons between *Amores* and *Metamorphoses*. Where material is more sparse the problems become more acute. We have perhaps good reason to infer that Lucretius was an archaist, Catullus an innovator, but what is the norm against which these classifications are made?

**2.4.** Even more vexing is the situation in the early decades of the second century BC, a formative period for the Latin literary register. We have the comedies of Plautus and the fragments of Ennius' work in divers genres, many of them cited by later authors precisely because they exhibit linguistic eccentricity or provide a precedent for some anomalous usage in a classical author. (It is striking how much less strange most of the citations made by literary commentators, antiquarians or orators turn out to be.) But there is nothing much beside, not even in prose, except for a few inscriptions, including the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, which certainly deserves a place in the history of literary Latin as the most elaborate piece of *oratio obliqua* before Caesar. Non-epigraphic prose is represented by Cato's *De agri cultura*, which hardly counts as literature, and the fragments of history and oratory by various authors (as well as the material cited in §§1.6, 7) which certainly do. But the latter have been too corrupted in the manuscript tradition and by ancient editorial revision to provide as firm a basis for comparison as is needed. So there is no real touchstone by which to distinguish the early Latin poetic register from early Latin as a whole. What sort of a picture would we have of Augustan Latin, say, if all that survived were the elegies of Propertius, some fragments of Horace and a handful of inscriptions?

**2.5.** The diachronic problems are of course even more imposing. For the history of English or French we have a sufficiently large and varied

body of material to be able to plot changes in the phonology, grammar and lexicon with some degree of confidence. But for Latin the first surviving attestation of a phenomenon must generally be interpreted as an innovation only with the utmost caution. Conversely what is found at an early date but is then not attested for several centuries can be classed at its reappearance as an archaism only on the assumption that its intervening absence from the records is accidental. Finally what is distinctly poetic at one period may not have been so at an earlier or later stage in the language. Much of what follows must be read with these important qualifications in mind.

2.6. One area of linguistic behaviour that does not impinge upon the literary registers is that of dialect. There is no trace of a Latin Robert Burns, let alone anything like the ancient Greek association of regional dialects, artificial and selective to be sure, with specific literary genres. Sappho's Aeolic, the Doric of Alcman and Theocritus, the Ionic of Archilochus etc. not only characterized their own poetry but the subsequent tradition of the respective genres as well. Popular regional poetry there must have been in Latin, but no record of it survives, and ambitious poets from the regions came to Rome for their education and wrote in the *sermo urbanus* of the capital.<sup>10</sup> Whatever Pollio meant by *pataunitas* (Quint. 1.5.56), the peculiarities of Livy's magnificent prose owe nothing to Padua. Dialect forms like Lucilius' *Cecilius pretor* (1130) are satiric and merely underline the disdainful attitude of *urbanitas* to *rusticitas*. Most of the major Latin authors from Plautus and Ennius onwards were Italians or provincials, not Romans, but in literature as in so much else in the Roman culture centralization came early and remained, being receptive to external influence only from Greek.

## SOUNDS AND PATTERNS OF SOUND

3.1. The first and most clear-cut definition of the poetic register is phonetic.<sup>11</sup> Poetry was distinguished from prose by the recurrence of regular rhythmic patterns that marked the boundaries of verses and groups of verses, and influenced the choice of word order within the verse.

<sup>10</sup> Cicero's reference to *Cordubae natis poetis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum* (*Arch.* 26) seems to be a comment on regional pronunciation rather than on departure from *urbanitas* in the Iberian Latin poets' habits of composition.

<sup>11</sup> The relevance of the sound of Latin to all aspects of poetry and literary prose is abundantly demonstrated in Wilkinson (1963).

**3.2.** Oratorical prose was also highly rhythmical. The classical *clausulae*, marking the cadences of clauses and sentences, have been well researched, but one can often detect rhythmic patterns extending over large sections of the sentence, which can hardly be coincidental. Cicero cites a sentence from Crassus in which the *numerus* appears to be *non quaesitus*: '*nam ubi libido dominatur, innocentiae leue praesidium est*' (*Or.* 219). The sequence of third paeon, dactyl and trochee (an echo here of the hexameter cadence mischievously hinting at the *licentia* of poets?), two trochees, dactyl and choriamb is deploying aural effects redolent more of lyric poetry than of any prose idiom. Or consider the rhythmic structure of one of Cicero's youthful tricola: *nam commoditati ingenium, grauitati aetas, libertati tempora sunt impedimento* (*Rosc. Am.* 9), with its sequence of spondee, anapaest and choriamb, anapaest and spondee, two spondees, choriamb, cretic and spondee. Phrases like *uersus . . . propemodum* and *numeros quosdam* were not lightly used to describe the best prose style (*De or.* 3.173).

**3.3.** The effect of such rhythmic sequences delivered in the mannered style that characterized public oratory must have been comparable to that of a poetic recitation (cf. *Cic. Or.* 55–60, *Quint.* 10.1.16–17). Nevertheless the fundamental division remains: verse rhythms, as Cicero explicitly recognized (*Or.* 195), fell into finite, regularly repetitive patterns.

**4.1.** From Plautus and Ennius onwards the literary metres were all Greek. Although syllabic weight, based on vowel length and consonantal content, was a phonological property of Latin as of every human language, its use as the basis of metre was adopted along with the verse forms themselves from the Greek tradition. The binary classification into light and heavy syllables was an oversimplification and a matter of convention, as indeed was the placing of syllable divisions; cf. *pa-tris* with a light initial, *pat-ris* with a heavy (see §6.2) but only *lap-sus*.

**4.2.** The only difference between the two languages that had a bearing on versification was that of accent. The Greek tonal accent was of no metrical significance, though of course it provided a melodic line, both in poetry and prose, that was foreign to Latin. Against this the Latin stress accent did have metrical implications, since it had some effect upon vowel length (see §§10–11) and, more importantly, set up a dynamic pattern that corresponded only partially and accidentally to the pattern of quantitative rhythm. Thus we can represent a line like *Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi* as





To this typical interaction between stress and quantity we must return (§4.6). For the present we need only note this as a new element in the adopted Greek metres, just as the quantitative basis probably was in Latin versification.

4.3. The native verse forms seem to have been based, like the Germanic ones, on a fixed number of syllables and word-stresses in each verse. Thus the Saturnian verse would have been divided by a caesura into two parts, a seven-syllable group with three stresses and a six-syllable group with two stresses, or something of the sort;<sup>13</sup> e.g. Livius Andronicus' *útrum míhi Caména ínsece uersútum* and *tópper cíti ad aédís uénimus Círcái*, where it is assumed that the initial syllable stress had already been replaced by 'the rule of the penultimate', and Naevius' *nóctu Troíad exíbant capítibus opértis*, alongside the earliest surviving Scipio epitaph (*CIL I<sup>2</sup>9*), *hónc oíno ploírume coseñtioní R[ománe]* etc.

4.4. It was presumably in Saturnian verses that the *clarorum uirorum laudes* recited at banquets before Cato's lifetime (*Cic. Brut. 75*, Varro *ap. Non. s.v. assa uoce*) were handed down, to find their way via the annalists into the pages of Livy.<sup>14</sup> How long Saturnians survived in epigraphic *elogia* we do not know, but the rejection of the old metre for the elegiac couplet on the epitaph for Scipio Hispanus (*CIL I<sup>2</sup>15*, after 139 BC) may be significant. The replacement of Saturnians by the dactylic hexameter for narrative poetry in the *Annales* of Ennius was certainly decisive.

4.5. In fact the abandonment of a stress-based system of versification for a quantitative one was facilitated by accidental similarities in the stress patterns of the two major verse forms concerned. For many of Ennius' hexameters are characterized by a similar stress pattern to that assumed

<sup>12</sup> The choice of musical notation does not imply that Latin poetry was normally sung or chanted, though there is evidence that some pieces were sung — e.g. the distinction between the metrically freer *cantica* and the more strict *diuerbia* in Plautine comedy — and some maybe even mimed (*Don. Vita Virg. 26*). The musical notation has been used here because the interaction of stress patterns and temporal units is for modern European readers more familiar in music than in poetry.

<sup>13</sup> Basically this analysis derives from Lindsay (1893). Fixed syllable verses occur in Gatha-Avestan, combined with set quantitative patterns in Vedic and Aeolic Greek, with set stress patterns in Germanic. For further discussion of the Saturnian metre with different conclusions see Pasquali-Timpanaro (1981).

<sup>14</sup> Niebuhr's hypothesis has never quite recovered from Schwegler's criticisms. See Momi-gliano (1957) for a modern critical but sympathetic discussion. The certified parallels in other Indo-European cultures and the absence of any other obvious vehicle for the stories of Romulus, Horatius etc. to have survived into the historiographical tradition have ensured that the hypothesis retains its sympathizers.

for the Saturnian;<sup>15</sup> e.g. *Músaē quae pēdibus mágnūm pulsátis Olúmpum* and *transnáuit cíta per téneras calgínis aúras* and *tália tum mémorat lácrumans, extérrita sómno* (*Ann.* 1, 18, 35 Sk). The increased number of syllables in the dactylic hexameter (the three examples cited have respectively 14, 15 and 16) made a limit of five stresses untenable and the frequency of a penthemimeral main caesura altered the distribution of stresses between the two 'halves' of the verse. Nevertheless the stress patterns that were a distinctive feature of the native poesy remained the distinguishing feature of Latin hexameters against their Greek models.

4.6. The interaction between word stress and syllabic quantity in the Latin hexameter yields three possibilities, for which there would be no precedent in Greek. First a homodyne pattern, in which the stress coincides with the fixed heavy syllable of the foot, as in *Músaē* and *pulsátis Olúmpum*. Homodyne rhythms are frequent in the first and fourth feet of classical hexameters, almost invariable in the fifth and sixth.<sup>16</sup> Indeed in some of the more vulgar epigraphic verses that survive it is only the concluding rhythm to each line  $\acute{ } \sim \sim \acute{ } -$  that confirms the composer's metrical intentions. Secondly a heterodyne pattern, in which the stress falls on the second or third syllable of the foot, as in *quae pēdibus mágnūm*. Heterodynes were most frequent in the second and third feet, as here. Thirdly a neutral pattern, which has either no stress at all within the foot, as in *magnūm pulsátis*, or two stresses, as in *arma uirúmque cáno*.

4.7. Homodynes obviously underlined the time signature of the metre, heterodynes obscured it. Virgil, perhaps uniquely, seems to have employed varying patterns of distribution of the three possibilities for expressive effect. Thus in *ímpius haéc tam cúlta nouália míles habébit?* (*E.* 1.70) the six homodynes, four of them dactyls, seem expressive of agitated despair. By contrast in the well known onomatopoeia of *quádrupedánte pútre m sónitu quátit úngula cámpum* (*A.* 8.596) the prevalent dactylic rhythm, strongly marked by the first and fifth-foot homodynes, is blurred by the neutral second foot and the heterodyne third and fourth, and the aural effect is — perhaps appropriately — more confused. All this presupposes of course retention of the normal Latin accent in the recitation of verse.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For a partial anticipation of this view see Bartalucci (1968), who however sees the similarities as due to the influence of one metre upon the other.

<sup>16</sup> For the hypothesis that in Indo-European poetics the latter part of the verse was more regular metrically than the earlier part see Lotz's discussion of metric typology in Sebeok (1960: 135–48, esp. 136).

<sup>17</sup> For an argument in favour of a metrical ictus of some sort distinct from word accent, based on the possibility of resolving the second but not the first heavy syllable of each hexameter foot except the last, see Allen (1978: 92–4). For a general discussion of Latin hexameter rhythm see Allen (1973: 335–59).

5.1. Very few Latin lexemes are unmetrical in all their grammatical forms, if one does not confine eligibility to dactylic metres. Pacuvius' line *Nerei repandirostrum incuruicercuicum pecus* is a regular trochaic tetrameter, though the two adjectival compounds censured by Quintilian (1.5.67) are ineligible for dactylic verse. Because dactylic metres, employed in hexameter and elegiac poems, were so prominent in classical literature, a large number of words that could in no other sense be considered unpoetic were excluded by their syllabic composition. Thus *cognitio* and *uoluptas* are acceptable in all their cases, *notio* and *suauitas* in none.

5.2. Frequently it was only particular grammatical forms that were excluded. While *audimus* and *audit* were acceptable, *audiunt* was not; nor was *audio* without clumsy elision into a following light syllable. Tribachs were more easily elided, e.g. *agere*, but were intractable in prefinal position, e.g. *celeritas*.

5.3. Various expedients were adopted to overcome this problem. One was to employ a synonym.<sup>18</sup> Where the meaning is very close, nothing is lost in the process. The well established functional convergence between the originally distinct action nouns in *-tio* and *-tus* enabled Lucretius to use for instance *iniectus* in place of *iniectio animi* to translate Epicurus' ἐπιβολή τῆς διανοίας without creating any semantic problems. In contrast to the classical and post-classical periods *-tu-* had been the more prominent in early Latin. So the metrically acceptable variant also contributed to the archaic tone that the poet consistently sought in promoting this very unRoman philosophy and projecting a high seriousness that distanced his work from the *nugae* of the contemporary *poetae noui*.

5.4. Again nothing is lost when a cretic rhythm is avoided by a tmesis, which recalls the precompounding stage of the language, e.g. *inque pediri* (Lucr. 3.484) or *inque salutatam linquo* (Virg. A. 9.288), where the archaic effect is enhanced by the presence of the uncompounded finite verb, and *inque ligatus / cedebat* (A. 10.794–5), where the figure is combined with the old meaning of *cedere*. On the other hand the replacement of *imperator* by the archaic *induperator* imports an archaic tone that the poet may not want. Characteristically Juvenal exploits the satiric possibilities against Domitian (unnamed of course) in *Sat.* 4.28–9, *qualis tunc epulas ipsum glutuisse putamus / induperatorem*, combining the mock-heroic grandiloquence of the archaic form with the distinctly subliterate verb *glutire*.

5.5. Substitution may however blur a semantic distinction, as when the intractable *ārbōrēs* 'trees' is replaced by the plesionym *arbusta*, plural of the collective *arbustum* 'a cluster of trees'. The peculiarly Roman connotations of *imperator* are lost when it is replaced by the less specific *ductor*

<sup>18</sup> See Leumann (1959: 147–8).

or *dux*, and there is again a loss of precision. We may contrast the nice use of the more generic word in Lucretius' *ductores Danaum* (1.86) to recall *Δαναῶν ἡγήτορες* (*Iliad* 11.816).

5.6. Even clearer examples are to be found in Lucretius' use of *maximitas* (2.498) to replace *magnitudo*, where a comparative implication 'the state of being largest' is introduced irrelevantly. The intensive force of the *-tare* suffix (cf. *dicto*, *dictito* with *dico*) is weakened by its use to maintain metricality, e.g. *nominitamus* (Lucr. 3.352; cf. *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>1221). The problem was of course particularly troublesome for a poet confronted with the highly nominalizing terminology of philosophical discourse and compelled into neologisms like *differitas* for *differentia* and *uariantia* for *uarietas* (and *uariatio*), neither of which however poses the same semantic queries. (For unmetrical inflections see §§13.4, 14.1–3).

5.7. The use of tropes like metaphor and metonymy for metrical purposes can gain advantage from the semantic imprecision (see §§29, 32). Thus the metonymy of *thalamus*, *thalami* for *nuptiae* (Virg. *A.* 4.550, Ov. *M.* 6.700) offers the poet both an evocative image and at the same time the exotic colour of a Greek loan-word.

6.1. Phonetic expedients are sometimes adopted to cope with the unmetrical. The most radical, employed almost exclusively with proper names, is to alter a vowel length. Thus *Itāllam* has its initial vowel lengthened in Virg. *A.* 1.2 etc., following Callimachean precedent (*H.* 3.58), as Catullus had already done with *Italorum* (1.5). It is worth noting that Virgil (*A.* 3.185) chooses the long vowel in *Itala regna* to secure the plural phrase where the normal *Italum regnum* could have been accommodated in a hexameter. The similar device in Greek, e.g. *Σικελιδᾶν* (Theocr. *Id.* 7.40) beside *Σικελούς* (Hom. *Od.* 20.383) would have been a reassuring precedent for Latin poets. So we find *Sicelides* and *Siculis* in Virg. *E.* 4.1, 2.21. The impossibility of accommodating the cretic *Scipio* or any of its cases is overcome by the use of the Greek patronymic suffix, *noster Scipiadas*<sup>19</sup> (Lucil. 1139), *geminos . . . Scipiadas* (Virg. *A.* 6.843), which of course has the additional effect of associating the family with the Homeric heroes. *Pollio* can appear in dactylic verse only in the nominative, and then only by a harsh elision (for unattested substitution of the glide *ǰ* see §9.2), e.g.

<sup>19</sup> *-as* is strange. *-ᾰδᾶς* (or *-ᾰδᾶ* in some early W. Greek inscriptions) would be the regular Greek form outside Attic-Ionic, and if the suffix became known first from Italian Doric dialects, it would have been early enough to have undergone assimilation to Latin *-adā*. We should expect therefore either *Scipiadēs* (metrical) or *Scipiadā* (unmetrical). On Greek inflection see §§15, 27.

*Pollio et ipse, Pollio et incipient* (Virg. *E.* 3.86, 4.12), or by shortening the final vowel, *Pollio* (Hor. *S.* 1.10.42; cf. *C.* 2.1.14).

6.2. There is no evidence for any specifically poetic pronunciations apart from those just noted, though we may infer from the accounts of oratorical delivery supplied by Cicero (*Or.* 57) and Quintilian (1.8.2; cf. §3.3) that poetic verses were also delivered with distinctly artful and unprosaic intonations. Synzesis and vowel contraction, as in *dī, īs* for *dēī, ēīs*, and *ādicere* for *adiicere* (cf. Manil. 4.44 with Gellius 4.17.1–8) are likely to have begun in colloquial usage. Some instances however, like *eādem* (Lucr. 4.744), *aureā* (Virg. *A.* 1.698), are likely to have been inspired as much by Greek models. In fact the great majority of phonetic devices for overcoming unmetricality can be directly linked to known facts of ordinary Latin speech. Even the variation in the treatment of 'mute plus liquid' clusters between, for instance, the normal *uōlu-crem* and the occasional *uolūc-res* (Virg. *A.* 11.858, 4.525; see Quintilian 1.5.28) may be a reflection of contemporary speech variants rather than a contrast between current and archaic metrical conventions. Elision, for instance, was certainly a feature of the spoken language, though in educated usage the elided syllable was rarely totally omitted.<sup>20</sup>

7.1. Examples occur of pronunciations that were obsolete in current speech being preserved in poetry. This is merely a special case of the general distinguishing characteristic of the poetic register, that all earlier poetry is, or can be made by poet or reader, contemporary poetry. The language of earlier poets is thus a reservoir on which each new generation of poets can draw.

7.2. The early Latin treatment of final *-s* following a short vowel is instructive.<sup>21</sup> Before c. 240 BC it was regularly omitted in writing before a following initial consonant, e.g. *Cornelio L. f.* on the earliest surviving Scipio epitaph, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>8. All the available evidence indicates that the consonant was retained where a vowel followed, — a situation complementary to that of *-m*, which was lost before a vowel and retained, at least as a nasal adjunct to the vowel, before a consonant. Examples certainly occur in the comic poets at verse ends, a well-known location for archaisms, e.g. *occidisti(s) me* (Pl. *Ba.* 313), *tempu(s) fert* (Ter. *Ad.* 839).<sup>22</sup> However, it is likely that the phenomenon also occurred elsewhere in the verse, but

<sup>20</sup> The whole subject of elision in Latin poetry is fully treated by Soubiran (1966).

<sup>21</sup> For further examples and discussion see Leumann (1977: 227–8).

<sup>22</sup> See Lindsay (1922: 126–135).

because of the range of permissible metrical variants certification is impossible.

7.3. Final *s* is consistently written in inscriptions from the end of the third century BC onwards, assisted no doubt in literary texts and official epigraphy by Greek models. It continues to be written throughout the classical and post-classical periods. Its restoration in pronunciation, though guaranteed for educated speech by classical verse, may not have been universal in the dialects. Cicero (*Or.* 161) describes its omission as *iam subrusticum* but *olim politius*, citing Ennius' *omnibu(s) princeps*.

7.4. This last example is typical of Ennius' *Annales*, e.g. *suavis homo facundu(s) suo contentu(s) beatus* (280 Sk), though there are a few exceptions, e.g. *uolauit auis. simul* (87 Sk), *Laurentis terra* (30 Sk). The omissions in lines like Lucilius' *uita illa dignu(s) locoque* (cited in Cic. *Or.* 161), *lateralis(s) dolor, certissimu(s) nuntiu(s) mortis* (cited by Marius Victorinus 6.217 K) are unlikely at this date to be reflections of colloquial urban usage and are better taken as echoes of Ennian epic.

7.5. In poetry of the late republican period omission is very rare. Catullus' unique *dabi(s) supplicium*, a special case with its successive sibilants, occurs at the end of some invective against Gellius (116.8) for rejecting the poet's neoteric interests. The piquancy of the usage here comes from the disdain of the *poetae noui* for such archaisms (cf. *Or.* 161 again).<sup>23</sup> As befitting the epic style of didactic poetry, *-s* is occasionally omitted by Lucretius, e.g. *ex omnibu(s) rebus, infantibu(s) paru(s)* (1.159, 186), and by Cicero, e.g. *lustratu(s) nitore, Aquiloni(s) locatae* (*Arat.* 92, 97). However, neoteric prejudice prevailed and even Virgil's passion for archaism and for specific echoes of Ennius did not induce him to employ what was now felt to be altogether too *subrusticum* for poetic usage.

8. Another group of archaisms involves the revival of long vowels in final syllables. Like the omission of *-s* this had the effect not of accommodating unmetrical words but of enabling metrically acceptable words to stand in places where it would not otherwise have been possible to place them. So Ennius could write (*Ann.* 108 Sk) *o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum*, taking advantage of the original long vowel, probably a recent archaism at this date, to place the word immediately before a vowel. The traditional label 'lengthening under ictus' misclassifies the phenomenon, which is rooted in the history of the language, with the *poetica licentia* of *Italiam* etc. (§6.1), which is not. There is moreover no evidence that ictus was a phonetic reality in classical antiquity, whatever its role may have

<sup>23</sup> The frequency of *qui sit* in Cicero and other prose writers may represent *qui(s) sit* or *qui sit*.

been in later conventions of reading quantitative verse (see §4.7 fin.) Some of the instances are in any event not 'under ictus'. Thus Ennius has *essēt induperator* and *ponebāt ante salutem* (*Ann.* 78, 364 Sk). The lengthening is frequent in Plautus, e.g. *non uxōr eram* and *alienum arāt, incultum* (*Asin.* 927, 874). The archaism survives into the classical poets, including Lucretius and Virgil, who has many instances, e.g. *aberāt. ipsae* (*E.* 1.38) *uidēt, hominesne* and *pauōr et plurima* and *amittebāt oculusque* (*A.* 1.308, 2.369, 5.853). Outside the epic tradition the variant may be used to evoke Antiquity, as in Propertius' description of early Rome (4.1.17) *nulli cura fuit externos quaerere diuos*. Here *fuit* < *fueit* (cf. *fuit* < *fuet*), but some instances of lengthening are merely analogical, as *manusque sinīt. hinc* and *frater, erit? o quae* (*A.* 10.433, 12.883), unless we envisage the vowel being checked by final *-t* before a pause.

9.1. Sometimes advantage is taken of free variants available in the ordinary spoken language, in particular the ambivalence of *i* and *u*, which may be consonantal or vocalic. So Virgil's *abjete* for *ābĭētĕ* and *Lauinĭaque* for *Lauīnĭāquĕ* (*A.* 2.16, 1.2) to accommodate otherwise unmetrical words, Ennius' *aujūm* and *insidiāntes* (*Ann.* 89, 425 Sk) and Horace's *principjūm* for *principĭum* (*C.* 3.6.6 Alcaics), to enable particular placings in the verse. Ennius has *quattuor* for *quattūor* (*Ann.* 88 Sk), Catullus has the archaisms *solūit* and *peruolūent* (2.13, 95.6) for the usual *solūit*, *peruolūent*, which are of course not in themselves unmetrical. Lucretius uses *tenūia* for unmetrical *tĕnūiā* (4.66) and conversely *sūadent* (4.1157), Virgil *genūa* for *gĕnūā* (*A.* 5.432), Horace *silūae* for *silyae* (*Epod.* 13.2). Palatalized forms in Romance like *grace*, *prezzo* (< *gratia*, *pretium*) imply a shift from *tĭ* to *tj* to *tš*, which is attested in isolated vulgar forms from the imperial period, and was already acceptable in educated speech by the late fifth century, as we can see from manuscript and epigraphic confusions of e.g. *condicio* and *conditio*, set beside statements by grammarians such as Papirianus (*ap.* Cassiod. 7.216 K).

9.2. It is surprising that, given the precedent of Ennius' *insidiāntes* and Virgil's *abjete*, the consonantal variant was not used to overcome the unmetricality of *oratio*, *auditio* etc. (cf. §5.1, 3). It may be that *orātio* etc. in classical times had still a hint of vulgarism, and the few instances of comparable phenomena perhaps confirm this, e.g. from Pompeii *otjosis locus hic non est. discede, morator* (*CIL* IV.813) and the spellings *Actlani*, *Claudlanum* beside *digredĭens*, *facĭo*.<sup>24</sup> Whatever the reason, occasional

<sup>24</sup> See Väänänen (1966: 34–6).

substitutions of - - for - - - (*abiete*) and of - - for - - - (*principium*) were acceptable, but - - for - - - (*Pollio, otiosi*) was not.

**10.1.** One particular example of the introduction of current habits of pronunciation has attracted much scholarly attention: the so-called iambic shortening by which unstressed final vowels are regularly shortened in *bene, duo, ego, modo, nisi, scio, uolo* etc., often also in *fero, mihi, uide, ubi*. In fact it is verse texts that enable us to plot the distribution and history of this and related phenomena in Latin, though of course the earliest attestations provide only a *terminus ante quem* for the respective changes in ordinary speech (cf. §2.5). Instances abound in the classical poets. In early Latin verse the phenomenon is even more widely attested, e.g. *domī* (Pl. *Mil.* 192), *abī, darī, lupō* (Ter. *Ph.* 59, *Ad.* 311, *Eun.* 832) and *sicutī, quasī* (Enn. *Ann.*, 522, 542 Sk).

**10.2.** Phonetically this change belongs with the general reduction of unaccented vowels that is typical of languages with a strong stress accent. In Latin this reduction had led at a time when the stress apparently fell on initial syllables to such changes as *\*konfākiont > conficiunt, \*exkaidet > excīdit, \*obklaussom > \*occlūsum*. Such shortening affected both pre- as well as post-accentual long vowels, resulting for instance in an initial tribrach in *amicītiām* (Pl. *Merc.* 846). That the tendency continued into post-classical Latin is confirmed by Consentius (5.392 K), who like St Augustine (*D.Chr.* 4.10.24) regards *ōrātor* as *uitium Afrorum* along with the lengthenings in *pīper, pīces*. It is not surprising to find so many examples of *breuis breuians* in the comic poets, *apud quos, nisi quod uersiculi sunt, nihil est aliud cottidiani dissimile sermonis* (Cic. *Or.* 67), but its occurrence in the tragedies of Ennius<sup>25</sup> shows how close poetic discourse in general was to common speech.

**10.3.** This phonetic shortening of long vowels was extended however to the treatment of heavy syllables adjacent to the accent as metrically light. Thus the light syllables underlined in *ēx ōre orationem* (Enn. *tr.* 258J), *sēnēx, uēlīnt* (Pl. *Mo.* 952, *Cu.* 268), *ādēst* (*tr.* 41J) *uōlūptātes, gūbēr-nābunt* (Pl. *Am.* 939, *Mi.* 1091). These extensions cannot be attributed to any plausible phonetic reality.<sup>26</sup> The only way to lighten such syllables would have been to reduce the consonant cluster following the vowel, e.g. *\*ades* or *\*uolutates*.

**10.4.** In fact Ritschl proposed just such an explanation for pyrrhic *uelīnt, ferūnt* etc., citing *dedrot, dedro* from the Pisaurian dialect (*CIL*

<sup>25</sup> The tragic fragments are cited from Jocelyn's edition (1969), as those of the *Annales* are from Skutsch's (1986: 59-61).

<sup>26</sup> As Lindsay (1922: 7) already observed.



1378, 379). Other early forms like *dedron* from Rome and *coraueron*, *dederō* from Praeneste (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup>30, 59, 61) might also be cited, but the restoration of *-nt* at Rome and the survival of the nasal into Romance justifies Lindsay's scepticism. In any case Ritschl's hypothesis would not account for anapaests like *bōuēs qūi* (Pl. *Ps.* 812) or pyrrhics like *bōnīs* in Terence's *ex Graecis bonis Latinas* (*Eun.* 8), which is surely calculated to suggest the vulgarism of Latin-speaking *barbari*. Even a shortening of the long vowel in *-ēs*, *-īs* would still have left *bouēs qui*, *bonīs Latinas*, where we should have to assume the same loss of *-s* as after an original short vowel (§7.2-4) or some other equally unattested development. Praenestine *sueq. ede* for *sueisque eisdem* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup>62) is inconclusive as to the length of the monophthong, and in any case we should need attestations from Rome to account for the massive literary incidence. The extension is much more likely to have been an artificial one, metrically motivated, and as such never belonged to the spoken language and did not survive into the classical poetic register.

**10.5.** At this point it is perhaps worth raising the question whether some of the instances of *breuis breuians* may in fact conceal peculiarities in early Latin pronunciation, for which we do have other evidence. Thus *duas secum* (*Rud.* 129) may be scanned not  $\upsilon \upsilon - -$  but  $\acute{ - -$  with *dū* for *dū̄*, *ille qui* (*Rud.* 1240) not  $\upsilon \upsilon -$  but  $- -$ , with apocope of *-e*. Sometimes an archaic form may have disappeared in the tradition. Thus *potest fieri prosus* (*Trin.* 730) may well conceal *pote fieri* with ellipse of *est* as in *Aul.* 309.<sup>27</sup> However, the volume of hard evidence is too large and its range, including all the pre-classical dramatic poets, too extensive to be greatly whittled away by alternative hypotheses. The shortening of final long vowels in dissyllabic words with which we began undoubtedly reflects ordinary speech habits: *beně*, *duō*, *egō* etc. were standard in classical poetry. Where the word belonged to or was in its usage associated with a paradigm, the length was retained: thus adverbial *citō*, *modō* but ablative *citō̄*, *modō̄*; *beně* but *probē̄*; *putā* 'for instance', *cauě sīs* 'look out please', all with specialized senses that detached them from the verbal paradigms to which they had originally belonged.

**10.6.** Sometimes poets exploit the availability of alternative forms, the one current, the other archaic, for metrical convenience or for expressive effect (cf. §12). The latter is seen in Virgil's *ualē ualē* (*E.* 3.79), the

<sup>27</sup> C. F. W. Müller (1869) based his *Iambenkürzungsgesetz* largely on metrical analysis, as did most of his successors, including even O. Skutsch (1934). It is surely time that the vast body of data assembled by Müller and the scholars who subsequently refined and modified the initial account was re-examined in the light of modern research both in early Latin metrics and more particularly in Latin historical linguistics. For a detailed examination of the relevant phonology see Allen (1973: 179-99).

former in Lucretius' *idque sibi solum per se sapit et sibi gaudet* (3.145) and Propertius' *prora cubile mihi seu mihi puppis erit* (2.26.34), both rather laboured lines, Catullus' *tepēfaciet* beside *madēfient* (64.360, 368), Ovid's *liquēfaciunt* but *liquēfiunt* (*M.* 7.161, *Pont* 1.2.55).

**10.7.** The extension of *-ō* beyond verbs of iambic shape like *ago*, *fero*, *scio* is again to be seen as reflecting current speech. Thus we find in place of cretic words with *˘ ˘ -*, impossible in dactylic verse (see §6.1), *nesciō* (*Cat.* 85.2), *dixerō*, *mentiō* (*Hor. S.* 1.4.104, 93), *desinō* (*Tib.* 2.6.41), *Polliō* and *Scipiō* (*Ov. Ars* 3.410); even for spondaic words, *˘ -*, *findō* (*Prop.* 3.9.35), *tollō*, *estō* (*Ov. Am.* 3.2.26, *Tr.* 4.3.72); and thence for spondaic ends to longer words *imagō*, *soluendō* (*Sen. Ag.* 874, *Oed.* 942), *properabō* (*Stat. Th.* 2.342). The range of occurrence goes far beyond the genres in which we should expect colloquialism. A striking instance of the early adoption of a very colloquial pronunciation into the tradition of high poetry is the use of *uidēn*. The form reflects *uidēsne* > *uidēn* > *uidēn*) and is already attested in comedy, e.g. *Pl. Mil.* 219. It is used in highly excited passages by Catullus (61.77, 62.8) and by Virgil in *A.* 6.779, where the colloquial tone is enhanced by the indicative verb in the dependent *ut*-clause. Virgil's context is Anchises' solemn address to his son, and Servius notes the usage as Ennian, adding the interesting comment *adeo eius est immutata natura ut iam ubique brevis inueniatur*. This situation cannot have come about by the influence of Ennius and Virgil. It is simply that between Virgil and Servius the boundary dividing literary from colloquial had shifted, and it was no longer necessary, as it had been for classical poets, to justify the presence of colloquialisms in elevated contexts from ancient precedent. The use of a subjunctive in the *ut* clause by Tibullus (2.1.26) and Silius (12.713) suggests a desire to tone down the colloquialism. Finally, what is characteristic of the poetic register is not so much the introduction of the shortened forms but the retention side by side with them of the older forms, *egō*, *mihi* etc. and of course *canō* etc., where the analogy of other 1st sg. forms retarded the spread of *-ō*; a reminder that in the poetic register nothing is ever obsolete.

**11.1.** Syncope of unstressed vowels was a feature of the spoken language at all periods, with or without reduction of the resultant consonant clusters. Prehistorically *\*d̥iuiugai* > *bīgae*, *\*ōpifakīna* > *opificīna* (*Pl. Mil.* 880) > *officīna*, *\*pōsino* > *pōnō* etc. In imperial Vulgar Latin *dōminus* > *domnus* (perhaps already in Plautus, *Cas.* 722) *uīridis* > *uiridis*, *comparare* > *comprare* etc. Even in educated usage new examples continued to appear; Augustus preferred *caldu* to *calidus* as being less *otiosum* (*Quint.* 1.6.19), and *caldu* became the regular form in Vulgar Latin, whence *caldo* and

*chaud*. Quintilian himself preferred *audacter* to the unsyncopated form, which he regarded as *molestissima diligentiae peruersitas* (1.6.17 and 19), and the exclamatory *ualde* (< *ualide* Pl. *Am.* 1062) was normal in classical Latin alongside the adjective *ualidus*. The grammarian Caper (7.108K) regarded *balneae* as more correct than *balineae*, which was in fact the older form.

**11.2.** The availability of syncopated and unsyncopated forms, whether or not they were both current outside the poetic register, again provided useful metrical variants. Thus Plautus has colloquial *ardos* (*Pers.* 266) beside *aridi* (*Rud.* 574), and *surpuit* (*Capt.* 760), which must have been formed in the period of initial stress, from *\*súbrapuet*, like *captibus* from *capitibus*, if this is the correct form at Enn. *Ann.* 511 Sk; conversely archaic *dexteram* beside *dextras* (*Merc.* 149, 965), an alternation that survives into the classical poetic register, e.g. Horace's *dexterā* and the usual *dextrā* (*C.* 1.2.3, 2.17.29).

**11.3.** This variation not surprisingly became confused with that between forms with and without an anaptyctic vowel, e.g. again from Plautus *periculo* and *populi* beside the older *periclum* and *poplo* (*Capt.* 687, *St.* 492, *As.* 617, *Ps.* 125). Variants like *saeclum* and *saeculum*, *uinclum* and *uinculum* are normal in classical poetry, the anaptyctic forms being obviously favoured in the nom.-acc. plural. The archaic tone of *saecla*, however, justifies its choice in Virg. *E.* 4.46 in preference to the metrically acceptable *saecula*.

**11.4.** Shortened forms like *dites* beside *diuite* (*Prop.* 3.4.1, 3.5.4) are due not to syncope but to the loss of *w* between like vowels and subsequent contraction. The phenomenon, well attested in Plautus, was especially frequent in the *w*-perfects, *audissem*, *complerunt* etc., and was analogically extended to give Plautine *amarit*, *noram* etc. The forms were convenient for poets, e.g. *admorunt* in Virg. *A.* 4.367, *nossem* with *audissem* in Tib. 1.10.11–12. The latter, like *complerunt*, imply derivation from *-erunt* rather than *-erunt* (see §§14.3–4). In prose such forms were accepted by Cicero (*Or.* 157) and treated as the norm by Quintilian, who recommends *uitauisse* etc. only for *compositio* (1.6.17, 9.4.59). So here again the poets are in line with general trends in the language.

**11.5.** The acceptability in literary language of the shorter variants, of whatever origin, enabled the poets to adopt them occasionally without incurring charges of colloquialism. In satire of course occasional echoes of *sermo cottidianus* were appropriate. So we find Horatian *caldior* (*S.* 1.3.53), for *cāldītor*, *soldum* (*S.* 2.5.65) and even *surpite* (*S.* 2.3.283), which like Lucretius' *surpere* (2.314) extends syncopation beyond the perfect forms to which Plautus seems to have confined it. Only *calidītor* is metrically impossible; the rest would be positionally restricted. This last consideration

accounts for the rare examples in Horace's odes, e.g. *lamnae* (2.2.2). There are a few where the unsyncopated form would be metrically impossible. Thus *surpuerat* (4.13.20) and, much more remarkable *puertiae* (1.36.8), which cannot be motivated phonetically from *pūērītīae* and would have to be an otherwise unattested archaism, reflecting *pūērītīae*! This is surely out of the question, and the form must be put down to the poet's boldness in innovation. Nothing quite comparable is to be found in other classical poets, who follow established precedent.

**11.6.** Forms like *posta* for *posita* (Lucr. 1.1059), which were metrically convenient rather than necessary, originated in colloquial Latin (e.g. *expostus* in Cato, *Agr.* 151.2), where the influence of the noun *postis* may have assisted the verbal syncope. They were regular in Vulgar Latin, as the Romance reflexes *imposto*, *compote* etc. show. However, they had entered the poetic tradition as early as Ennius, whose precedent for Virgil's *repostum* (*A.* 1.26), where for once the full form is indeed unmetrical, is reported by Servius. Lucretius also has *reposta* (1.35) along with many other syncopated compound forms that are used by Virgil. The latter often serve to emphasize an alliteration. Thus in *placida compostus pace* and *imposta Typhoeo* and *expostaque ponto* (*A.* 1.249, 9.716, 10.694), *-pos-* falls in a homodyne position.

**11.7.** Factors other than mere metrical convenience can also be discerned elsewhere; e.g. in *Paridis direxti tela* (*A.* 6.57), where the longer variant *direxisti* would be uneconomical of metrical space and phonetically less harsh. The importance of tradition is clear in Virgil's choice of *porgite* (*A.* 8.274). Servius on 1.26 again reports Ennian precedent, and the form occurs in Cicero's *Aratea* 211. The established status of *-postus* is illustrated further by Propertius' *imposta* (4.2.29) alongside older and more widely established shortenings like *duxti* and *consumpsti* (1.3.37)<sup>28</sup> and by Silver epic examples like *repostam* (Val. Flacc. 2.286), *imposta*, *expostus* (*Stat. Th.* 1.227, 5.551). Rare examples of apparent extensions are to be found, like Statius' *replictae* (*Silv.* 4.9.29) in place of the unmetrical *replictae* or the alternative innovation *replicatae*. The classical reluctance to admit what was so prominent a feature of Vulgar Latin, except where archaic precedent within the genre conferred respectability, was thus strictly maintained.

**12.1.** Poets were not conspicuous innovators in pronunciation or morphology, being content to adopt selectively what was already current in

<sup>28</sup> Again likely to have begun at the time of initial stress: *douxistei* rather than *douxistei*, unless *-tei* was older than *-istei* in sigmatic perfects.

educated use. However, they did take full advantage of archaic grammatical forms which, though rare or even obsolete outside poetry, were established in the poetic tradition and so not alien to cultivated readers.<sup>29</sup> Sometimes an archaism provided a briefer form. Thus *deum* for *deorum* in the urgent sequence of angry questions . . . *quare / templa ruunt antiqua deum?* (Hor. S. 2.2.104), with the archaic form juxtaposed to *antiqua*, or the even more archaic *diuom* in *tuis flexus Venerisque gratae / uocibus diuom pater* (Hor. C. 4.6.21-2), which contributes to the heroic context not only the old case form but also the archaic form of the root, which adds to the Ennian alliterative effect.

**12.2.** Some examples suggest that the poet had Greek  $-\omega\nu$  in mind, as *magnanimum heroum* (Virg. A. 6.307) and *Danaum Euboico litore mille rates* (Prop. 2.26.38), where the toponymic adjective following *Vlixēn* in the previous line provides a strong Hellenic tone,<sup>30</sup> while the archaism of a locative ablative without a preposition and the metonymy of *rates* form a rich poetic context for the genitive. The use of the old genitive forms in technical terms of law and the trades, e.g. *fabrum*, *iugerum*, *sestertium*, *socium*, well illustrates the parallels that are possible between the subliterate registers of the language and that of poetry.

**12.3.** The a-stem gen. pl.  $-\bar{a}rum$  was as ancient as thematic  $-um$ . Hence forms like *caelicolum* (Enn. Ann. 445 Sk, Virg. A. 3.21) and *agricolum* (Lucret. 4.586) must be analogical, like the converse  $-\bar{a}i$  for  $-\bar{a}s$ . In proper names the influence of Greek  $-\hat{\omega}\nu$  must again be admitted, as in Lucretius' *Aeneadum genetrix hominum diuomque uoluptas*, where the forms *Aeneadum*<sup>31</sup> and *diuomque* reflect the association of heroic Greece and ancient Rome. The appropriate Greek resonance of Virgil's *optume Graiugenum* (A.8.127) in Aeneas' address to Evander contrasts with the more native Latin *Graiugenarum* (Lucret. 1.477).

**12.4.** At other times the chosen form may be longer, more weighty, like the archaic gen. sg.  $-\bar{a}i$ . The inherited  $-\bar{a}s$ , which it replaced, survives in the legal phrase *pater familias* and as an archaism already in Livius' *escas* (poet. 12M), Naevius' *Terras* (FPL 8B) and Ennius' *uias*<sup>32</sup> along with the ancient nom. sg. *aquilā* (Ann. 430, 139 Sk). In fact  $-\bar{a}i$  was already

<sup>29</sup> For archaic morphology see Leumann (1959: 143-5).

<sup>30</sup> In view of the attested Greek variants Ὀλισεός and Οὐλιξεός and the recharacterization of *ἠερέ*, acc. sg. of *ἠερέ*s (<*ἠερέ*s), *Vlixēn* may be a genuine Greek form in spite of Housman (Diggle-Goodyear (1972: 2. 834-5)).

<sup>31</sup> The early Latin nom. sg. would have been *Aeneadā*; cf. archaizing *Aeacidā* (Enn. Ann. 475 Sk).

<sup>32</sup> *auras* for *aurae*, reported by Servius as an *antiqua lectio* at A. 11.801, turns up in the ninth-century *Bernensis d* and may be due not to Virgil's archaizing passion but to the interference of *auras* (799).

archaic by the early second century. Monosyllabic *-ai* (usually written *-ae* in our MSS) is much the more frequent in Ennius, who tends to keep the dissyllabic form for verse ends, e.g. the aptly toilsome *siluai frondosai* and in the wholly spondaic line *olli respondit rex Albai Longai*, where the form of the pronoun adds to the antique tone (*Ann.* 179, 31 Sk). Plautus has *-āī* in parodic phrases like *filiai nuptiis* (*Aul.* 295), and *magnai rei publicai gratia* (*Mil.* 103).

**12.5.** Lucretius has many instances, again especially at verse ends (*animāī, materiāī* etc.), and the overall total in fact exceeds that for *-ae*. But Virgil uses the variant more freely, if much less frequently. Thus in *A.* 3.354, *aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi*, the opening archaic genitive dependent on an unprepositioned locative ablative (cf. the normal classical idiom *in media aula*), the metonymic *Bacchi* for *uini*, appropriate to the strict sense of *libabant* with which it is linked by assonance, and the contrasting heterodyne and homodyne patterns in the otherwise metrically symmetrical halves of the verse all combine to celebrate this emotional high point in Aeneas' narrative. The genitival archaisms both occur together in the description of Turnus' army, *diues equom, diues pictai uestis et auri* (*A.* 9.26). The use of the genitive rather than ablative case with *diues*, the archaic forms of the two genitives and the stately spondaic rhythms provide tones worthy of the heroic scene. The use of *-āī* declines in imperial epic. When it does occur, it is probably a Virgilism.

**13.1.** The interaction of *i*-stem and consonant stem nouns and adjectives had begun prehistorically with the transfer of *i*-stem nom. pl. *-ēs* and dat.-abl. pl. *-ibos*. However, in the historical period it is generally at the expense of *i*-stems, with *\*mentim, \*mentī, mentīs* replaced by *mentem, mente, mentēs*.

**13.2.** The encroachment of *imbre* on *imbrī, parte* on *partī* etc., as well as reverse confusions like *couentionid* for *\*couentione*, are attested in early Latin (cf. *Pl. Mo.* 142, *Ter. HT.* 57, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>581). In the first century BC, where *-e* was spreading rapidly in educated usage, retention of the older forms provided useful metrical alternatives, e.g. *finī, finē* (*Lucr.* 1.978, 4.627), *ignī, ignē* and *currentī, rubentē* (*Prop.* 1.9.17, 3.5.36, 4.5.12, 3.10.2); cf. *caelestī, caelestē* (*Ov. Pont.* 3.5.53, *M.* 15.743). In only a few instances were the newer forms metrically difficult — *celere* for instance required elision into a heavy syllable — but the availability of options once more enabled greater variety in placing the word, varying the proportion of long vowels and creating patterns of assonance, e.g. the opening juxtaposition in *Sigea igni freta lata relucent*, and the repetition of *tī* in *cristasque rubentis/excipiam sorti* (*Virg. A.* 2.312, 9.270–1). For increased syllabic weight innov-

ative *-ī* was used in *maiorī* (Luc. 7.162), and *capiti* (Virg. *E.* 6.16) avoids *capite*, which would have needed elision.

**13.3.** That the distinction between *ē* and the *exilis uox* of *ī* mattered to the educated Latin ear is plain from Probus' discussion of the relative merits of *urbīs* and *urbēs*, *turrim* and *turrem* and Gellius' reflections thereon (*N.A.* 13.21). Because such pairs are not metrically distinct, we have no way of recovering their distribution from the manuscript tradition, which was inevitably corrupted by the phonetic confusion between the reflexes of classical *ī* and *ē* in the late Empire. Appeal to Virgil's autograph is made by Probus to show that the poet made his choices *arbitrio consilioque usus auris*. So we have the assonance of *urbisne inuisere*, *Caesar* (*G.* 1.25) but the appropriately *pinguior* ('fuller') *uox* in *centum urbes habitant magnas* (*A.* 3.106). Similar observations are reported on *turrim* and *securim* (*A.* 2.460, 224), and Gellius cites the alternation between *tres* and *tris* in successive lines (*A.* 10.350–1).

**13.4.** Finally the difficulties posed by gen. pl. *-ium* following a heavy syllable, as in present participles and many *i*-stem nouns and adjectives. These were overcome in the participle by reviving the consonant stem forms that made up the original paradigm of the *-nt-* participle, the *i*-stems having been introduced from the remodelled feminine *\*ferentī* (cf. Skt *bharantī* and Gk *φέρουσα* < *\*bherontiā*). Virgil's *cadentum* (*A.* 10.674) and the remarkable sequence including the verse-final rhymes *ruentum*, *parentum* (*A.* 11.886–7) would have seemed distinctly archaic, especially if the older spelling *lacrumantum* is authentic. Later but still pre-classical is the extension of consonant-stem genitives from participles to *i*-stem adjectives, especially when used substantivally like *caelestum* (*Enn. var.* 23V; cf. Virg. *A.* 7.432) and *agrestum* Virg. *G.* 1.10). The metrically useful forms, though not so likely to have had an archaic tone, since confusion of the two paradigms was clearly widespread in the colloquial register, nevertheless distinguish poetic discourse from literary prose usage, which here, as sometimes elsewhere, distanced itself from the colloquial more sharply than poetic usage felt the need consistently to do.

**14.1.** Older forms of the imperfect tense like *scibas* (*Enn. tr.* 272J), *insanibat* (*Ter. Ph.* 642) were useful to dactylic poets avoiding tribrachs and cretics, e.g. *stabilibat* (*Enn. Ann.* 42 Sk), *audibat* (*Ov. F.* 3.507), in place of the more recent forms *stabiliebat*, *audiebat* which were preferred in prose. Now and then the archaic form is preferred to a metrically possible alternative for positional and phonetic reasons. Thus in Virg. *A.* 8.436, *certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant*, the verb form contributes along with the metrically unavoidable *serpentum* to the aural effect of a verse in

which the only dactyl is *aurōquē pōlibant* with *auroque* in hendiadys with *squamis*. This ability to make a virtue of metrical necessity can also be seen in Cat. 64.319, *uellerā uirgati custodibant calathisci* with its dignified central spondees.

**14.2.** Of the three classical variants of the third person plural perfect, inherited *-ēre*, innovative *-ērunt* (<\*-is-ont) and *-erunt*, a conflation of the two, the first is notably more frequent in poetry than in prose. It is in fact the oldest of the three forms, but it was its trochaic ending that enabled it to overcome the prejudice reported by Cicero (*Or.* 157) against a form wrongly believed to be shortened from *-erunt*. The frequency at all periods of the shortened forms *cessarunt*, *norunt*, which must have replaced *cessauerunt*, *nouerunt*, not the forms in *-erunt*, suggests that the former were much more frequent than is often supposed. They are certainly the starting point for the Romance forms, It. *-arono* etc. Even in Ciceronian clausulae the short penult sometimes offers a better rhythm; e.g. *mortem dōlūērunt*, *mōuērunt respōndēō*, *dē mānībūs āmīsērunt* (Cic. *Cael.* 24, 27, 64). In dramatic verse, *-erunt* can be certified only at the end of a verse or hemistich, e.g. *meruērunt* (Pl. *Mo.* 281), *emērunt* (Ter. *Eun.* 20), but there are many other positions in which *pēpūlērunt*, *dīxērunt* etc. would be as acceptable as the *-erunt* forms that are usually assumed.<sup>33</sup>

**14.3.** The heavy final syllable of most perfect stems severely restricted the incidence of *-erunt* in dactylic metres. Thus Virgil has *tūlērunt*, *miscūēruntque*, *stētēruntque* (*E.* 4.61, *G.* 3.283, *A.* 2.774) but *implērunt*, *nōrunt* (*E.* 6.48, *A.* 6.641) for *implēuērunt*, *nōuērunt*. The shortened forms were supported by *implesti*, *nosse* etc. (see §11.4). In Lucretius, combined with the small number of *-erunt* forms, they outnumber *-erunt*. They are also notably more frequent in the *Metamorphoses* than in the *Aeneid*.

**14.4.** However, *-ēre*, which is the most frequent of the three in Lucretius, remains the distinctively poetic form in classical Latin. Virgil uses it in all positions even where it is not metrically necessary; e.g. at the end of *A.* 1.398, *et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere*, where the rhyme with *cinxere* is clearly important, and in the famous opening to Book 2, *Conticuerē omnes intentique ora tenebant*, where the light syllable is actually elided to usher in the rhythmic gravity of the central section of the verse.

**14.5.** Finally an archaism which, though not frequent, is remarkably persistent in all genres of classical poetry, the medio-passive infinitive *-ier*. Its origin is probably the same as that of *-ī*,<sup>34</sup> with which it is in allomorphic

<sup>33</sup> See Pye (1963) for further discussion and relevant statistics.

<sup>34</sup> viz. a gerundial *\*-iē*: *\*yriē* > *\*uortiē* (cf. Skt *vṛtyā*) *uortī* or *uortie+r*. The *-ī* form could also reflect *-ei* (cf. *agī* with Skt *nir-aje*), but there are no examples before monophthongization to test this, and it would not account for *agier* etc.



variation in early Latin. The tendency for *-ier* to be placed at the end of the verse in republican drama suggests that it was already archaic. In classical verse it offered useful metrical alternatives to iambic and pyrrhic endings. In practice the first of these, exemplified in, say, *\*agier uentis*, is rarely if ever attested, the second widely, e.g. *nitier* (Cat. 61.68), *accingier* (Virg. A. 4.493), *labier* (Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.94), *spargier* (Hor. C. 4.11.8), all followed by a vowel.

**15.1.** One notable difference between Latin poetry and literary prose is the higher frequency of Greek sounds. This is true of all poetic genres, even when the subject matter is not specifically Greek, though the pleasure that was got by educated Latin speakers from the exotic sounds cannot be dissociated from the cultural associations of the words that contained them (see §§27, 28).

**15.2.** The introduction of Greek sounds into Latin by Greek speakers was of course, like their inability to cope satisfactorily with distinctive Latin sounds such as [k<sup>w</sup>], [w] and [f], a mark of incompetence (cf. Quint. 1.4.14). As in other societies, unless the speaker belonged to one of the prestigious artistic or learned professions, the defect was a social handicap, looked down upon by educated native speakers. By contrast the occasional deliberate injection of a distinctively Greek word, sound or idiom into the discourse of an educated Latin speaker, provided it was kept to conventional limits — one thinks, for instance, of the contrast between the poetical and epistolary Cicero and the Cicero of the formal literary prose — was viewed as the natural outcome of what since the second century BC had been a self-consciously bilingual culture. This bilingualism accepted after some resistance the introduction of Greek technical terms into the learned vocabularies of rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, science and technology,<sup>35</sup> but the influx there was much more a prose phenomenon and a relatively late one, as the pages of the *Ad Herennium*, Celsus and Vitruvius show.

**15.3.** Quintilian extols at some length (12.10.27–34) the aesthetic superiority of Greek *y* and *z*,<sup>36</sup> the two *peregrinae litterae*, and the aspirated stops *ph*, *th*, *ch*. (It is not clear whether his omission of the aspirated allophone of *r* is significant or not.) Instead Latin has the *horridae litterae*, *f*, *w* (the *Aeolica littera*!), *qu* and final *-m*. Of ζέφυρος he writes *si nostris litteris scribentur, surdum quiddam et barbarum efficient*.

<sup>35</sup> See Coleman (1989).

<sup>36</sup> Greek *v* was originally [u] everywhere and remained so in some dialects until the spread of [y] from Attic-Ionic in the Hellenistic period. ζ was originally [dz] or [zd], perhaps both, depending on the dialect, but in Hellenistic Greek had become [z:] generally.

**15.4.** In early Latin the convention seems to have been, as in English until recent times, to naturalize all foreign words, including proper names.<sup>37</sup> Thus *\*ampora* < ἀμπορέα (acc.), reflected in the diminutive *ampulla* beside classical *amphora*, *carta* < χάρτης and *massa* < μάζα, *tumba* < τύμβος, *tus* < θύος, in which the *peregrinae litterae* were never restored. This practice seems to have continued in Vulgar Latin, where e.g. *colpus* < κόλαφος, *balneus* < βαλανεῖον, *spada* (cf. class. *spatha*, but dim. *spatula*) < σπάθη.

**15.5.** Traces of the early Latin convention are discernible in the MS tradition of Plautus and Ennius. Thus *sonam* (Po. 1008 ms. A), *carmidi* (Trin. 744 A), *sumbolum* (Ps. 716 A), *Sibulla* (Ps. 25 A), *scema* (Am. 117 ms. J), *baratrum* (Ba. 149 P). From Ennius *Andromaca* (tr. 102 J test.), *cartis* (Ann. 458 Sk), *poinice* (tr. 258 J test.), *tyeste* (tr. 307 J test.) *maceriis* for *maceris* (Ann. 519 Sk) < *\*macaireis*. It is probable that before c. 150 BC all Latin poets wrote (and pronounced) *Ampitruo*, *numpa*, *Smurna*, *teatrum*, *Tuestes*.

**15.6.** The first datable use of the digraphic representation of Greek aspirates occurs in *Achaia* and the unetymological *triumphans* beside *Corinto* on Mummius' dedication of 145 BC (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 626). At what date y and z were introduced we do not know, but it is likely that they were systematically pronounced and written by the neoteric poets in *charta*, *nympha*, *Rhodope*, *tympanum*, *zephyrus*, *Zmyrna* etc.

**15.7.** It was not just the individual Greek sounds in *cithara*, *cyathus*, *delphinus*, *rhythmus*, *lychnus* etc. that brought exotic colour. There were also the unLatin combinations of familiar Latin sounds, as in the diphthong in *Eurus*, the vowel sequences in *āēr*, *Chāos*, *Trōilus*, the initial clusters in *psallere*, *Xanthus*, the medials in *cycnus*, *Lesbia*, the final syllables of *Actaeōn*, *Corydōn*.

**15.8.** The exotic effect was further enhanced by the increasing retention in poetry of Greek case forms in Greek nouns, which also provided metrical variants, e.g. the accusatives *lampadās* (Lucr. 2.25), *lampada* (Virg. A. 6.587) and nominative *lampadēs* (Ov. Ep. 14.25). Ennius had already adopted acc. *ait(h)era* and nom. *Aiacidā* (Ann. 545, 167 Sk), but it was probably Accius who established the practice, at any rate in proper nouns according to Varro, who also notes (L. 10.70) the currency of mixed declension and complete Latinization, which was the norm in common nouns of Greek origin. Catullus has for instance in 64 and 66 voc. *Theseu*, acc. *Amphitritēn*, *Minōa*, nom. pl. *Nereidēs*, gen. *Locridos Arsinoēs* and the variant datives *Minoidī* and *Thetidī*, *Pelei* and *Peleō*, where the metrically necessary but unLatin contraction gives the latter form a distinctly Greek quality. The usage was maintained and extended in Augustan and later

<sup>37</sup> For a comprehensive account of the whole subject see Biville (1987).

poetry, Lucretius' *Tityon* (3.984), and *cinnamon* and *Patroclon* in Propertius (3.13.8, 2.8.33).

**15.9.** The effects of this Greek colouring were recognized explicitly by the ancients themselves. Cicero, having stated that poets are governed by sound rather than sense, cites as an instance a verse that is *locorum splendidis nominibus illuminatus*; the text is uncertain but it clearly contained *Helles*, *Tmolium* and *Tauricos* (*Or.* 163). Other examples are discussed in §§27–28.

**16.1.** The phonetic figures<sup>38</sup> of alliteration, assonance and rhyme are a well-known feature of Latin poetry, though by no means exclusive to the register. The most famous of all Latin alliterations was after all Caesar's *ueni uidi uici*, reported by the Elder Seneca (*Suas.* 2.22), which shows that it was typical of conversational epigram, though the figure is conspicuously absent from the *Commentarii*. All three figures can have expressive functions in poetry, as in ritual texts and even legal formulae, though with the possible exception of onomatopoeia, it is often impossible to dissociate interpretation of any such phonetic effects from the perceived meaning of the words themselves. Examples can be noted and analysed precisely and objectively, but anything beyond that must be to some extent subjective and influenced by the reader's own linguistic culture.<sup>39</sup>

**16.2.** Alliteration, even more than the other two, also has a powerful cohesive effect in binding together words that the author wishes to associate closely, whether or not they are adjacent or belong together syntactically. In Horace, *C.* 2.3.1–4, *aequam memento rebus in arduis / seruare mentem, non secus in bonis / ab insolenti temperatam / laetitia, moriture Delli*, the alliterative link between *memento* and *mentem*, with its characteristically Horatian etymological word-play, and the unnerving *moriture* contribute significantly to the effect of the exhortation.

**16.3.** Alliteration is a striking feature of early Latin literary composition, no doubt assisted by the initial stress accent. This coincidence of alliteration with stress is also seen in Old English poetry with alliteration of two or three stressed syllables in each line: e.g. *oft Scyld Scēfing sceap-ena þrēatum / monegum mægþum meodosetla oftēah* (*Beowulf* 4–5) 'Often Scyld son of Scef from bands of enemies, from many races, the mead-benches took away'.<sup>40</sup> We find in prayers formulae like *quod felix faustum*

<sup>38</sup> For more detailed discussion see Hofmann-Szantyr (1965: 699–721).

<sup>39</sup> For some salutary remarks on the significance of alliterations see Goodyear (1972: 336–41).

<sup>40</sup> Whatever rules there may have been, comparable to those in Germanic and Welsh alliterative poetry, have disappeared with the lost texts. For an unsuccessful attempt to recover such rules in extant Latin poetry see Evans (1921).

*fortunatum siet* (Cic. *Diu.* 1.102) and *pastores pecuaque salua seruassis* (Cato *Agr.* 141), and in dedicatory inscriptions various combinations of *donum* with *datum*, *donatum* and *dedicatum*, which show that the figure survived in the religious register. In early poetry Naevius has *eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales* (FPL 6B), Ennius *Apollo puerum primus Priamo qui foret / postilla natus temptare tollere; / eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo.* (tr. 59–61 J) and the virtuoso sequence *machina multa minax minitatur maxima muris* (Ann. 620 Sk).

16.4. There is nothing on this scale in Greek poetry, nothing either in surviving Latin prose, though some remarkable alliterations can be found. For instance Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.118–19: *tum incideret in mortis malum sempiternum; portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus. quo utinam uelis passis peruehi liceat! sin reflantibus uentis reiciemur . . .* This highly alliterative and sustained nautical metaphor comes at the emotionally charged conclusion of a long exposition. Even Nepos sometimes indulges, e.g. *illum ait Magnesiae morbo mortuum neque negat fuisse famam uenenum sua sponte sumpsisse* (*Them.* 10.4). The two examples are significant in not being drawn from high oratory; a reminder of the stylistic common property shared between poetic discourse and literary prose generally.

16.5. The archaizing Lucretius was of course greatly addicted to alliteration. As a result the functional power of the figure is greatly diminished. Catullus by contrast sets the appropriately archaic tone for his epic theme of Peleus and Thetis with *Peliaco . . . prognatae . . . pinus, Neptuni nasse and fluctus et fines* (64.1–3); but the figure is reserved in the personal poems purely for expressive effects, as in *lepidum nouum libellum and pumice expolitum* (1.1–2), *senum seueriorum* (5.2), *fidem . . . foedere fallendos* (76.3–4).<sup>41</sup> The contribution of *cedente carina and languida . . . litoribus* to Propertius' depiction of the deserted heroine (1.3.1–2) is all the stronger because he alliterates so infrequently. Similarly in 2.22.1–2, *scis here mi multas pariter placuisse puellas; / scis mihi, Demophoon, multa uenire mala*, the alliteration of *m*, *p*, *l* combined with the repetition of *scis* and the colloquial *here* and *mi* convey a vividly dramatic effect. Finally in Virgil's *et pro purpureo poenas dat Scylla capillo* (G. 1.405) the juxtaposition of the visual image of crime and its punishment is reinforced by the same alliteration which unites the syntactic unit of epithet and noun, underlined by the grammatically conditioned homeoteleuton. As often in poetry one feature accompanies others.

<sup>41</sup> For the relatively high frequency of alliteration in the dialogue love poems, Catullus 45 and Horace C. 3.9 see Wilkinson (1963: 26–7).

17. Assonance is also employed for expressive and cohesive purposes. It is often combined with alliteration, as in Lucretius' *linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta / terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata* (5.795-6), with its characteristic word-play between *maternum* and *terra*, and the use of recurrent patterns of linguistic *elementa* to reflect the syntheses of cosmic *elementa*.<sup>42</sup> In *C.* 3.4.69-71 Horace gives a didactic, almost pedantic, emphasis to the mythological *exemplum* of *uis consili expers*, which *mole ruit sua*, by the repetition of *te, ti* in *testis mearum centimanus Gyges / sententiarum*. This is continued in the repeated *t* and *i* through the rest of the stanza to the final *domitus sagitta*. The opening stanza of *C.* 4.13.1-4 is even more striking, with the repeated *exilitas* of *ī, ĭ* and *ē* expressing contempt for the hapless Lyce. The use of assonance merits attention, even if interpretation of it must often remain speculative.

18.1. Rhyme has been an important structural feature of Western vernacular poetry since the Middle Ages and has a strong cohesive role in such varied genres as the *terza rima* of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, the heroic couplet of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and the sonnet forms of Petrarch and Ronsard. The need to provide the specified rhyme can be constricting and the use of the figure has declined in modern poetry. The earliest surviving pieces of rhymed Latin verse are Christian hymns, though in most of the pre-medieval hymns the rhymes, even when frequent, are not systematic. Moreover we cannot be sure of pronunciation. In Fortunatus' *Vexilla Regis* was it assumed that congregations would rhyme *prodeunt* with *mysterium*, as they would *uestigia, gratia, hostia*? In Insular Latin, where pronunciation was more conservative, we have in fact some of the earliest systematic rhymes, as in the *Lorica* attributed to Gildas and St Columba's *Altus Prosator* (*Anal. Hymn.* 51.262 and 216).

18.2. The two areas where rhyme is to be found in pre-Christian Latin are in popular incantations, where the correspondence was systematic and obviously magical, and in high rhetorical prose, where homeoteleuton or sequential rhyme was occasional and calculated for special effect. Thus *terra pestum teneto. / salus hic maneto* (Var. *R.* 1.2.27), and *est igitur haec, iudices, non scripta sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, uerum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus* (Cic. *Mil.* 10), where the rhythmic structure also reveals careful composition.

18.3. Such examples indicate an awareness of rhyme as a possible

<sup>42</sup> See Friedländer (1941) for the exposition of this idea generally in Lucretius.

stylistic device, and, given the obvious frequency of good rhymes offered by the grammatical morphology of a highly inflected language, it is perhaps surprising that the possibilities were not taken up and developed in the educated poetic tradition. One reason may have been that in contrast to alliteration and assonance, which can affect lexically as well as grammatically significant syllables, rhyme affects only the inflections, unless it is dissyllabic, as in Chaucer, or even more intricate, as in the fantastic hexameter couplets of the twelfth-century Bernard of Cluny's *De contemptu mundi*:<sup>43</sup> *Hora nouissima, tempora pessima sunt, uigilemus. / ecce minaciter imminet arbiter ille supremus.*

**18.4.** The great majority of verse-end rhymes in classical poetry are unsystematic. Many seem to have no significance, which is surprising, given that the poet's choice was unconstrained. Now and then however we can see some significance, as in Ovid's *amnis harundinibus limosas obsite ripas, / ad dominam propero. siste parumper aquas* (*Am.* 3.6.1–2). Here the rhyming links the exhortation closely to the relevant descriptive phrase. Even the echo in the imperative *siste* of the rare vocative *obsite* may also be calculated. Again in Horace, *A.P.* 99–100, *non satis est pulchra esse poemata. dulcia sunt. / et quocumque uolent animum auditoris agunto*, the archaizing legalistic imperatives, unexpected in this context, are emphasized by their position, and the rhyme is supported both by the assonance of *pul-* *dul-* and perhaps *uol-* and by the alliteration in both verses.

**18.5.** There is good evidence for the occasional cultivation of internal rhyme with the syllable before the principal caesura. This is particularly notable in the Propertian elegiac pentameter, and can be seen as an easy extension of a tendency to place two concordant members of a noun phrase in these positions.<sup>44</sup> Thus in 1.1 we find *suis . . . ocellis* (1), *castas . . . puellas* (5), *nullo . . . consilio* (6) with the grammatically comparable *nullis . . . Cupidinibus* (2), *constantis . . . fastus* (3) and *impositis . . . pedibus* (4). An exceptional sequence, but there are plenty of similar individual verses, and even a few dissyllabic rhymes like *Tyrrhena . . . harena* (1.8a.11). Now and then two weakly rhymed words are not even in grammatical concord, as *irasci . . . tibi* (1.5.8) and *urgenti . . . dedi* (4.3.12), though these are at least syntactically linked.

**18.6.** In the well known sequence in Horace, *C.* 1.1.6–10, the rhyming words in *terrarum dominos euehit ad deos* (6), which are also linked by

<sup>43</sup> Which includes the *Name of the Rose* line: *nunc ubi Regulus? aut ubi Romulus? aut ubi Remus? / stat rosa pristina nomine, nomina nuda tenemus.*

<sup>44</sup> For a detailed classification of the data on juxtaposed homeoteleuton see Shackleton Bailey (1994).

alliteration, are syntactically unconnected,<sup>45</sup> as they are also, for instance, in 1.36.12, *neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum*. But the rest of the passage shows strict grammatical concord from *mobilium* . . . *Quiritium* (7) to *Libycis* . . . *areis* (10), with only the alliterative *certat tergeminis tollere honoribus* (8) unrhymed. Elsewhere in Horace internal rhymes of this kind occur often enough to suggest intention, e.g. in *C.* 1.22 *ueneratis* . . . *sagittis* (3), *silua* . . . *Sabina* (9), *curis* . . . *expeditis* (11) etc., in contrast to the concordant but unrhymed *Syrtis* . . . *aestuosas* (5). Ovid uses such rhymes more sparingly after early instances like *Ep.* 1.6, which has two rhyming and two non-rhyming concords. Perhaps the figure itself was considered too naive and monotonous for fastidious poets, though Martial still has examples now and then of both rhyming and unrhyming concords.

**18.7.** In dactylic hexameters, while internal rhyme is frequent enough for obvious grammatical reasons, it seldom marks the two 'halves' of the verse. Examples are therefore the more noteworthy, as in *Virg. A.* 4.652–8, *uixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi / et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago, / urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia uidi, / ulta uirum poenas inimico a fratre recepi, / felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum / numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae*. Here five rhyming first person verbs are placed one in verse-initial, three in verse-final position and one before a principal caesura, as is the rhyming first person pronoun *mei*. The queen's proud statement of her own achievements, thus powerfully emphasized, contrasts poignantly with the closing couplet in which she is the passive victim, and there is no first person verb, only the alien and hostile *tetigissent*.

## THE LEXICON

**19.1.** The lexical ingredients of the poetic register — the choice of words and the way they are employed — are clearly important for its definition. Indeed poetic diction often consists of words that in origin belonged to ordinary prosaic usage but because of their adoption and reiteration in poetic contexts acquired a distinctive status.

**19.2.** Words like *formosus*, *mollis* and *tener* were all thoroughly at home, say, in rustic or horticultural contexts — *porcus formosus*, *asparagi molles*, *tenerae gallinae* etc. But in poetry of the Callimachean connection *mollis* and *tener* were polarized with *durus* and *seuerus* over a wide metaphoric range (*Prop.* 3.1.19–20, *Ov. Am.* 2.1.3–4 etc.) and through their

<sup>45</sup> See Nisbet–Hubbard ad loc. For rhyme in the Odes see Skutsch (1964).

frequent occurrence in such contexts acquired like *formosus* connotations that in turn coloured new contexts. Keywords<sup>46</sup> of erotic poetry they certainly became, but the continued use of *tener* and *mollis* outside the genre in their older more prosaic denotations hamper their classification as poetic diction.

19.3. The case of *formosus* is more complicated. It is well known that whereas Virgil often uses the adjective in the *Eclogues* (e.g. 1.5, 2.1, 3.79), where it is appropriately *molle atque facetum*, he uses it only once in the *Georgics*, in its old sense, *formonsa*<sup>47</sup> *iuuenca* 'a well shaped heifer' (3.219), and never in the *Aeneid*. Dido is always *pulcherrima*, never *formonsa*. The ancient *pulcher*, used as a near synonym of *formosus* in Cic. *Fam.* 9.14.4, *nihil est . . . uirtute formosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil amabilius*, retains an elevated tone in both classical verse and prose usage. *Bellus*, originally the diminutive of *bonus* (or rather *\*duenos*), was used by Plautus and indeed Cicero to mean both 'fine' and 'pretty', but it never quite rivalled *formosus* in erotic poetry. Its lexical profile includes Catullus, Lucretius, Tibullus, Horace *Sat.*, Persius and Martial, which certainly does not mark it as 'unpoëtisch', unless we confine 'poëtisch' to the highest poetical genres. However, the two words prevailed in Vulgar Latin and are reflected in Romance, *beau, hermoso* etc. *Pulcher* disappeared without trace from the spoken language.

19.4. Words may of course rise and fall in literary as well as social status over the years and the emergence of a particular word in Vulgar Latin at one period is no guarantee of its literary humility at another.<sup>48</sup>

19.5. Sometimes ancient testimony on the status of a word raises more questions than it answers. When Andromache says, referring to Ascanius, *ecquid . . . et pater Aeneas et auunculus excitat Hector?* (A. 3.342-3), Servius says of *auunculus*: *humiliter dictum in heroico carmine*. The word is certainly rare in poetry, but is this merely because poets did not normally talk about uncles? Perhaps Virgil is being bolder than he seems in introducing a homely colloquial tone into epic dialogue? Equally infrequent in poetry is *patruus*. It is used satirically by Catullus (74) of Gellius' debauchery and also occurs in the Sibyl's conversation with Charon (A. 6.402), *casta licet patru seruet Proserpina limen*. The fact that Pluto, who had raped Proserpine, was the brother of her father Jupiter, is bitterly underlined by the juxtaposition of

<sup>46</sup> See Delatte (1967), who records *tener* as the most frequent adjective in Tibullus, *formosus* and *mollis* in Propertius.

<sup>47</sup> Presumed to be the original form of this as of other adjectives in *-osus*. Virgil may have been exceptional in retaining *-ns-*. For the change of *Vns* to *Vs* generally see Allen (1978: 28-9, 65-6).

<sup>48</sup> The point was well made by Ernout (1947) in reviewing Axelson (1945), who in this as in other matters did not always see the significance of the patterns in his own statistics.



*patrui* with *casta* and its alliteration with *Proserpina*. Like *auunculus* the noun is used with characteristic semantic precision, as was not perhaps the case in Servius' day, when the use of *auunculus* of paternal as well as maternal uncles may already have been consigning *patruus* to oblivion.

**20.1.** The rise and fall of words needs to be plotted with some care. Thus *plorare* and *lacrimare* certainly ousted *flere* in Vulgar Latin, but both are well attested in classical poetry. The start of Ovid's lament for Tibullus, *Memniona si mater, mater plorauit Achillen* (*Am.* 3.9) is surely a place for solemnity; nor does the chiasitic structure of the line, with the Greek accusatives of Homeric names at either end, seem an appropriate setting for the unpoetic or colloquial. As for *lacrimare*, its membership of the lexical group *lacrima, lacrimosus* ensured its survival in all registers of the language.

**20.2.** When Juno complains to Aeolus (*Virg. A.* 1.68) that her enemy sails the Tyrrhenian Sea *Ilium in Italiam portans uictosque penatis*, the verb has its normal classical sense of 'carrying a burden', and its subsequent semantic expansion to replace its hyperonym *ferre* in Vulgar Latin is irrelevant. Again, although (*de*)*fessus* was replaced in Vulgar Latin by *lassus*, little can be inferred from this for classical poetry. Ovid prefers *fessus* in his elegies, *lassus* in the *Metamorphoses*, but this is not merely a matter of idiolectal whim. Virgil in the flower simile describing the death of Euryalus has (*A.* 9.436–7) *languescit moriens lassoue papauera collo / demisere caput*. The preference for *lasso* over the metrically identical *fesso* may have been motivated by the resultant *la-* assonance, which binds together two central words in the simile. However, given the long tradition of the flower simile from *Iliad* 8.306–8 and Sappho 105c LP, it is unlikely that Virgil would have been so motivated, if it had meant introducing a word with distinctly subliterate associations.

**20.3.** In contrast to *fera*, the noun *bestia* is rare in poetry. It is sporadically reflected in Romance (e.g. Fr. *biche*) and must therefore have become established at some time in Vulgar Latin. Its occurrence in *B.Afr.* 81.1 but not in Caesar might suggest an early date, but it is used by Livy and often by Cicero; so its literary acceptability is secure for the classical period. Not vulgar then, but perhaps not poetical either. This would make its rare occurrence in Catullus 69.8 all the more striking: *hunc metuunt omnes neque mirum; nam mala ualde est / bestia nec quicum bella puella cubet*. The syntax and the vocabulary — *ualde, bella* — are colloquial but not vulgar, and *bestia*, with its contrastive alliteration with *bella*, is certainly vituperative (cf. *mala tu es bestia* in *Pl. Ba.* 55), but again not necessarily vulgar.

**20.4.** It is of course rare that a lexical profile is homogeneous, wholly poetic or wholly prosaic, and there are many other cases where the details of a heterogeneous profile are illuminating. Consider for instance the word *lābrum*,<sup>49</sup> a shortened form of *lauābrum* (cf. §11.4). The formation type is ancient, being paralleled in *cribrum*, *delubrum*, *uelabrum* etc. but it is not productive in the historical period. The unshortened form occurs once, where Lucretius warns against lingering in hot baths — *si calidis... cunctere lauabris* (6.799). In this, its original sense, it seems to have been replaced by *lauatio* (originally ‘the act of washing’; cf. §32.1) and especially by the Greek loan-word *balineum*, whence Romance *bagno*, *bain* etc. In Cic. *Fam.* 14.20 *lābrum* is clearly something that can be placed inside a *balineum*, presumably a ‘tub’ or ‘basin’. In agriculture *lābrum* is used of a tub for mixing oil (Cato, *Agr.* 66.2) or making wine (Virg. *G.* 2.6, Col. 12.15.3). This certainly looks prosaic, and the impression is confirmed by the diminutive *lābellum* (Col. 12.38.3), which is also used of a decorative bowl on a tomb (Cic. *Leg.* 2.66) and survives in Italian dialect words for ‘trough’ and ‘coffin’. Nothing very poetic here either.

**20.5.** However, the word is twice found in the *Aeneid*. At 8.22 it appears in the simile of turbulent water in a cauldron, adapted from A.R. 3.756ff., where the corresponding word  $\lambda\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$  is unmarked as to register. The distinctly unepic Latin word and the image of which it forms part are perhaps not inappropriate to the unheroic predicament of a very indecisive Aeneas. Again in 12.417, *labris splendentibus* introduces a homely detail into the lofty heroic diction, reminding us that the high and mighty have humble domestic objects around them, even if they are grander versions than ours. The poetic effect in both instances depends precisely on the unpoetic status of the word, for which plenty of parallels can be found in the homely details of other epic similes.

**20.6.** Similarly in Ovid’s use of the plural *lābra* of the bath of Diana in *Ep.* 21.180, *F.* 4.761 and *Ib.* 479, a reference to the goddess’ ‘bath-tub’ is deliberately irreverent, and even the trochaic plural seems belittling. In the very next line of *Fasti* there is a reference to Faunus *medio cum premitt arua die*. The image of the god applying pressure to the croplands is distinctly satiric, whether or not there is an allusion to his midday sexual activities. There may even be a parody in *labra Dianae* of the *labrum Venerium* ‘teazel’, a plant described by Pliny (*Nat.* 25.171) as *in flumine nascentem*. Diana, behaving in the myth like an excessively prim maiden lady, is treated like one. There is a lot going on here, but the presence of *lābrum*, while it is essential to the witty poetic effect, does so again

<sup>49</sup> What follows is developed out of an attempt to answer a query from Professor Kenney.

precisely because it is not in itself poetic. Nor does it acquire the status of poetic diction as a result of its contribution here.

**20.7.** The most remarkable case in Latin of a sequence of prosaic words combining to create a powerful poetic effect comes from Catullus. Not one of the bawdy pieces sprinkled with coarse vocabulary — *Ameana defutata* and the rest — which were designed to shock conventional sensibilities, but the famous epigram, *odi et amo. quare id faciam fortasse requiris. / nescio sed fieri sentio et excrucior* (85). Every word here is prosaic and there is not a single trope or figure to enrich their sheer ordinariness. Contrast for instance a couplet like Propertius' *in me nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras / et nullo uacuus tempore deficit Amor* (1.1.33–4). Sustained plainness of diction characterizes all Catullus' epigrams, but this one is an extreme case.

**20.8.** There is an almost unbelievable density of verbalization — nine finite verbs and an infinitive in fourteen words. All the finite verbs except one are in the present tense, all except one in the first person. Only one is a subjunctive, and the mood there is purely rule-governed. The opening paradox *odi et amo* is compounded by the choice of the ergative *faciam* to denote a passive state, a choice that is not unparalleled (cf. Hor. S. 1.1.64, 94),<sup>50</sup> though it is here promptly 'corrected' by the passive *fieri*, with the two contrasted verbs in alliteration with the prosaic adverb *fortasse*,<sup>51</sup> which introduces the only tentative note in the couplet, referring however not to the poet but to the reader. The progression from the opening paradox through the puzzled question and his puzzled answer to the reiteration of the emotion and the pain caused by it, is articulated in the starkest and most austere lexical material. Poetic diction is clearly not essential for a powerful poetic effect: *series iuncturaque* certainly are.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless it is doubtful whether this power could be sustained through a poem much longer than an epigram solely by such unenriched prosaic vocabulary, however artfully arranged the words might be.

**20.9.** Once again a walk-on part in a highly charged poetic context does not confer the status of poetic diction. The fourteen words in Catullus' epigram revert thereafter to their former prosaic status. Similarly with Horace's *odi profanum uulgus et arceo*, which acquire their full metaphoric sense only when we have read the rest of the stanza. The individual words

<sup>50</sup> On *ut scias me recte ualere quod te inuicem fecisse cupio* at Vindolanda see Adams (1995a: 123).

<sup>51</sup> The grammarian Cledonius noted (5.66 K) that *forsan* and *forsitan* are both more poetic than *fortasse*, which certainly never occurs in the more elevated passages of Virgil and Ovid.

<sup>52</sup> Axelson (1945: 98) by labelling *idoneus*, *ordinare*, *praesidium* etc. as unpoetic fails to account for their successful appearances in poetry, most notably Horatian lyric. As Ernout (1947: 69) and Marouzeau (1949, 1954 *passim*) insisted, context is of critical importance.

retain no particular poetic charge; their effect hereafter is recoverable only in a context that alludes specifically to this verse. In fact Horace constantly uses plain prosaic phrases within richly elaborated contexts as an instrument of poetic argument. The summary *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (C. 3.2.13) derives its impact from the vivid images of bravery and violence that surround it. The homely *iam dudum apud me est* (C. 3.29.5) is carefully contrasted with the grand and luxurious imagery that precedes it. Poetic effects do not depend upon consistency of lexical texture.

**21.1.** We often find that a pair of synonyms is divided between literary prose and the higher genres of poetry but both words occur in the less elevated poetic contexts. Consider for instance the 'poetic' words *ensis*, *letum*, *coniunx* and *amnis*. The ancient noun *ensis* was synonymous with *gladius* (Quint. 10.1.11), which supplanted it in general usage before the classical period and was in its turn later supplanted in Vulgar Latin by the Greek loan-word *spatha*. For *letum*, a nobler synonym of the ancient *mors*, Varro cites (*L.* 7.42) an old legal formula *ollus leto datus est*, though the legal register normally has *mors*. No less ancient than *mors* is *uxor*, which is again regular in legal texts, though *coniunx* is generally preferred in sepulchral inscriptions. While *amnis*, frequent in early Latin, is rare in classical prose — only once even in the archaist Sallust — it is frequent in Livy, another instance of *historia proxima poetis*. Of course *gladius*, *mors*, *uxor* and *flumen* are often found in the higher poetic genres; the significant fact is rather the very rare occurrence of *ensis*, *letum*, *coniunx* and *amnis* in prose.<sup>53</sup> It is not irrelevant either to note that all four 'poetic' words disappeared eventually from the spoken language and have left no direct traces in Romance.

**21.2.** There are many other instances of such synonymic pairs: cf. *pulcher* and *formosus* (§13.3), *uirgo* and *puella* (§26.1), *meare* and *ire*, *celsus* and *altus*, *natus* and *filius* etc. The effect of a combination of two such elevated synonyms can be seen in the solemn words of Virgil's Sibyl, *Tróius Aeneas pietáte insígnis et armis / ad genitorem imas Erebi descéndit ad úmbras* (*A.* 6.403–4). The identical quantitative rhythm of the two verses produces an incantatory effect, which avoids monotony by the different patterns of homodynes (indicated by the accents). The Greek sound of *Trōiūs Aēnēās* is balanced by the gravity of *genitorem imas*, in

<sup>53</sup> For further discussion of the 'poetic lexicon' see Marouzeau (1962: 193–8), Leumann (1959: 155) and for Indo-European Schmitt (1967) and Watkins (1954: 193–8).

contrast to *patrem* and the unmetrical *infimas*. Another instance of the great poet making a virtue of necessity.

**22.1.** The retention of archaisms, words that have become obsolete in ordinary usage, is a feature of the poetic lexicon that has already emerged in the preceding paragraphs. *uerba a uetustate repetita*, says Quintilian (1.6.39), *adferunt orationi maiestatem aliquam non sine delectatione*. Not only do they have *auctoritatem antiquitatis* but also *quia intermissa sunt, gratiam nouitati similem parant*. In 8.3.24, writing of the *dignitas* conferred by *antiquitas*, he continues *eoque ornamento acerrimi iudicii P. Vergilius unice est usus*; a good example incidentally of the close relation between rhetoric and poetic in the ancient theorists.

**22.2.** Quintilian's examples of Virgil's archaisms include *moerus*, which was presumably not merely a relic of the old orthography *moirus*<sup>54</sup> but also intended to carry with it the archaic pronunciation and so underline the connection with *moenia*. Other words cited with approval<sup>55</sup> are *olli*, the older equivalent of *illi*, also found in Lucretius and rarely on official inscriptions, *quianam*, attested outside the *Aeneid* only in Naevius, Ennius and Accius, and *pone*, which as an adverb is found in Virgil, Propertius and Silver epic as well as Suetonius and Apuleius, but as a preposition has far too wide and heterogeneous a lexical profile generically and diachronically to even qualify as an archaism. Indeed *pone* occurs in a passage (*Rhet. Her.* 4.14) illustrating the *cottidianus sermo*!

**22.3.** Not all archaisms were approved. In 1.6.40 Quintilian refers disparagingly to words *ab ultimis et iam oblitteratis repetita temporibus*, citing various examples (beside those in 8.3.25-7), which end with *Saliorum carmina uix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*. These were still to be heard in his own day and unlike the revival of old words with which we are principally concerned here, they represent an unbroken tradition, preserved but progressively garbled over the centuries. As for the other words cited, it is not clear whether the objection is to attempts to revive them or to the idea of doing so. The first, *topper*, is not attested after Accius and Coelius Antipater, *antegerio* which *nemo nisi ambitiosus utetur* (8.3.25), is not attested at all, *exanclare*, well attested in early Latin, is not found between Cic. *Luc.* 108 and Apul. *Met.* 1.16, and *prosapia*, described by

<sup>54</sup> Which may indeed be what Quintilian wrote; cf. the MS variants *mus*, *mis*. *moerus* is due to Ribbeck.

<sup>55</sup> One of them, *porricere*, Haupt's correction of *pollicerent*, is problematic, since after Plautus, although it appears in a proverb quoted in Cic. *Att.* 5.18.1, *inter caesa et porrecta*, and in a conjecture for *porrigit* in Var. *R.* 1.29.3, there are no certain poetic or indeed literary attestations at all.

Quintilian in 8.3.26 as *insulsum*, is used by Cicero (*Tim.* 39) with the explicit label *uetus uerbum* and later by Suetonius and Apuleius. It is also used by Sallust (*Iug.* 85.10), whose taste for archaizing was notorious (Suet. *Aug.* 86.3 *Gramm.* 10).

22.4. There is no evidence in any case that any of these words was revived by any of the classical poets. What is important, however, is that for poets there is no such thing as an obsolete word. Any word can be resurrected for a specific poetic purpose, though to be effective it must obviously be intelligible and its traditional connotations recognizable to the educated reader. It looks as if there was already in classical times uncertainty about the meaning of *topper*, as of *caluitur* and *pedem struit* in the Twelve Tables. Such doubts would certainly have been a deterrent to revival.

23.1. Archaisms rarely appear in isolation from other ingredients of the elevated style. Take Catullus 64.35–6, *deseritur Cieros*,<sup>56</sup> *linquunt Pthiotica Tempe / Crannonisque domos ac moenia Larisaea*. The archaism *linquunt* which like other uncompounded forms, *cedere*, *fidere*, *gradi*, *solari* etc., was a particular feature of the higher poetic genres, is surrounded by the exotic sounds of toponyms appropriate to the narrative and to Achilles, who was born in Phthia. The strange coupling of Phthia with Tempe is implied in Callimachus, *H.* 4.105, 112, and the chiasmic structure of 36 with its concluding double spondee is very much in the grand style.

23.2. In Virgil, *A.* 1.254, Jupiter's reassurances to Venus are introduced with appropriate majesty: *olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum*. The verse contains the archaism *olli* and the poetic use of *sator* as a synonym for *pater*. In the speech itself we find *fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet, / longius et uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo* (261–2), with etymological word-play between *fata* and the archaic verb *fari*. In 2.54 *fata deum*, the passive participle of the middle verb, itself an archaism, is combined with the archaic genitive plural.

23.3. Ovid, *M.* 14.806, has *casside* in place of the usual classical word *galea*.<sup>57</sup> Unlike Virgil Ovid does not employ archaic words very much, even in this epic-scale work. However, the whole sentence is laden with archaism: *posita cum casside Mauors / talibus adfatur diuumque hominumque parentem*. Though not itself archaic, the presence of *cum* in the

<sup>56</sup> Meineke's correction of *Scyros*, the form which lies behind the actual manuscript readings, is adopted by most modern editors.

<sup>57</sup> As Leumann (1959: 143) noted, observing Ovid's reduction in archaic vocabulary, compared with Virgil and Horace.

opening phrase reminds readers of the comitative sense out of which the absolute construction developed. Straightforward archaisms are *posita* for *deposita*, *Mauors* for *Mars*, *adfatur* for *adloquitur*, *dium* for *deorum* and the inherited *-que . . . -que*, the retention of which in poetry was no doubt assisted by Greek  $\tau\epsilon . . . \tau\epsilon$ . Finally there is the descriptive phrase substituted for a proper name that was such a feature of Latin poetic discourse, though not always as unambiguous as it is here and in Virgil, *A.* 1.254 above. All these details combine to distance the sentence from normal prose usage, e.g. *galea deposita, Mars patrem deorum hominumque allocutus est*.

**24.1.** Some poetic paraphrases are metrically constrained, like *ter quattuor, bis senos* for *duodecim* (*Enn. Ann.* 88 Sk, *Virg. E.* 1.43) and other numeral substitutes. No such problem was posed by *caseus*, but cheese, like uncles, seldom needed to be mentioned in poetry. An exception is supplied by Virgil. In *E.* 1.34, *pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi*, the perennial down-to-earth complaint of the farmer against the city, an important motif of the poem, places the prosaic word in a carefully crafted alliterative 'golden' line. Later in the poem in an inviting rustic bill of fare we find a more conventional poetic periphrasis, *mitia poma, / castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis* (80–1). The contexts dictate the variation.

**24.2.** At the start of Anchises' cosmological lecture (*A.* 6.725) *lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra*, the periphrasis for *solem*, itself of course not unmetrical, not only counterbalances the description of *luna* but also alludes in a demythologizing context to the older religious view that made Helios the son of the Titan Hyperion. This kind of periphrasis is an important didactic vehicle in the *Georgics*, continually associating the old mythology with science as complementary elements in a unified world view. So we get *fratris radiis obnoxia . . . Luna* and *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile* (*G.* 1.396, 447). These periphrases contribute more than embellishment to their context (see §§29–30).

**25.1.** Various lexical formants can be singled out as to some extent characteristic of the poetic register. The first is the diminutive suffix, which has an interesting role in the history of the lexicon as a whole.<sup>58</sup> Always an ingredient of the colloquial register, some diminutives came to replace their base forms in late Vulgar Latin, e.g. *agnellus, masculus, uetulus*. Others, like *anulus, calculus* had already replaced their base forms in early

<sup>58</sup> See Ernout (1947: 67–9).

Latin. In the case of *uitulus*, *ancilla* the bases themselves had disappeared, though *anculus* is reported by Festus without attribution. Others like *bellus*, *flagellum*, *osculum* and *ampulla* had become distanced from their bases. It is doubtful whether any of these should be classed as live diminutives in the classical period. The diminutive form could be used in both a literal sense — *castellum*, *sacellum*, *tabella* etc. — and an emotive sense, connoting affection or contempt. The latter is a feature of satiric writing, e.g. *deteriore . . . forma muliercula* (Lucr. 4.1279) and *furtivae . . . aurum / pelli- culae* (Juv. 1.11) of the golden fleece. Its colloquial associations kept it from the higher genres of poetry and of prose. It may be that the epic preference for *uirgo* dates from a time when *puella* was still felt to be the diminutive of an obsolescent *puera*.

**25.2.** Lucretius has examples of diminutives used referentially; *particula*, *tantulus* etc. were obviously useful for discussing atomic theory. In 2.153–4, *nec singillatim corpuscula quaeque uaporis / sed complexa meant inter se conque globata*, we have besides *corpuscula* the old adverb based on the diminutive of *singuli* and the archaic tmesis of *conque globata*, both metrically necessary variants, and the epic archaism *meant*: in all a typical sample of the poet's purest didactic style. Sometimes the diminutive form has technical connotations, as *uitis . . . nouellas* (Virg. *E.* 3.11); cf. *uineas nouellas* (Var. *R.* 1.31.1). On the other hand both literal and emotive senses seem appropriate to many of the Bucolic contexts e.g. *gemellos* (1.14), *agelli* (9.3), *capellae* (10.77).

**25.3.** The purely emotive use was especially associated with the dis- course of love and already a target for satire in Plautus (*As.* 666–8). However Catullus does not restrict diminutives to personal erotic like *turgiduli . . . ocelli* (3.18) or erotic satire like *rosea ista labella* (80.1). He has a number of them in poem 64: Ariadne on the shore *maestis Minois ocellis prospicit* (60–1), the grim detail in the picture of the Parcae, *laneaque aridulis haerebant morsa labellis* (316). This neoteric initiative in bringing elements of the lower genre into at least the more abbreviated forms of epic composition was not developed by the poet of the *Aeneid* or his successors in the epic genre. This may be due not to stylistic disdain — Virgil was content to include *lābrum* and *auunculus* — but to the fact that epic has few occasions when diminutives, whether literal or emotive, would be appropriate. Where they do seem appropriate, Virgil does not hold back. The poignancy of Dido's lament in *A.* 4.328–9 is deepened by the diminutive: *si quis mihi paruulus aula / luderet Aeneas . . .*

**26.1.** If the diminutive suffix was fed from colloquial usage, the use of compound words has different orientations. Quintilian, after quoting Pacu-



vius' *repandirostrum incuruicercicum pecus*, concludes his discussion of compounding *sed res tota magis Graecos decet, nobis minus succedit* (1.5.70). This observation accords with Livy's comment on the word *androgyni* (27.11.5), *uulgus, ut pleraque, faciliore ad duplicanda uerba Graeco sermone appellat*. Latin was certainly not a compounding language comparable to Greek, Sanskrit or modern German, but the process was already established in common Italic. Compounding simple verbs with preverbs, as in *aduenio, anticipare circumferre, praeterire*, was an ancient and expanding formative process.

**26.2.** Compound nouns and adjectives reflecting various kinds of predicate — determinatives like *princeps* (cf. *primum capere*), possessives like *nundinum* (cf. *nouem dies*) etc. — already existed in Latin<sup>59</sup> and provided a precedent on which Greek influence could expand. Thus in the areas of trade and craft, law, politics, war and religion we find, for instance, *aedificare, artifex, auspex, biennium, iudex, mancipium, sacerdos* and *sestertius*, as well as some, like *hospes, manifestus* and *uindex*, whose analysis was obscured by the passage of time. Semantically transparent compounding of this sort remained a property of technical registers, where it received additional stimulus from Greek models, especially in philosophy, science and linguistic studies.<sup>60</sup> Thus Celsus, a purist in Latinity, willingly employed Greek loan-words like *cataplasma, emplastrum, habrotonum* and *lethargicus* as well as calques like *auripigmentum, exulcerare, febricitare*.

**26.3.** Many poetic compounds are clearly formed on Greek models. In epic and tragedy Homer, Pindar and the choral odes of tragedy were influential, and the spread of compounding into Hellenistic epigram, most notably Meleager, accounts for its presence in Augustan elegy. Genre is important. Horace (*AP.* 93–98) sees *sesquipedalia uerba* as the norm for tragedy, from which a Telephus or Peleus might depart *si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querela*, while on the other hand the *tumidum os* of an angry Chremes represents a departure from the norms of comedy. The frequency of compounds in the surviving fragments of tragedy — *beniuolentia, misericordia, uitisator* (Accius), *caprigenus, grandaeuitas* (Pacuvius) etc., most of them metrically impossible for epic (see §5.1), confirm the realism of Horace's precept.

**26.4.** Many of these early compounds were calques on Greek originals. Thus Ennius' *altitonans* is modelled on *ἀψιβρεμέτης*, *frugifer* on *καρποφόρος*. Sometimes the relation is more complex. Thus *magnanimus* in a Plautine parody of the elevated style (*Am.* 212) seems to be modelled on *μεγάθυμος*

<sup>59</sup> See Bader (1962). More recently there has been intensive study of Latin word formation, especially in France, reflected in the numerous writings of F. Biville, M. Fruyt and C. Kircher.

<sup>60</sup> On which see Coleman (1989).

but with a native stimulus in the phrase *magno animo*; Ennius' *caelicolae* on οὐρανίωνες, assisted like Naevius' *siluicola* by native *incola*; Lucilius' *grandaevus* certainly on μακραίων. Livius however chose *uersutus* for πολύτροπος rather than *multimodus* (cf. *multimodis*, the substantival ablative used adverbially).

26.5. The process of compounding in poetry became cumulative. Lucretius follows earlier poets in using *frondifer* (Naev.), *laetificus* (Enn.), *lucifer* (Acc.) etc., but has also the earliest attestations of *suauidicus*, *montiuagus*, *siluifragus*, *turicremus* etc. Though first attestations can be misleading (cf. §2.5), a diachronic pattern of retention and innovation is unmistakable. Thus *omnipotens* is first attested in Ennius and Plautus and may well be independent of παγκράτης, *ignipotens* does not appear before Virgil, *auricomus*, calqued on χρυσοκόμης, is first found in Virgil, *aurifluus* not before Prudentius; *suauisonus*, calqued on ἡδύφωνος, is found as early as Naevius, *dulcisonus* not until Sidonius Apollinaris. Because of the domination of dactylic metres Livius' *quinqvertiō*, calqued on πένταθλος, and *inūmīgāre* as well as eccentricities like Catullus' *lasarpicifer* were not taken up. In general the most productive classes were the determinatives, with verbal second components — *laniger*, *armisonus*, *belligerens* etc. — and, some way behind, the possessives — *longaeuus*, *aequanimus* etc.

26.6. Sometimes, inevitably, the compound becomes a cliché and its semantic distinctiveness is eroded.<sup>61</sup> Accius' *quadrupedantum sonipedum* (tr. 603) is the first attestation of the calque on Hesiod's *καναχήπους*. The aural image is clearly prominent, as it is in Virgil's *stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit* (A. 4.135). But in Valerius Flaccus' *quemque suus sonipes . . . portat* (1.431) the word has become just an anapaestic synonym for *equus*, a piece of 'poetic diction' in the pejorative sense of the phrase. The same is even more true of the choriambic *quadrupedes*.

26.7. The poetic associations of compounding can be confirmed indirectly from two sources. The first is its occurrence in Plautus, who like Aristophanes employs it for comic and specifically parodic purposes. Some examples, like *magnanimus*, *caelipotens*, are simply lifted from contexts of high seriousness and survive in that tradition; others, like *multibiba*, *unoculus*, *turpilucricupidus*, reflecting the formation of nicknames like the cognomen *Crassipes*, do not outlast their immediate comic role.

26.8. The second source is the effect of occurrences of known poetic compounds in prose contexts. Thus *suauiloquens* is attested first in Ennius' praise of Cethegus (*Ann.* 304 Sk) and recurs appropriately in Lucretius' *suauiloquenti carmine Pierio* (1.945–6). However, it is also used once in classical prose by Cicero, who cites the Ennian passage for Cethegus'

<sup>61</sup> What follows is developed from Ernout (1947: 56).

*suauiloquentiam* at *Brut.* 58; in *Rep.* 5.11, a certain *suauiloquens iucunditas* is attributed to Menelaus. Far from being diminished here, the poetic connotations are especially apt for Cicero's context: an epic epithet for an epic hero. Another example: in *Tusc.* 5.79, *non montiuagos atque siluestris cursus lustrationesque patiuntur?* Cicero takes over *montiuagus* from Lucretius, who uses it, as Cicero does, in analogies between human and animal behaviour (1.404, 2.597). But the poetic tone is again stylistically appropriate, since the context is the emotional conclusion of the Stoic argument, and the whole clause forms a rhythmic and grandiloquent finale to a tricolon. Finally *ueridicus*, which first occurs in *Lucr.* 6.6 and *Cat.* 64.306, is again taken up by Cicero, *ueridicae uoces ex occulto missae esse dicuntur* (*Diu.* 1.101), and then by Livy, *ueridica interpret deum* (1.7.10), where the poetical tones are appropriate respectively to the antique tale of Faunus' prophecies and to Evander's account of Hercules and Cacus. Subsequent attestations in the elder Pliny and Martial suggest that the word soon lost its high poetic status, but its effectiveness in Cicero and Livy still depends upon that status.

**26.9.** Compounds were also, as we noted in §26.2, a feature of technical registers. Lucretius, who was cited for poetic compounds, also exemplifies the technical usage, as one would expect of a truly didactic poet. Thus *ex alienigenis rebus constare* (1.865), *genitales auctificique motus* (2.571–2), *sensifer unde oritur . . . motus* (3.272), *modis multis multangula* (4.654). The patterns of formation are identical with those in §26.5, and this is true for the scientific, technological and learned compounds generally, as witness the following, taken from the pages of Pliny's *Natural History*: *aquifolia*, the hybrid *aurichalcus*, *internodium*, *lapicidinae*, *multiformis*, *proportio*, *saxifragum*, *triangulus*, *unicolor* and *uitifer*. In both registers the intention is the same, to present an object or concept in clear and economical terms. The difference is that the technical compounds, recurring in contexts where their effectiveness depends upon univocal precision, do not have and must not have the evocations and allusiveness that come from the succession of emotive contexts in which poetical compounds recur and on which *their* effectiveness depends.

**27.1** We have already noted (§15) the phonetic contribution of Greek words to Latin poetic contexts, but of no less importance is their semantic input to these contexts.

**27.2.** Macrobius notes (*Sat.* 6.4.17) *lychnus* as a graecism used by Ennius, Lucretius and Virgil. Attestations in Statius confirm the poetic profile for the word. But in contrast to *lucerna*, *lanterna* etc. it is used of hanging lamps, and as the regular word for this luxury item of furniture it

is found in Cicero, *Cael.* 67. The association with grandeur and wealth gives the word its passport into epic, but it is not in itself poetic. Virgil's fondness for Greek words for drinking vessels is also noted by Macrobius, who cites (*Sat.* 5.21.1) *cantharus*, *carchesium*, *scyphus*, but what these words tell us is not that the poet preferred Greek names to Latin ones but that he preferred the imagistic detail of Greek utensils. In this he was merely extending the precedent of *amphora*, *cadus*, *crater* etc.

**27.3.** Many Greek words had in fact become so familiar in Latin as to have almost surrendered their foreign connotations. Thus *balineum*, *bracchium*, *carta*, *machina*, *massa* and *purpureus* had undergone Latin sound changes, *ampulla*, *gubernator* and *spatula* had acquired Latin suffixes. The entry status of *aer*, *barbaricus*, *corona*, *dracuma*, *ostreum* and *stola*, all attested already in Ennius, cannot be determined, but they certainly have no specifically poetic connotations in classical Latin. When Horace, characterizing spring, writes *trahuntque siccas machinae carinas* (*C.* 1.4.2) it is precisely the unpoetic character of *machinae*, characteristically juxtaposed with the poetic synecdoche of *carinas* in an alliterative sequence that injects the workaday detail into the image. By contrast in *C.* 1.1.29–34 the counterpoint of Greek and Latin words brilliantly enacts the synthesis of the two poetic cultures that Horace is proclaiming as his vocation. Thus the *hederae* that crown learned brows place him among *dis superis*, the *Nympharum . . . cum Satyris chori* are what *secernunt populo*, *Euterpe* does not constrain the Latin *tibias* nor *Polyhymnia* refuse to tune *Lesbōum . . . barbiton*. The hybrid phrase *lyricis uatibus* (35) sums it all up, and the self-mocking deference of the conclusion does nothing to destroy the effect.

**27.4.** Apart from Greek words there is little evidence of direct borrowing into the poetic register of words from other foreign sources. There is ancient testimony to Italic origins for *cascus*, *crepusculum*, *dirus* and *famulus*, to which we can add *bos* and the very unpoetic *multa*; from dialectal Latin *testis*, *uerna* and possibly *sol*. None of these is likely to have entered Latin through poetry.

**28.1.** It is of course proper nouns and their derivative epithets that are most often used for poetic effect, above all those that relate to mythological incidents and geographical locations.

**28.2.** Propertius boasts (1.9.5) that not even *Chaoniae . . . columbae* can surpass his power to prophesy in amorous matters. The phrase also occurs in Virgil, *E.* 9.13, and refers with conventional obliquity to the oak-tree cult of Zeus at Dodona and the oracular *columbae* (πελειάδες) associated with it. But *columbae* are after all *Veneris dominae uolucres*, *mea turba*

(3.3.31); so they have a special relevance, the poet would have us believe, to erotic prophecy. Learning and wit are the characteristics of such mythological allusions.

**28.3.** In the much discussed opening similes of Propertius, 1.3, the three sleeping beauties are given identifying epithets. The local epithet *Cnosia* (3), juxtaposed with *desertis* recalls the treachery to her family, now punished by the treacherous *Thesea carina* (1); *Andromede* (4), with the exotic colour of the Greek nominative, needs no further specification and the patronymic epithet *Cepheia* alludes to the story of her sacrifice; *Edonis* (5) identifies the third woman as a member of the Thracian tribe famous for Bacchant worship, or as a Thessalian devotee behaving like one beside the river, *Apidano* (6). In each instance the actual descriptive details look back to events before the sleep — *desertis . . . litoribus, libera . . . cotibus, fessa choreis* — so that the triad form a poetic argument fashioned in myth and imagery but highly relevant to the following autobiographical scene. This use of a group of mythological *exempla*, already employed in 1.2.15–24 occurs elsewhere in Propertius, e.g. 1.13.21–24.

**28.4.** An interesting example of a Graecism used apparently to distance the familiar comes in Virg. *A.* 8.72, *tuque o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto*, a line which we learn from Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.12) is adapted from Ennius' *teque, pater Tiberine, tuo cum flumine sancto* (*Ann.* 26 Sk). Having referred to the god of this Etrusco-Latin river as *deus . . . Tiberinus* (31), Virgil subsequently has the god identifying himself as *caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis* (64). The Hellenized version of the name (for the more usual Greek  $\Thetaύμβρις$ ) is set between a very poetical colour adjective and an allusion to its supposed etymology. The exotic form of the name is enhanced by the choice of the Greek vocative case, adding the majestic *genitor* in place of *pater*, which was the normal address even in Latin prayers. The tribulations of Aeneas, *Laomedontius heros* (18), like those of Priam, *Laomedontiades* (158), are the penance that Laomedon's descendants must pay for his impious crime (cf. 4.542). Now suddenly a potentially hostile river god with a Hellenized name announces the presence of friendly Greeks at the site of Rome and an offer to conduct the harassed Trojans to unexpected allies. *Thybris* is after all propitious in its distancing.

**28.5.** Similarly significant is the epithet in Horace's *C.* 3.29.1. *Tyrrhena regum progenies* has a grandeur above the more matter-of-fact address, *Maecenas atavis edite regibus*, in 1.1.1. Again the Etrusco-Greek form is preferred to *Tuscus* or *Etruscus*, which is used of the *mare Tyrrhenum* later in the ode. Its transfer from *regum* to *progenies* gives the phrase a more characterizing force compared with 1.1.1, but the form of the epithet well characterizes the Hellenophile Etruscan. Appropriate too is the sybar-

itic Greek detail of *pressa tuis balanus capillis* (4), βάλανος amidst the homely Latin hospitality promised. The warning that follows against the perils of fashionable Tusculum is wittily presented in the learned allusion of *Telegoni iuga parricidae* (8), which we can set beside the *Circaea . . . moenia* of *Epod.* 1.30. Three illustrations in two stanzas of the allusive potentialities of Greek words in Latin contexts.

**28.6.** A frequent and colourful use of Greek names, whether of natural phenomena or of mythological persons, is to form geographical periphrases. In Catullus, 64.3, the Greeks sail not to *Colchis* but *Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeeteos*. The river Phasis, provided with a Greek case form, and the derivative noun from the name of Medea's father, with its unLatin spondaic vocalism, provide appropriate exotic colour and enclose an old-fashioned alliterative phrase in which *fluctus* 'waves' suggests a substantial *flumen*. The periphrasis adds *grauitas* to the remote oriental region, but before readers can appreciate this, they do need to know what the references are. There is thus a loss in accessibility.

**28.7.** Catullus at the end of 66 uses the form *Ōārīōn*, echoing Callimachus' Ὠαρίων (*H.* 3.265), appropriately, since the poem is an adaptation of the Greek poet's *Coma Berenices*. The short iota provides respectable precedent for modifications of *Ōrīōn*, which is not in itself metrically difficult. So Virgil has *nimbosus Ōrīōn* (*A.* 1.535), reminding us of the importance of the heavenly bodies as clock, compass and calendar in the premodern world. Much that strikes us as esoteric astronomical learning would have been less unfamiliar to ancient readers, Quint. 1.4.4 notwithstanding. Similarly the identification of the constellation with the mythical hunter giant would have been familiar to educated readers; and Horace can cite as an *exemplum* of *uis consili expers* (*C.* 3.4.65) *notus et integrae / temptator Orion Dianae* (70–1). The ancient myths provided an accessible store of paradigms of good and ill, appeal to which was a characteristic of Greek and thence Latin poetry. Accessibility could be endangered by the tendency to make the allusions more and more oblique. But Greek words certainly had far more than the ornamental effect noted in §15.3.

**28.8.** Not all allusive epithets are mythological. In *C.* 3.5. Horace presents Regulus as an *exemplum* of self-sacrificing patriotism, following Pindar's paradigmatic citation of the exploits of Greek mythical heroes. The poem ends with the depiction of the Roman hero in happier times *tendens Venefranos in agros / aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum*. It is not known whether Regulus had ancestral estates near the Samnite town and what associations he had with Tarentum (nearby Brundisium had been the site of his earlier consular triumph). But *Lacedaemonium* alludes to the Spartan foundation that Tarentum had long claimed. It evokes the

Greek state with which traditional Romans preferred to identify their own civic ideals,<sup>62</sup> specified by Cicero, *Flacc.* 62–3, but only after his own Athenian preferences. Moreover, if Livy's belief (38.17.12) that contemporary Tarentines retained little of the proverbial Spartan qualities was widely shared, the phrase mirrors summarily the decline from Regulus' Rome to the Rome castigated in this and other Horatian 'laureate' odes.

**28.9.** The next ode provides an important example of a non-Greek allusive epithet. Horace contrasts with the degenerate Augustans (3.6.17ff., 45ff.) those who had made Rome great, *rusticorum mascula militum / proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus / uersare glaebas et seuerae / matris ad arbitrium recisos / portare fustis* (37–41). The homely unglamorous imagery, created out of very prosaic vocabulary, evokes a way of life remote from Augustan *urbanitas* and *luxuria*; but it is rural Italy, not rural Latium that is extolled. The synecdoche in *Sabellis* may have a subversive edge when used to extol traditionally 'Roman' virtues. For the epithet refers strictly to non-Latin speaking, especially Oscan, regions of Italy (cf. *Sabellus ager* in Liv. 8.1.7). We can compare his fellow Italian's *pubem . . . Sabellam* (*G.* 2.167).

**29.1.** The allusiveness that we have observed constantly in the preceding paragraphs depends upon readers learned enough especially in Greek poetry to respond to the references. This is why it is particularly associated with the higher genres of epic, didactic and public lyric. By contrast metaphor and other lexical tropes of semantic transfer,<sup>63</sup> which are, with the creation of imagery, the most powerful and distinctive of the poet's communicative vehicles, yield their effect to anyone who knows the language and has imagination. Various tropes employing semantic shifts away from the current meaning of a word are widely attested in poetry. The most prolific is metaphor, which, at least since Aristotle's *Poetics*<sup>64</sup> has been recognized as the most important of all the poet's verbal skills. Aristotle also remarks in *Rh.* 3.2.5 that everyone uses metaphor as well as literal meaning — *κύριον καὶ τὸ οἰκείον* — in ordinary discourse, resorting to metaphors in order to repair deficiencies in the lexicon but thereafter

<sup>62</sup> See Rawson (1969: 99–106).

<sup>63</sup> This area of lexical usage has been much discussed in recent years both by literary critics and theorists and by linguists; e.g. Nowotny (1962), Henry (1971), Ortony (1979), Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Levinson (1983 esp. 147–62).

<sup>64</sup> The most important Graeco-Roman discussions of metaphor that survive are Arist. *Po.* 22.1458b–59a, *Rh.* 3.2.6–15, 1404b–1405b, Cic. *De or.* 3.155–69, Longin. *Sublim.* 32.1–7. The examples cited and the discussions of them all repay close attention.

retaining them for ornamentation. To quote Cicero (*De or.* 3.155), *uerbi translatio instituta est inopiae causa, frequentata delectationis*.<sup>65</sup>

**29.2.** The ornamental function of metaphor, which gives pleasure to readers, does not displace other poetic functions. By suggesting a similarity between dissimilars, especially between the less familiar, and the more familiar, authors are able to convey to their readers new perceptions of the world and to move them by associations thus made, while delighting their imagination. Aristotle stresses that metaphor is of great effect in both prose and poetry (*Rh.* 3.2.7), and Cicero, whose concern is the education of orators, nevertheless chooses examples of metaphor and other semantic transfers from poetic as well as prose writings.

**29.3.** The use of metaphor to supplete a limited vocabulary is well illustrated in the linguistic habits of children and remains, as Aristotle noted, a feature of adult discourse in all languages. Along with neologisms and loan-words metaphor and other transfer tropes provide the tools for dealing with new objects, experiences and concepts and are the major vehicle of semantic change in the lexicon. Sometimes the shift is permanent and the original sense is lost. The Romance reflexes of *caput* are almost wholly metaphorical, *capo di famiglia*, *Capo dello Stato*, *chef de cuisine*, *chef d'oeuvre* etc., while the original meaning has been replaced by reflexes of *testa*, the slang use of which in turn completely ousted its older meanings. There are numerous parallels in Latin, e.g. *animus* \*'breath, wind', *audax* \*'insatiable, eager', *scire* \*'to cut' etc.

**29.4.** It is not always easy to ascertain the direction of metaphoric shift without an abundance of documentation for the periods in question. Of the three instances of rustic metaphor<sup>66</sup> adduced by Cicero (*De or.* 3.155), *gemmare uitis*, *luxuriam esse in herbis* and *laetas segetes* two are misleading. For *gemma* originally meant 'bud', as in Cato, *Agr.* 42, and it is 'gem' that is the metaphoric extension, first attested for us in Cicero's own *Verr.* 4.39. The original meaning of *laetus* was 'lush, sleek, in good condition', as in Cato's contrast between *agro laeto* and *agro sicco* (*Agr.* 61.2), so that the more familiar meaning is again the metaphoric one.

**29.5.** This is also true of *felix*, cognate with *fecundus*, *felare*, *femina* and meaning 'fruitful', as in Cato's definition (Festus 81), *felices arbores quae fructum ferunt*. Only *luxuries* really belongs here, being used of plants running wild and of uncontrolled growth. Virgil's *si luxuria foliorum exuberat umbra* (*G.* 1.191) exploits the extension to human behaviour as a term of moral disapproval. The tree is squandering its resources; the harvest of

<sup>65</sup> For an important discussion of *De or.* 3.155–68 see Fantham (1972: 176–80).

<sup>66</sup> cf. the rustic metaphors like γελᾶν τὰ φυτὰ and ἰλαρὰ εἶναι, cited in the Homeric Scholia (*Iliad* 23.598, ed. H. Erbse).



nuts will suffer. It is characteristic of a *doctus poeta* in any language to exploit semantic layers in the history of a word. Virgil surely had in mind too Dido's childlessness when he gave her the epithet *infelix* (cf. 4.68 with 595 etc.). In such words the original meaning may lie dormant for a period, to be reactivated by a poet confident in the knowledge that readers will be familiar enough with earlier literature to appreciate that what to the uninitiated can only appear as a metaphor is in fact a semantic reversion.

**29.6.** Many other words retain their original sense while acquiring various metaphoric uses permanently. Thus OE *hēafod* has retained its anatomical meaning along with a host of extensions, which fill over eighteen columns of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Similarly in Latin we have *clarus* 'loud' etc., *comprehendere* 'to take hold of' etc., *uirtus*, 'manliness' etc.

**29.7.** Such metaphors affect the semantic fields of words in a permanent way. For this reason they are conspicuous in scientific and technical registers. New inventions and discoveries demand new linguistic resources. One has only to think of the vocabulary of modern computer technology — *gateway*, *menu*, *mouse*, *software*, *virus*, *to back*, *go down* etc. Latin architects gave new metaphoric senses to existing words, like *ordinatio*, *membrum*, *principium*, *reticulatus*, *surdus*. What is characteristic of scientific metaphors is their permanence and univocality. Once the new meaning has been assigned, it remains purely referential within the register; there is no ornamental function, no contextual variation and no emotive accumulation from previous occurrences. This univocality is far removed from literary metaphor, which is very often a nonce phenomenon; no one since Macbeth has called life *a walking shadow* except with reference to the famous soliloquy.

**29.8.** There are on the other hand many poetic metaphors that, once invented, are taken up and extended by later authors. Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.4.3) cites Ennius' *et Tiberis flumen . . . uomit in mare salsum* (*Ann.* 453 Sk) and Virgil's *mane salutantum totis uomit aedibus undam* (*G.* 2.462). The image of a river god spewing water into the sea is certainly not ornamental, and the later poet has exploited the unattractive image in a context of repugnance, using a chiasmic word order around *uomit* to enhance the image. Here, unlike most reworked metaphors, the poetic effect does not depend very much on the reader's recognition of the original source.

**30.1.** Scientific and poetic metaphors naturally appear side by side in didactic poetry. To the scientific category belongs Lucretius' *elementa* (1.827), calqued on *στοιχεῖα*. The aptness of the metaphor, for which Cicero

(Ac. 1.26) seems to claim the credit, is underlined by the use of the word in its literal sense 'letters' in the course of an analogy with the atoms out of which things are composed (1.197). Another Lucretian calque is *simulacra* (1.1060) for εἰδωλα, the Epicurean term for the images given off by objects, which account among other things for *simulacra* in the ordinary sense, 'ghosts' (1.123). The use of *materies* for ὕλη is especially appropriate to Epicurean metaphysics, given its usual sense 'building timber' and the etymological connection with *mater* (see §30.6).

**30.2.** More poetic is, for instance, the use of *laccessere* of colliding atoms (2.137), a personification, since the word was originally used of challenging to a contest. A particularly Latin source of such metaphors is the legal and political registers. Thus Horace declares (C. 3.29.54–6) his choice of Poverty rather than dependence on Fortune in the legal terminology of gift repayments, *resigno quae dedit* (sc. *Fortuna*), and marriage contract, *probamque / Pauperiem sine dote quaero*.

**30.3.** But some of the most striking examples occur once again in Lucretius. The concept of natural law is presented anthropomorphically (1.76–7) in terms of the definition of constitutional power: *refert nobis . . . / . . . finita potestas denique quoique / quam sit ratione* (cf. *infinita potestas* granted to Pompey: Cic. Agr. 2.33). This metaphor, combined with the *qu* alliteration that is not uncommon in legal phraseology, is followed immediately by another, taken from land tenure, . . . *atque alte terminus haerens*. Nature assigns powers and fixes their limits. The two metaphors come towards the end of a passage (63–79) rich in metaphor — the crushing weight of the monster *Religio*, Epicurus' breach of the *arta* / *Naturae* . . . *portarum claustra* and advance beyond the *flammanitia moenia mundi*, the outcome of his victory, which *nos exaequat . . . caelo*, and much else. The powerful appeal to imagination and emotion well illustrates how much more than mere ornament metaphor can bring to a poetic — and a proselytizing — context.

**30.4.** There are references elsewhere to *foedera Naturai* (1.586), Nature's treaties, the pacts that define the relations between different parts of the universe. The use of *concilium* to depict the combinations of atoms to form sensible objects was no doubt inspired by Epicurus' ἄθροισμα, but the Latin term has much stronger political and constitutional connotations. The term is introduced in a passage (1.182–3) that itself illustrates the difficulties than can arise in identifying a metaphor: *primordia quae genitali / concilio possent arceri*. The verb *ordiri* is used by Pliny (*Nat.* 11.80) of a spider weaving its web, and this may be the original sense of the verb, which would make Pacuvius' *machinam ordiris nouam* (tr. 379) a bolder metaphor than it seems. It would also make Lucretius' *primordia* and *exordia* not 'initial particles' but 'threads' from which the world's fibres

are woven. Pliny again (*Nat.* 7.61) has the phrase *profluuium genitale* of menstruation, so it is possible that a notion of biological reproduction was prominent in Lucretius' use of *genitalis*. The notion that atoms could be held together in a 'generative council' is certainly strange, but no more so perhaps than, say, *creatrix Natura* (1.629) or *daedala Tellus* (1.7). Stoics could indeed define *Natura* as that which *contineat mundum omnem eumque tueatur* (Cic. *Nat.* 2.29) and so provide a context for Nature's creativity in a literal sense. But its introduction even metaphorically in an Epicurean poem seems bold.

**30.5.** The personification of *Natura* belongs with a number of other metaphors that exploit traditional religious concepts. Especially notable is the reference to *Terra*, who has earned her *maternum nomen* when she *genus . . . creauit / humanum and animal . . . fudit / omne quod in magnis bacchatur montibu(s) passim* (5.821–5). In an author not given to using Greek words *bacchatur*, like *daedala Tellus*, has a distancing effect, but the emotive power of *Mater Terra*, like that of *Pater Aether*, with whom she is coupled in 1.250–1, is great and helps to conceal the awkward gap in the rational argument between inanimate and animate modes of being. The poet again comes to the philosopher's rescue.

**31.1.** Personification is of course a form of metaphor more easily available in languages that assign animate gender to inanimate objects or abstractions. Hence also the easy deification of *Ἀρμονία*, *Fortuna* etc. *Timor*, *Minae* and *Cura* are all personified in Horace, C. 3.1.37ff., where their appearance constitutes the poet's warning to the *dominus . . . terrae fastidiosus: sed Timor et Minae / scandunt eodem quo dominus neque / decedit aerata tiremi et / post equitem sedet atra Cura*. Fear is personified also in Virg. A. 9.719, *atrum . . . Timorem*, and Phobos son of Ares already appears in Homer and Hesiod (*Il.* 4.440, *Theog.* 934). *Timor* like *Cura* resides in the mind of the rich owner, the *Minae*, which are personified here perhaps for the first time, inspire that fear from without. So *Timor et Minae* is almost a hendiadys.

**31.2.** The personification of *Cura* itself is found elsewhere in Augustan poetry, e.g. Virg. A. 6.274, *ultrices . . . Curae*. However, the metaphorical animation of Anxiety already occurs in *Theognis* 729, *Φροντίδες . . . πτερὰ ποικιλ' ἔχουσαι*, which is echoed by Horace in C. 2.16.11, *Curas laqueata circum tecta uolantes*.<sup>67</sup> Later in the same ode (21–2) there is an interesting anticipation of the present passage: *scandit aeratas uitiosa nauis / Cura nec*

<sup>67</sup> Here, as usual, the commentary by Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) is illuminating.

*turmas equitum relinquit*, where *uitiosa* suggests both the diseased mental state and, within the trope itself, the corrosive effect on the metal.

**31.3.** The eerie presence of the trio is adumbrated in just a few descriptive details. The vigorous *scandunt* mocks *fastidiosus*, and this is emphasized by the repetition of *dominus*. More static images are presented in *neque decedit . . . et . . . sedet . . .*. Both *triremi* and *equitem* are usually taken to refer to the rich man's expensive recreations, sailing and horse-riding. This may well be true of *equitem*, though Horace is perhaps exploiting the ambiguity of the word to make the point that those in the top income bracket are as much at risk as cavalry officers. The nautical image seems more distinctly military: *triremes* were usually warships and *aerata* 'armoured' is a familiar epithet of *naues longae* (e.g. *Caes. Civ.* 2.3.1; cf. *ratem aeratam*, attributed to Naevius in *Var. L.* 7.23). The verb *decedere* has strong military connotations also, of retreat (*Caes. Civ.* 1.71), retirement from active service (*Liv.* 41.10.7) and even desertion (*Cic. Sen.* 73). *Cura* is continually on active service aboard expensive warships, whatever purposes they are being used for. Finally *atra*, in implicit visual contrast with *aerata*, yet invisible to the knight himself, suggests, as *nigra* would not, a baleful presence uninterrupted and unseen. *Timor*, *Minae* and *atra Cura* enclose the whole passage.

**32.1** Of the other tropes of semantic transfer metonymy and synecdoche in particular merit attention here. Metonymy like metaphor plays an important role in the lexical history of a language, as for instance *ago*, *ciuitas*, *dies* and *res* all illustrate. It is most frequently seen in the shift from 'verbal action' to 'concrete effect' in the meaning of nouns like *comitium*, *legio*, *natura*, where the original meaning was displaced, and *gaudium*, *oratio*, *cultura*, where it was not. The semantic shift was particularly clear in the plural forms (as was the separate and less remarkable shift from generic or collective to specific or individual in *nix*, *frumentum*, *aes* etc.).

**32.2.** In literary usage the effects of this trope are less permanent, as in the examples cited by Cicero (*De or.* 3.167), *curia* for *senatus*, *campus* for *comitia*, *arma* and *tela* for *bellum*, *toga* for *pax*. This last example is attested in a notorious line from his own poetry, *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae* (cited in *Off.* 1.77), with the combination of two very Roman metonymic images in *toga* and *laurea*<sup>68</sup>. The contents of Cicero's list illustrate once more the common property shared by poets and orators.

<sup>68</sup> The reading *linguae* is preserved in *Quint.* 11.1.24. The tradition of *De officiis* itself strongly favours *laudi*.

**32.3.** Metonymy, like metaphor, has many uses for a poet, whether he is writing in a high or low genre. In Horace's *Graecia barbariae lento conlisa duello* (*Epist.* 1.2.7) the opening words give a sense of depersonalized contestants that *Graeci* and *barbari* would not (cf. *Graecia* but *barbaris* in Cic. *Off.* 3.99). The already current use of *barbaria* in the sense of 'barbarity' adds an emotive element to the traditional interpretation of the war, whose epic status is marked by the archaic *duello*. In *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit et artis / intulit agresti Latio* (*Epist.* 2.1.156-7) the contrast is between geographical possession, which comes from military victory and cultural conquest, which is made more threatening and pervasive by the replacement of *Graeci* by the more impersonal *Graecia*. *Latio* for *Latinis* enhances the play on the two senses of *agrestis*, also an instance of metonymy.

**32.4.** One of the most frequent poetic metonymies is the substitution of divine names for the object or activity of which they were in traditional religion the patrons. Cicero (*De or.* 3.167) again instances *Mars* for *bellum*, *Ceres* for *fruges*, *Liber* for *uinum*, *Neptunus* for *mare*. A characteristic Ovidian example is *quis Veneris famulae conubia liber inire / . . . uelit?* (*A.* 2.7.21-2). The witty juxtaposition of *famulae* with the goddess' name, used metonymically though it is, is compounded by *conubia* and *liber*. For although Lucretius' *conubia ad Veneris partusque ferarum* (3.776), where the metonymy identifies Venus not with the one who inspires *amor* but with *amor* itself, offers precedent for the use of *conubium* for *concubitus*, the presence of *famula* and *liber* recalls that *conubium* in the strict sense was a legal impossibility between slave and freeborn. The adynaton would no doubt have struck Corinna as an irrelevance.

**33.1.** Synecdoche too is common to all registers. For instance the use of *caput* of one's person or personal status is well established in legal terminology and in prose generally, and need not be a calque on *κάρα, κεφαλή*. But poetry shows much bolder and more extensive use of the figure. Nautical terminology shows a remarkable diversity of synecdoche in poetry. Varro defines *ratis* as being used *ubi plures mali aut asseseris iuncti aqua ducuntur* (*L.* 7.23). In the sense of 'raft' it is distinguished from *navis* in Cic. *Ver.* 5.5, but Ennius already has it by metonymy in the latter sense in *ratibusque . . . fremebat/imber Neptuni* (*Ann.* 515 Sk); whence it passes to classical poetry, e.g. *pandas ratibus posuere carinas* (Virg. *G.* 2.445). Horace already has *carina* 'keel' by synecdoche for *navis* in *C.* 1.35.8, *quicumque Bithyna lacescit / Carpathium pelagus carina*, where the Greek loan-word *pelagus* 'sea', first attested in Pacuvius and Lucilius, also

contributes to the alliterative effect and even perhaps to the sense of geographical distance.

**33.2.** Another synecdoche is the use of *puppis* for *navis* (cf. Quint. 8.6.20). This is already attested in Cat. 64.6, *uada salsa cita decurrere puppi*, which is also one of the earliest attestations of *uada* 'shallows', again a synecdoche for 'sea'. Virgil has *nautica pinus* (E. 4.38) for 'ship', where the direction of the trope is clarified by the epithet, as it is by the context in *quos . . . infesta ducebat in aequora pinu* (A. 10.205–6). In the next line *arbor* for 'oar' is similarly disambiguated: *centenaeque arbore fluctum / uerberat adsurgens*. In A. 5.504 the reference to a mast is explicit: *sagitta . . . aduersi . . . infigitur arbore mali*. In Ov. M. 11.476 *arbore* is similarly disambiguated by the following *malo*; but Valerius Flaccus' *celsior arbore pontus* (1.496) no longer needs more than a general contextual support.

**33.3.** To revert to words used by trope for 'the sea': Cic. *Arat.* 67 seems to be the earliest attestation of *aequor* without explicit specification. There is a well-known ambiguity in Virgil's *omne tibi stratum silet aequor* (E. 9.57), and the context alone disambiguates *aequora* in A. 10.206. The need for specification was increased in A. 2.780, *uastum maris aequor arandum*, by the metaphoric use of *arare*, but it is less severe in A. 5.158, *longa sulcant uada salsa carina*, where a comparable metaphoric verb is combined with two unambiguously synecdochic nouns. The colour noun *caerulum* (<\*cael-ul-) is already used of 'the sea' by Cicero in *FPL* 29.3B, *nemo haec umquam est transuectus caerula cursu*. The rise of this rival metaphoric use partly explains Lucretius' wish to specify the original meaning in 1.1090, *et solis flammam per caeli caerula pasci*, echoing Enn. *Ann.* 48 Sk. When Silius writes *sulcarunt caerula puppes* (15.239) the tropic character of the statement is less striking inasmuch as all three of the constituents were already well established in their transferred meanings (see §29.8). It should be noted again (cf. §29.6) that all the words cited continued to be used in their literal sense in poetry as well as prose. Virgil could still write an Ennian portrait of Octavian, *cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis, / stans celsa in puppi* (A. 8.680), with *puppis* used in its original sense.

**34.1.** What has been said by a great critic about metaphor applies equally to all the tropes of semantic transfer that we have just been considering: 'the inimitable mark of the poet is his ability to control the realization of a metaphor to the precise degree appropriate in a given place'.<sup>69</sup> The

<sup>69</sup> F. R. Leavis (1948: 77).

creative mind that perceives the relevant similarity between dissimilars also creates the context within which that similarity is sufficiently clarified.

**34.2.** An important consequence of the various types of semantic transfer that we have been surveying was that poets had a large store of synonyms for many common words.<sup>70</sup> For *mare* we could add to the examples cited already *altum, fretum, gurgis, pontus, profundum*; for *navis* there are *prora, remus, trabs, uelum*. For *aqua* poets could use *latex, liquor, lympa, umor*; for *amor* there are *aestus, ardor, cura, furor, ignis* etc., for *amica* we find *cura, domina, era, lux, puella, uita*. Many of these are ordinary words, used in poetry sometimes with their ordinary prose meanings, sometimes with special poetic meanings, like *puppis* (§33.3). Such too are *cedere, mortalis, mucro, ponere* (for *deponere*). Alongside these instances of occasional poetic diction are those words which are virtually exclusive to poetry, such as *ensis, fari, letum, meare, olle, -que . . . -que*, or unprefixed forms like *fessus, gradi, linquere*.

**34.3.** Last among semantic transfers comes the substitution of plural forms of nouns for singulars. τὸ ἐν πολλὰ ποιεῖν is recognized by Aristotle (*Rh.* 3.6.4) as a feature of poetic discourse, but there is no reason to think that the Latin usage is much indebted to Greek.<sup>71</sup> Some distinctions need to be made: first between plurals that generally have a semantic opposition to singulars, e.g. *thalami* v. *thalamus*, and those that do not, e.g. *nuptiae*: (see §5.8); second between *thalami, thalamus* and *niues, nix* or *rationes, ratio* (see §32.1). Which leaves us with the difficult question of what the distinction between *thalami* and *thalamus* etc. actually was. There are various possibilities: an aggrandizement of the concept signified by the singular, the recognition of a plurality of components or adjuncts in the singular concept, an expressively heavier or lighter texture in the sound of the plural form. But confronted with a typical list like *aequora, astra, otia, regna, saecla*, no one would have much confidence in assigning meanings distinct from *aequor, astrum* etc. except in the relatively few instances in which the neuter plurals appear to be collectives. Two things are certain however: first that none of these plurals became permanent synonyms of their singulars (in contrast to vulg. *gaudia, folia* etc.), occurrences are occasional and selective; second that the trope provided metrically useful variants (see §§6.1, 11.3).

**35.1.** The poet's other major lexical tool is the creation of images and imagery, not only as a source of pleasure for the reader but also as an

<sup>70</sup> See Kroll (1924: 264–5), Leumann (1959: 155).

<sup>71</sup> On the poetic plural see Löfstedt (1942: 27–65, esp. 38ff.), Marouzeau (1962: 221–3).

integral part of the poetic argument itself.<sup>72</sup> Unlike tropes, which can acquire the status of poetic diction if they became part of the literary convention, imagery rarely depends on allusive vocabulary and requires no contextual support to clarify its meaning. The vividness and emotive power of Livy's description of the destruction of Alba (1.29) or of the Battle of Trasimene (22.4–6) show that imagery also has an important function in historiography<sup>73</sup> that again makes it *proxima poetis*.

35.2. Horace, as we saw in §31.1, often presents his imagery with remarkable brevity. Important here is the complementary distribution of contrasting descriptive details. Thus in *soluitur acris hiems* (C. 1.4.1) the verb implies the adjectives *dura* and *rigida*. Conversely *acris* implies *mitescit* not *soluitur*; cf. *frigora mitescunt Zephyri* (4.7.9). So what we get, elliptically presented, is *soluitur et mitescit acris rigidaque hiems*.

35.3. The complementary distribution of epithets is well employed in C. 2.3.9–14, which begins with the contrast between the (dark green) *pinus ingens* and the (slender but thickly leaved) *alba . . . populus*. The trees are then personified in forming a partnership to provide hospitality, *umbram hospitalem consociare amant*. Personification extends to the busy stream *lympha fugax*,<sup>74</sup> which *laborat . . . trepidare*, so that what might have been a second component of the *locus amoenus* becomes instead a symbol of futile activity in a transitory world. The unease thus awakened is continued into the conventional symposiastic imagery, where the visual focus *flores amoenae rosae* is described ominously as *nimum breuis*, thus becoming another symbol of transitoriness, which links up with the closing image of *sorum fila trium atra*. The vocabulary of the two stanzas is rich and variegated and the imagery that it creates in effect constitutes the argument.

35.4. Almost the whole argument of C. 1.9 is conducted through a sequence of images, beginning with images of winter — visual in *candidum Soracte* and *silvae laborantes*, tactile in *gelu . . . acuto*, and concluding with the spring season of human life, *dulcis amores* and *choreas, campus et areae, lenes . . . sub noctem susurri* and *gratus puellae risus*, where the imagery is more nominalized and the epithets more subjective. The link between the real winter and the metaphoric spring is provided by *donec uirenti canities abest / morosa* (17–18), where *canities morosa* looks back to *candidum Soracte*, making it into a symbol of old age, while *uirenti*

<sup>72</sup> For the interrelationship between imagery and metaphor see Silk (1974) and also Fantham (1972), whose main concern is with Plautus, Terence and Cicero.

<sup>73</sup> Here, as always, the literary characteristics of historiography must be taken to include prose fiction. For imagery in literary dialogue and oratory see Fantham (1972: 115–75).

<sup>74</sup> For the 'disjunctiveness', as Postgate called it, exemplified in *laborat lympha fugax trepidare riuo* for *riuus lympha fugace trepidare laborat*, see Nisbet–Hubbard ad loc.



looks back to *siluae* that are however not *laborantes*, and forward to youth (cf. *uirentis* . . . *Chiae* in 4.13.6) that is not content with the sedentary pleasures of *focus* and *merum* (5 and 8). All this abundant imagery surrounds the central message of the ode, *quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et / quem Fors dierum cumque dabit lucro / adpone* (13–14), presented as an old-fashioned and prosaic exhortation, in which the only trope is a metaphor from accounting.

**36.1.** Similes are founded on images and so on the selection and deployment of lexical meanings. This is true even of brief examples, like the description of Pindar *monte decurrens uelut amnis, imbres / quem super notas aluere ripas*, which is followed by the metaphoric *feruet inmensusque ruit profundo / Pindarus ore* (C. 4.2.5–8; on which stanza see further §45.3). Horace describes himself *apis Matinae more modoque / grata carpentis thyma per laborem* (*ibid.* 27–9) in humble contrast to Pindar, *Dircaeum . . . cycnum* (25). This time the accessibility of the imagery is limited by the allusions. We need to know what *Matinae* and *Dircaeus* refer to, what the bee is doing in Tibur, and above all that Pindar used the bee comparison (e.g. P. 10.53–4) of his own conception of poetic composition, so that Horace is not after all as self-deprecatory as he appears.

**36.2.** Virgil's epic similes provide a kind of poetic commentary on the context in which they are set, and every specific part of the image tells. There is nothing comparable to what we sometimes find in Homeric similes, where a detail is included which, while it may bring the image into familiar focus for the hearer, does not always relate easily to the context and may even become bizarre if we attempt to relate it. A famous example is the end of the simile describing the slaying of Sarpedon, who falls like an oak *ἢ ἐ πίτυς βλωθρή, τήν τ' οὔρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες / ἐξέταμον πελέκεσσι νεήκεσι νήμιον εἶναι* (*Il.* 16.483–4).

**36.3.** Virgil by contrast will sometimes sacrifice realism within the simile to gain a contextual point. Aeneas' reaction to his first sight of Dido (*A.* 1.496–7) is depicted in a simile intended to recall Hom. *Od.* 6.102–9.<sup>75</sup> But whereas Nausicaa seems to Odysseus like the maiden goddess Artemis at play with the nymphs, Dido is compared to the regal Diana coming in procession to one of her great cult-centres. Her mother is present in both similes. Homer's *γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ* is very apt; Virgil's *Latoniae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus* is passing strange. The image of the silent heart and the unsettling temptation must apply not to Latona within the simile but to Aeneas outside it.

<sup>75</sup> For an ancient view of the two similes see Valerius Probus *ap.* Gell. 9.9.12.

**36.4.** Imagery is important to Lucretius<sup>76</sup> not only for the relief it offers to the austere doctrinal exposition. It is also appropriate that the exponent of a materialist philosophy should appeal to the senses in order to instruct his readers as well as to delight them and appeal to their emotions. This skill shows itself especially in places where the rational argument becomes a bit thin, though we cannot be sure whether the change in discourse was calculated or unconscious. For instance in 2.308–32 the poet is expounding the doctrine that though the atoms are constantly in motion — like the motes in the sunbeam that helped him over a similar problem in 125–8 — the objects formed from them appear at rest. *non est mirabile*, the poet says, pre-empting the reader's reaction. *omnis enim longe nostris ab sensibus infra / primorum natura iacet*. So the epistemological criterion of sensation has to be rejected here, to be superseded not by *iniectus animi* but by two elaborate and highly poetic analogies, summarized in 322 and 332, before we are moved rapidly on to the next topic. The two quasi-similes have been deservedly lauded for their vivid concentrated imagery and contrasting details — *collis* and *campus*, *lanigerae* . . . *pecudes* and *magnae legiones*, *pabula laeta* and *belli simulacra*, *herbae gemmant* *rore recenti*, *agni* . . . *blande* . . . *coruscant* and *aere renidescit tellus*, *reptant* and *circumuolitant*. But the brilliance and familiarity (or rather familiarizing — for how many of Lucretius' readers had looked down on two armies on manoeuvre?) of the imagery beguile us into forgetting that this is analogy, not proof. Atoms are like this, if they are like this. The *mellis dulcis flauusque liquor* no longer serves to disguise the *absinthia taetra* (1.936–8): it conceals its inefficacy. Similes are no mere ornaments.

## SYNTAX

**37.1.** The meanings of individual words — their lexical stems and grammatical inflections — are fully articulated only in syntactic combinations, and the repeated combinations in turn affect the meanings of words. The syntax used by poets, including syntactic tropes, is therefore essential to the definition of the poetic register. So too is the ordering of the words, though in a highly inflected language this belongs not to syntax, as it does in English, but to pragmatics and in particular stylistics. A few representative phenomena will be discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

**37.2.** Among case uses the extension of direct object accusatives is frequent. Cicero has *canere*, already old-fashioned in the sense of 'to sing', with *clarorum uirorum laudes* (*Tusc.* 4.3) but not with *claros uiros*; yet

<sup>76</sup> See West (1969) for a detailed treatment of the subject.

Lucretius writes *cur . . . non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetae?* (5.326–7). Whence Horace extends to *Liberum, Musas Veneremque . . . canebat* (C. 1.32.9), Virgil to *arma uirumque cano*. The verb *ardere* is used of emotional states with the instrumental ablative specifying the emotion, e.g. *militibus . . . studio pugnae ardentibus* (Caes. Civ. 3.90.3), and in poetry also the object of love, e.g. *arsisse Bathyllo / Anacreonta* (Hor. *Epod.* 14.9). But Terence, who also writes *amore ardeo* (*Eun.* 72), already has a direct object in *hanc ardere coepit perdite* (*Ph.* 82). So Virgil's *ardebat Alexin* (*E.* 2.1) is not as innovative as it might seem. Quintilian (9.3.17) takes *Tyrrhenum nauigat aequor* (Virg. *A.* 1.67) as a Graecism. That the accusative need not be perlativ, as we might surmise from, say, *me . . . nauigasse . . . per infesta latrociniis litora* (Sen. *Ben.* 7.15.1), is clear from the passive use in *etiamsi nauigari posset Oceanus* (Sen. *Suas.* 1.8).

**37.3.** The internal accusative function might be thought, on the basis of the equation of *dulce ridentem* (Cat. 51.5) with Sappho's *γελαισας ἡμέροεν*, to owe something to Greek influence. But the adverbs *multum*, *parum* (<\**paruom*) and *dulcius* etc. together with 'cognate' usages like *noxiam noxit* from the Twelve Tables guarantee a native origin, even if, as elsewhere, Greek influence helped to maintain what might otherwise have been a non-productive or even obsolescent usage. An interesting interaction of external and internal uses is Virgil's *nec uox hominem sonat* (*A.* 1.328). For *humanum* with *sonat* would be internal; cf. *horrendum sonuere* (*A.* 9.732). However, *hominem* with *indicat* or *monstrat* would be external. The syntax here, as in *ardebat Alexin*, reflects a shift in the semantic orientation of the verb itself.

**37.4.** The pursuit of economy leads to a reduction of prepositional phrases. Most often this results in archaisms<sup>77</sup> like Virgil's *Italiam . . . Lauiniaque uenit / litora* (*A.* 1.2–3) and the even more antique *ibimus Afros* (*E.* 1.64), which is followed immediately by the incongruously epic *rapidum cretae ueniemus Oaxen*. Not surprisingly the ablative, being a syncretic case, offers divers examples. Thus from Propertius *uaga muscosis flumina fusa iugis* (2.19.30) where the ablative indicates separation, *multis decus artibus* (1.4.13) origin, *contactum nullis ante Cupidinibus* (1.1.1) agent, in fact an instance of dative-ablative indeterminacy, *illa meo carus donasset funere crinis* (1.17.21) location, and *medius docta cuspide Bacchus erit* (2.30.38) accompaniment. A remarkable haul, but although Propertius like Horace is notably bold in his case usage, each of the examples can be paralleled widely from other classical poets. The ablative of comparison is also employed more frequently and extended more boldly than in prose e.g. *turpior et saecli uiuere luxuria* (Prop. 1.16.12), and *inuidiaque maior*

<sup>77</sup> For the development of prepositional syntax in Latin see Coleman (1991).

*urbis relinquam* (Hor. C. 2.20.4-5), which clearly echoes Callimachus' κρέσσονα βασκανίης (Ep. 21.4).

37.5. A poetic rival to *ibit Afros* for *ibit ad Afros* is *ibit Afris*. The dative had always shared with the accusative the semantic function of allativity, the distinction being between subjective involvement, implying animatedness, and purely physical direction. Thus *Panthoiden iterum Orco / demissum* (Hor. C. 1.28.10-11), where the dative suggests that the obscure underworld deity, not the underworld itself, is being referred to; cf. the more physical *missos ad Orcum* (C. 3.4.75). Virgil's *it clamor caelo* (A. 5.451; cf. *tollitur in caelum clamor* in 12.462) indicates that Heaven, which in traditional culture was not after all an unpopulated region, is moved by the shout.

37.6. A number of distinctive uses of the genitive can be observed in poetic discourse. This had originally been the normal case of dependency with adjectives as with nouns, but was steadily encroached upon by the instrumental ablative. Phrases like *tempus edax rerum* (Ov. M. 15.234), *laeta laborum . . . Sidonia Dido* (Virg. A. 11.73-4; cf. *laetus Eois / Euris equis* in 2.417), and *aeui maturus Acestes* (5.73; cf. *animo maturus et aeuo* in Ov. M. 8.617) are all conservative, if not archaizing.

37.7. Especially interesting is the famous *integer uitae scelerisque purus* (Hor. C. 1.22.1), where the two genitives chiasmatically juxtaposed have different semantic relations with the head adjectives of their grammatically parallel phrases. For whereas *integer uitae* implies *cui uita integra est*, *scelerisque purus* does not imply *cui scelus purum est*, and the alternative constructions are *integer uita* (instrumental) and *a scelere purus* (ablative). Nothing anomalous here: genitives of reference need not always denote the same kind of reference. But the second phrase disambiguates the first, which taken by itself would more likely refer to physical health than moral goodness. Such clarification is an important function of double or multiple descriptive phrases (cf. the similar role of the Propertian similes in §28.3). Finally Virgil's *ereptae uirginis ira* (A. 2.413) is not as strange as it has sometimes been made out to be, since the genitive is the regular dependency case in the nominalization of all predicative complements, whatever their case; *ira* + genitive beside *irasci* + dative is paralleled in pairs like *inuidia, inuidere* and *usus, uti* beside *timor, timere*.

37.8. Some uses of the genitive are influenced by Greek. While *iustitiae prius mirer belline laborum* (Virg. A. 11.126) can be placed with the genitive of reference that is found with *pudet, piget* etc., cf. *de impudentia singulari . . . sunt qui mirentur* (Cic. Ver. 2.1.6), this specific example is best seen as an extension of the native idiom under the influence of θαυμάζειν + genitive. Horace's *desine mollium / tandem querelarum* (C.2.9.17-18) is modelled on the ablative uses of the Greek syncretic genitive, and may

have an *ad hominem* point, given Valgius' neoteric attachments.<sup>78</sup> The same is also probable in *eripa te morae* from the Maecenas ode, C. 3.29.5; cf. the ablative phrase in *aegrum eripere de periculo* (Vitruv. 1.1.15). However, a dative interpretation is just possible, with *morae* personified, as if Cicero had written *huic me timori* rather than the more normal *hunc mihi timorem eripe* (Cat. 1.18). Lastly *qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium / regnavit populorum* (Hor. C. 3.30.11–12), which begins with a straightforward genitive of reference. The genitive with *regnavit* could be partitive, 'some peoples', but it is more likely modelled on the Greek ablative genitive of comparison with verbs of ruling, a syntactic reflection of the fusion of Italian and Greek in the final quatrain of the ode. What is clear is that the Graecisms are no mere ornamental affectation.

**38.1.** In the Latin verb the middle voice is reflected in deponents like *loquor*, *utor* and semi-deponents like *confido*, *gaudeo*, in none of which does it have a distinctive meaning. A semantic distinction can however be identified in certain uses of the passive of active verbs like *induor*, *lauor*, *mutor*, *revertor*, *uetor*. The co-existence of doublets like *arbitro/-or*, *assentio/-or*, *comperio/-or* suggests that the loss of systematic distinction was recent.

**38.2.** All this provided a platform, if an obsolescent one, from which to launch a revival of the middle voice. At what date the revival began is uncertain. The earliest instances<sup>79</sup> are from Plautus and Ennius: *cingitur. certe expedit se* (Am. 308) and *indutum . . . pallam* (Men. 511–12) could be native, though the absence from early prose — unless the isolated *togae parte caput uelati* (Cato, Orig. 1.18) is genuine — and its rareness in classical prose is then very strange. In Ennius' *succincti corda machaeris* (Ann. 519 Sk) the presence of the Greek loan-word perhaps reduces the probability that this is a mere Latin archaism,<sup>80</sup> while the transitive use, in contrast to *cingitur* and to Ennius' own *succincti gladiis* (Ann. 426 Sk), which is a normal passive, confirms that this is a middle. But thereafter the construction is rare before the Augustans, e.g. Catullus' *non contacta leui uelatum pectus amictu*, where the enclosing word order enacts the meaning, and *lactentis uincta papillas* (64.64–5). More striking examples appear in the *Eclogues* (see §38.3).

**38.3.** The area of the revival was very circumscribed. The overwhelming majority of instances are in poetry. Livy's *uirgines longam indutae uestem*

<sup>78</sup> On which see Nisbet–Hubbard (1977: 135, 148).

<sup>79</sup> For a collection of examples see Kühner–Stegmann (1955:2.1.288–90).

<sup>80</sup> For the difficulties of classification here see Coleman (1975).

(27.37.13), a rare prose example, can be set beside Cicero's more typical *soccos quibus indutus esset* (*De or.* 3.127), no less clearly a passive. Moreover, the use was restricted both lexically and morphologically. Most of the examples are with verbs of covering and putting on or removing clothing and armour, e.g. *suras euincta cothurno* (Virg. *E.* 7.32), *inutile ferrum cingitur* (Virg. *A.* 2.510-1) and even Horace's alliterative *laeuo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto* (*S.* 1.6.74). Conspicuous among the exceptions are Ovid's *oculos in humum deiecta modestos* (*Am.* 3.6.67) and *suffunditur ora rubore* (*M.* 1.484), Virgil's *inflatum hesternu uenas, ut semper, Iaccho* (*E.* 6.15), where the Greek tone is reinforced by the metonymy chosen for *uino*, and *inscripti nomina regum . . . flores* (*E.* 3.106-7), with its allusion to Greek mythology, in which the middle use contrasts with the passive in Cicero's *sepulcrum inimico nomine inscriptum* (*Dom.* 100).

**38.4** The examples cited have illustrated the morphological restriction. Most occurrences are in the perfect participle used in a descriptive rather than narrative sense. Latin had no perfect active participle except in the deponents, which in phrases like *talia clara uoce locutus* provide a syntactic model for many of the middle uses that have just been cited. There is a growing tendency to more frequent use of present tense finite forms. Ovid's *suffunditur* is already an extension from Virgil's *suffusa* (*A.* 1.228), Virgil's *loricam induitur*, coupled with a passive *fidoque accingitur ense* (*A.* 7.640), an extension from *indutus*. In *A.* 11.6 he writes *fulgentia induit arma* with a clear semantic distinction from the middle *induitur*.

**38.5.** Another construction, again poetic in occurrence, is syntactically parallel but semantically distinct. It is represented clearly in Lucretius' *perculsi membra timore* (5.1223), where the participle must be understood not as a middle, as in *percussae pectora matres* (Virg. *A.* 11.877), but as a passive, with the accusative in its perlocative sense, indicating the area within which a state or prolonged action occurs, a usage already found, it seems, in Enn. *Ann.* 310 Sk, *perculsi pectora Poeni*<sup>81</sup> and of course more familiar in the 'accusative of duration in space or time'. It is thus comparable to other poetic constructions like *tremet artus* (Lucret. 3.489) beside the more normal construction exemplified in *et corde et genibus tremet* (Hor. *C.* 1.23.8). The revival and extension of both accusative uses, assuming that they had native precedent, was clearly influenced by Greek, as are adnominal uses such as *cetera Graius* (Virg. *A.* 3.594) and *flaua comas* (Ov. *M.* 9.307). Sometimes analysis is uncertain. Thus *sensus deperditus*

<sup>81</sup> See also Skutsch's note on *fossari corpora telis* (583), where the text and context are less secure.

*omnes* (Prop. 1.3.11) may refer either to total loss (middle) of the senses or destruction (passive) over all the senses.

**39.1.** A number of uses of the infinitive are characteristic of the poetic register. In dependence on adjectives as in *celerem sequi* (Hor. C. 1.15.18) the infinitive is older than the gerundival constructions which replaced it in classical prose; cf. *avidus consul belli gerundi* (Sall. *Iug.* 35.3) with *avidum committere pugnam* (Ov. *M.* 5.75), and in the predicative complement *sum defessus quaerere* (Pl. *Epid.* 197) with *defessus sum ambulando* (Ter. *Ad.* 713). The infinitival construction is Indo-European and the infinitive had originally kept to the active form, being like all verbal nouns unmarked for voice, but adjustment is sometimes made for voice, as in *niueus uideri* (Hor. C. 4.2.59). A comparison between *felix et ponere uitam* (Virg. *G.* 1.284) and *felix uobis corrumpendis fuit* (Liv. 3.17.2) indicates the economical value to poets of the infinitive, which was used similarly but independently in Vulgar Latin.

**39.2.** In dependence on nouns the same two constructions were in rivalry already in Plautus, e.g. *tempus est subducere hinc me* (As. 912) but *tempus adeundi* (Trin. 432); *tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros* (Virg. *A.* 2.10) but *amor sceleratus habendi* (Ov. *M.* 1.131). In *pudor est quaedam coepisse priorem* (Ov. *Ars.* 1.705) the adjective is in agreement with a non-existent subject, a situation that has fascinated generations of grammarians. Strictly speaking, only the gerundial construction is adnominal, 'the time of approaching exists', the infinitive is a dative complement, 'the time exists for approaching'. In the last example the infinitival phrase is a predicative complement, 'the shame is to begin'.

**40.1.** Greek influence also helped to re-establish the purely aspectual distinction between infinitives in the complements of certain verbs. Its native credentials are guaranteed by *neiquis eorum Bacanal habuisse uellet* (CIL I<sup>2</sup>581) and *nequid emisse uellet* (Cato, *Agr.* 5.4). The revival in poetry clearly had something to do with the metrically useful trochaic ending, but a firm aspectual sense can be seen in Horace's *tendentes opaco / Pelion imposuisse Olympo* (C. 3.4.51-2) and Propertius' *ergo uelocem potuit domuisse puellam* (1.1.15), both in contexts rich in Greek mythological allusion. The occurrence of this usage at Vindolanda<sup>82</sup> illustrates once more the

<sup>82</sup> *cras quid uelis nos fecisse rogo domine praecipias*, Tab. Vindol. ii 505 in Bowman and Thomas (1996: 324) and p. 8 above.

possibility of correspondence between poetic and colloquial usage against literary prose (see §13.4).

**40.2.** In contrast to these usages, which became established as permanent additions to the poetic register, there are other Graecisms that remain extremely rare. The plain infinitive complement in *quo ire dixeram* (Pl. *Cap.* 194) and *quae conuenere . . . / fatetur transtulisse atque usum* (not *usus esse!*) *pro suis* (Ter. *An.* 13–14), may be native to Latin. But Catullus' *phaselus ille . . . ait fuisse nauium celerrimus* (4.1) is a specially motivated Greek intrusion, perhaps intended to characterize the old boat as an immigrant from the Greek-speaking East. Horace's *uxor inuicti Iouis esse nescis* (C. 3.27.73) addressed by Venus to Europa may also be intended to give localized Greek colour. This could apply to Androgeos in Virg. *A.* 2.377, *sensit medios delapsus in hostes*, and to Penelope in Prop. 2.9.7, *uisura et quamuis numquam speraret Vlixen*.

**41.1.** Another economically motivated preference is for participial syntax as an alternative to subordinate clauses. Here the morphological poverty of the Latin participial system and the predominantly adjectival function of the present participle in early Latin reduce the probability of native precedent. Catullus is the first poet to use participles extensively in his syntax (there are many in the narrative parts of 64; seven in lines 1–10 alone), at a time when they were little employed in prose. Cicero, significantly, has participial constructions more often in his poetry than in his prose. The Augustan poets followed Catullus' lead, and the usage then spread through Livy into the conventions of prose writing. All this confirms a Greek stimulus.

**41.2.** As in Greek, the syntactic conciseness is purchased at the cost of semantic precision. The distinction between a state described and action narrated is blurred, and the relation between subordinate constituent and principal clause, whether it is descriptive (*viz.* relative), temporal, conditional, causal or concessive, is left unspecified unless some clarifying adverb is attached to the participle, which reduces the gain in conciseness. In *diua quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces / ipsa leui fecit uolitantem flamine currum* (Cat. 64.8–9) the *uolitantem* phrase is descriptive but *retinens* could be taken temporally, like *aspirans* and *implorata* in 68.64–5.

**41.3.** Participles are much less prominent in the *Aeneid* than they are in the *Peleus and Thetis* and are deployed with more subtle diversity. They are an important ingredient in Horace's concentrated style, and the ambiguities mentioned above are exploited semantically by the poet. C. 4.7 is by his own standards very short on participles, but *decrescientia* (3) and *interitura* (10) are both impressive. The pentasyllabic present participle



with its opening e-sounds evokes the more leisurely flow of the spring river and with *praetereunt* becomes, like the river in 3.29.33–41, symbolic of growth and decay and the relentless passage of time, which is also reiterated in *interitura*. No image this time: the participle draws on the unusual imagery of *uer proterit aestas*, to which it is an ominous appendage, whether we take it as descriptive, concessive or both. Sometimes the participles come in force, as in 3.2.6–9, *illum ex moenibus hosticis matrona bellantis tyranni prospiciens et adulta uirgo suspiret*, where the second is temporal, the first and third descriptive, and the compression achieved by them is important in focusing the image. The various expressive possibilities of the choice between participle and clause are explored to full effect by the Augustan poets and by their imperial successors, in prose as well as verse.

**42.1.** Syntactic dislocations of various kinds are widely used by the Latin poets. Hypallage is perhaps the most frequent. We have already noted *Tyrrhena regum progenies* (§28.5). Also from Horace is *obliuioso leuia Massico / ciboria exple* (C. 2.7.21–2), an easy transfer of an epithet that is itself rare and means simply ‘full of forgetfulness’. Virgil’s *saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram* (A. 1.4), seems like a reciprocal transfer or enallage from the metrically parallel but phonetically inferior *saeuam memoris Iunonis ob iram*. The transfer gains semantically too: *saeua* becomes the characterizing epithet for Juno, and the wrath is given its specific motivation. A similar enallage occurs with comparable effect in the famous *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte* (A. 6.268). Hypallage is not unknown in prose, e.g. Cic. *Man. 22, eorum* (sc. *membra*) *collectio dispersa*; but it is primarily poetic.

**42.2.** More violent dislocations can be seen in Prop. 2.26.18, *qui, puto, Arioniam uexerat ante lyram*, where the grammatical form, in contrast to the prosaic *Ariona lyram ferentem*, makes Arion subordinate to his lyre, a witty conceit underlined by *puto*. The same quasi-satiric effect can be seen in 3.2.19, *Pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti*, a bizarre dislocation of the prosaic *Pyramides sumptuosae ad sidera ductae*, which would still retain the central alliteration and the hyperbolic *ad sidera*. Juvenal in *Sat. 1.10–11* has *unde alius furtiuae deuehat aurum / pelliculae*, for the prosaic *alium pelliculam auream furtiuae deuehat*. The casual *alium*, the choice of the diminutive *pelliculae*, made subordinate grammatically to *aurum*, which is thus highlighted, and the transfer of *furtiuae* into the object phrase all conspire to reduce the heroic legend to an anonymous act of larceny. Such dislocations are the converse to hendiadys; but like it they are seldom mere word games.

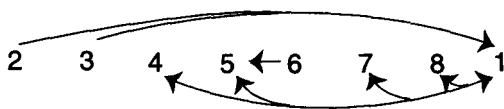
**42.3.** Hendiadys itself, in replacing a head-plus-dependent noun phrase by a co-ordinate one, invites the reader to contemplate an object and its material component as distinct and equal items. In *qualem pateris libamus et auro* (G. 2.192) Virgil describes wine offered in sacrifice. The hendiadys highlights, as *pateris aureis* could not, the visual image of colour and wealth. In *clausae tenebris et carcere caeco* (A. 6.734) Virgil reinforces the disjunction by the alliterative link back across *tenebris* to *clausae*. The semantic extension of *caecus*, itself perhaps originally the result of hyperallage, was as old as Accius, *nocte caeca* (tr. 32) and too widespread by now to be distinctive. Some alleged examples can be analysed more satisfactorily in other ways. In Remulus' taunt, *non pudet obsidione iterum ualloque teneri?* (A. 9.598), *ualloque* adds the physical object that accompanied the siege, and it is hard to envisage a unitary noun phrase that would convey this. Again in Horace's *oppida publico / sumptu iubentes et deorum / templa nouo decorare saxo* (C. 2.15.18–20) the two instrumental phrases have different semantic relations with the infinitive, which once again a single noun phrase of the head-plus-dependent type would not be able to represent.

**42.4.** Oxymoron perhaps belongs here also, since it breaches the conventions of syntactic collocation between lexical items. Again examples occur in prose, such as *absentes adsunt et egentes abundant . . .* (Cic. *Am.* 23), emphasizing the paradoxical character of friendship; but the figure is more characteristic of poetry. In Horace's *quid uelit et possit rerum concordia discors* (*Epist.* 1.12.19) the noun phrase aptly indicates the unity of disparates that was the goal of philosophical systems and by combining it with a verbal pair appropriate rather to an animate subject seems to suggest that this goal has an existence independent of its proponents. In Horace's famous description of Hypermestra as *splendide mendax* (C. 3.11.35) the contrast with her *impiae* sisters and *periorum parentem* underlines the moral dilemma, resolved in a way that may itself be liable to the charge of impious treachery but still ensured that she would be *in omne uirgo nobilis aeuom*. Sometimes an oxymoron, once created, comes to be exploited in prose as well as verse; cf. *cruda deo uiridisque senectus*, used of Charon in Virg. A. 6.304, with *senem sed mehercules uiridem animo et uigentem* (Sen. *Ep.* 66.1) and other imperial examples.

**43.1.** It is well known that Livy's prose style represents a distinct move towards poetic usage, especially in lexicon and syntax (see, e.g. §38.3). Conversely Augustan poetry introduces into its syntax something associated primarily with prose style, the extended complex sentence. Among

numerous Virgilian examples<sup>83</sup> is *A.* 1.305–9: (1) *at pius Aeneas* (2) *per noctem plurima uoluens, |* (3) *ut primum lux alma data est* (1) *exire locosque / explorare nouos* (4) *quas uento accesserit oras, |* (5) *qui teneant —* (6) *nam inculta uidet —* (7) *hominesne feraene |* (1) *quaerere constituit sociisque* (8) *exacta* (1) *referre.*

43.2. There are eight constituents<sup>84</sup> in this narrative sentence, and the structure is quite elaborate. It is a pure period in that no terminal point is possible until the end; the principal clause (1) weaves through the sentence from the start to the finish: *at pius Aeneas exire . . . explorare . . . quaerere constituit sociisque . . . referre.* The participial constituent (2), which is directly dependent on (1), is semantically a past imperfective participle ('having been turning over . . .') a semantic distinction for which the finite verb system offers no exponent either ('when he had been turning over . . .'). The group of indirect questions (4) (5) (7) is dependent not loosely on *locosque explorare nouos*, as it seems to be at first, but firmly on the delayed *quaerere*. It shows moreover an internal incoherence. For *qui teneant* (5) is effectively replaced by *hominesne feraene* (7) with *teneant* understood from the former. Since *nam* is not a subordinating conjunction, its constituent (6) must be treated as an aside. This incoherence aptly reflects the hero's bewilderment. The structural profile of the whole sentence can be represented thus:



It is very reminiscent of a prose period and even the word order is surprisingly prosaic. But what is remarkable is that the entire event from Aeneas' sleepless night to his report back to his men is reported in a single five-verse sentence, recalling in fact many of Livy's narrative periods.

43.3. Horace's Cleopatra ode (*C.* 1.37), consists of three sentences, each longer than its predecessor: 1–4, 2–12, 12–32. The last of these offers a sharp contrast to the Virgilian example. It is very complex but not strictly periodic, since numerous stopping points would have been possible — after *ab ignibus* (13), *Caesar* (16), *adurgens* (17), *columbas* (18), *Haemoniae* (20) and *fatale monstrum* (21), which is indeed taken by some editors to mark the end of a sentence; after *oras* (24), *seuero* (26), *serpentes* (27), *uenenum* (28), *ferocior* (29), *invidens* (30) and finally *triumpho* (32). The effect is of a long succession of narrative or descriptive details being added by way

<sup>83</sup> See Norden (1903: 377–90) for some aspects of Virgil's practice not covered here.

<sup>84</sup> For the method of analysis employed here see Coleman (1995).

of qualification to what has gone before, so that after the principal clause, comprising *sed minuit furorem . . . mentemque . . . redegit Caesar* (12–16), the focus of the sentence is moved steadily away via the predator–prey simile to the image of the noble queen — *generosius / perire quaerens nec muliebriter / expauit ensem* (21–3) — the final epic noun here like the epic simile in 17–20 adding heroic status to the events — *uoltu sereno . . . fortis . . . ferocior . . . non humilis mulier* (26–32). The radical shift of focus effected by this constant series of additions anticipates Tacitus. By contrast the continual addition of new material to the famous complex sentence in *C.* 4.2.5–24 (see § 36.1) has a cumulative effect after the initial principal clause (5–8). The choice of words in 1.31 is much more poetic than Virgil's, and the word order, though conditioned to a great extent by the metre, is highly effective, beginning with the emphatic predicate-subject order in 12–16. The use of complex structures may have been inspired by classical prose, but the poets exploited the innovation to various expressive effects.

**44.1.** Apostrophe, by replacing third person by second person narration, is a calculated intrusion by the poet into the impersonal context, in order to suggest his own emotional involvement and invite the reader to respond accordingly. It is especially appropriate to the more highly charged contexts of poetry. Thus Laodamia's desperation is highlighted by Catullus' direct address *in quo tibi tum casu pulcherrima Laodamia, / ereptum est uita dulcius atque anima / coniugium* (68.105–7). In Prop. 3.2.7–8, within a triad of mythological musicians, Polyphemus is highlighted for the erotic success of his *carmina* by a remarkable apostrophe: *quin etiam, Polypheme, fera Galatea sub Aetna / ad tua rorantis carmina flexit equos*. The ironic humour of this misinterpretation of the tale is compounded by the mock-heroic connotations of the concluding equestrian image.

**44.2** The figure is of course not unknown to early epic e.g. already Hom. *Od.* 14.55, τὸν δ' ἀμειβόμενος προσέφη, *Εὐμαίε σὺβώτα*, but Virgil uses it for various more emotive purposes, e.g. to elevate the Campanian chieftain in *A.* 7.733, *nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis, / Oebale*, preceding an explicit prosopographical account clearly significant for Italian legend and an Italian poet but now largely obscure. The most famous instance is of course the powerful and self-fulfilling promise, *Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt . . .* (9.446–50), following the death of Nisus and Euryalus. Apostrophe is of course a familiar figure in oratory. Quintilian (9.2.38) cites examples from Cicero's speeches, including one based on personification, *uos iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, uos, inquam, imploro atque testor, uosque Albanorum obrutae arae* (*Mil.* 85). The difference between the two registers is chiefly one of frequency.

**45.1.** One of the most notable differences from prose is word order variation, in part metrically conditioned, though disrupted word orders are by no means unknown in literary prose e.g. *brevis a natura nobis uita data est* (Cic. *Phil.* 14.32). In a highly inflected language word order has no syntactic function, as it has in English, but it does have an important pragmatic role, adding emphasis to a word or phrase by distancing it from words with which it is grammatically linked, by juxtaposing it with words that are not grammatically connected but which help to define its meaning more specifically or by any major deviation from the patterns of ordinary prose writing, e.g. *uita brevis a natura nobis data est* or *fluctus uastos ad litora uoluunt*. In *uastos uoluunt ad litora fluctus* (Virg. *A.* 1.86) *uastos*, in alliteration with *uoluunt* with which it forms a menacing pair, is held in suspense till *fluctus* at the end. The wind-driven waves from all sides converge *ad litora*. In *aureus et foliis et lento uimine ramus* (6.137) epithet and noun are separated, with the colour image emphatically first and the noun coming as a revelation at the end. In *ingentes Rutulae spectabit caedis aceruos* (10.245) the definition of the appalling image awaits the two final nouns and the chiasitic word order enclosing the verb enacts the vivid sense that its subject, the personified *crastina lux* (244), will be surrounded on all sides.

**45.2.** A couplet taken almost at random from Propertius illustrates the effects that variation from the prosaic order can contribute: *his tum blanditiis furtiua per antra puellae / oscula siluicolis empta dedere uiris* (3.13.33–4) v. *tum puellae oscula furtiua his blanditiis empta uiris siluicolis per antra dedere*. The hypallage of *furtiua*, placed in a metrically prominent position, in any case distances the latter phrase from prose. The reproach of *empta* is emphasized in the separation from its noun by the syntactically ambiguous *siluicolis* (with *empta* or *dedere*?) and in the oxymoronic juxtaposition with *dedere*. The lofty compound adjective itself is a witty reminder that the passage began with the Golden Age image of *felix agrestum quondam pacata iuuentus* (25).

**45.3.** The severe metrical constraints of the Horatian lyric metres clearly entailed distortions of the normal Latin word order, but the poet shows again and again an unparalleled skill in turning the necessities to relevant poetic effects. Take the river simile in 4.2.5–8: *monte decurrens uelut amnis, imbres / quem super notas aluere ripas, / feruet immensusque ruit profundo / Pindarus ore*. If we rewrite the stanza in a normal prosaic order, e.g. *Pindarus, uelut amnis monte decurrens, quem imbres super notas ripas aluere, feruet immensusque ore profundo ruit*, the contrast is very marked. It is worth noting incidentally that, as with most good poetry, rearrangement into a prose order leaves us with a very unprosaic piece of prose.

**45.4.** The noun *amnis* is attested predominantly in poetry, *ex* or *de montibus* would be more normal in prose (Livy has *amnis diuersis ex*

*Alpibus decurrentes* in 21.31.4), and the particular metaphoric use of *aluere* is not found in prose before Tacitus. But the order contributes to the poetic effect. The delaying of *uelut* gives the powerful initial image prominence before its reference is specified, and the preposing of *imbres* to its relative clause juxtaposes it emphatically with *amnis*. The fact that *feruet immensusque ruit* and *profundo* do not refer to *amnis* is held back till the last verse, where their metaphoric reference is at last made clear and the aptness of the simile confirmed. The only notable alliteration reinforces the link between *Pindarus* and *profundo*.

## CONCLUSION

**46.1.** This long but far from exhaustive survey<sup>85</sup> can now be summarized and its argument brought together. An attempt has been made to describe and illustrate poetic diction, which in both the narrow and the wider sense (§1.1) essentially defines the poetic register of the language, that is to say the form of Latin in which poetic discourse was conducted. Literary prose, being more selectively rationalized, establishes a linguistic norm against which we can plot the characteristics of the poetic register as a series of deviations. The task of plotting ought to have led us to a body of exclusive criteria, but in practice the number of linguistic phenomena that are found exclusively in poetry is small, if far from negligible. This is perhaps not so surprising, given that no dividing line can be drawn between poetic and prose subjects. It is worth recalling for instance that Virgil wrote out a preliminary prose version of the *Aeneid* (*Don. Vita* 23) and that many manuscripts of Horace's odes offer titles for most of the poems that include standard rhetorical categories, such as *pragmaticae* (1.1, 3.30), *paraeneticae* (1.9, 4.7), *exprobratio* (1.25), *inuectio* (1.23). Not all of them are helpful, but the use of them is revealing.<sup>86</sup>

**46.2.** Nevertheless it is possible to point to linguistic usages that are more prominent in poetry and this is what I have done in §§3–45. The most fundamental distinguishing characteristic of Latin poetry is metrical form (§3–4). Of less importance at the phonetic level, since it is their frequency not their presence that is distinctive, are Greek sounds and Greek collocations of Latin sounds (§15). More infrequent are

<sup>85</sup> For a longer treatment of relevant phenomena see Hofmann-Szantyr (1965: 685–858).

<sup>86</sup> The rhetorical classifications of ancient poetry have been taken up, developed and modified by Cairns (1972). Some of his classes correspond with those in the Horatian manuscripts, e.g. *propemptice* (1.3), *hymnus* (1.21); many do not.

phonetic archaisms like *animāī* (§7–8) and innovations, which are virtually confined to words that are otherwise metrically intractable but never distort the basic phonology of the language (§5–11): *metri gratia* is not *laissez-faire*.

**46.3.** In the area of grammatical morphology archaic inflections are sometimes retained (§12). This illustrates an important difference between poetry and prose. Whereas literary prose was closely in touch with current educated speech and archaism tended to be disapproved,<sup>87</sup> poetry was less at the mercy of linguistic change. In a literate society the written poetry that survived from the past was not only constantly accessible — this was equally true of prose — but it also exercised a formative influence on the work of individual poets, who consciously imitated it as a deliberate signal of allegiance to a specific tradition.<sup>88</sup> This was quite distinct from the largely unconscious and impersonal influence that past states of a language must always have upon its present character. Literary works that acquired a classic status within their genres obviously had the greatest influence upon individual poets. This can at different periods be true also of prose genres, as illustrated in the influence of Cicero on patristic writing from Minucius Felix and Lactantius onwards,<sup>89</sup> or of The Authorized Version of the English Bible on subsequent prose literature in English.

**46.4.** This timeless status of poetry applies even more to the lexicon, where it not only signals adherence to a tradition but also extends the range of synonyms available to the poet (§§21–3). Innovations were certainly acceptable in this area, principally loan-words from Greek (§§27–8) and the formation of compound words, scrupulously modelled on existing patterns of Latin word formation even though their inspiration almost invariably came from a particular Greek word (§26).

**46.5.** However, the two most important features of the poetic lexicon, not only in Latin, do not need to depart from ordinary vocabulary. The first is the use of semantic transference, as in metonymy (§32), synecdoche (§33) and above all metaphor (§29–31). These are largely responsible for the creation of poetic diction in the narrow sense (§34.2). The second is imagery, which is often created out of very unpoetic vocabulary, not least in similes (§§35–6). A word may have the status of poetic diction temporarily conferred on it by the context of poetic discourse in which it is set, as for instance the metaphoric *praesidium* of Maecenas in Hor. C. 1.1.1 or the hyperbolic *centum clauibus* to characterize the miser against his wasteful

<sup>87</sup> For the rationalizing process by which classical prose usage was formed see Neumann (1968).

<sup>88</sup> For comprehensive treatment of this important subject see Williams (1968), Thill (1979).

<sup>89</sup> The influence of the teachings of *Romani auctor eloquii* is pervasive in *De doctrina Christiana*, though Augustine never names him there.

heir in the magnificent final stanza of *C.* 2.14. Other words become established as permanent elements of poetic diction by successive imitations of an original trope — *carina*, *fretum* etc. (§§3–34).

46.6. It is in syntax that the contrast with the rationalizing processes of prose is most striking. Both archaism and innovation are again at work here, and the placing of a given construction on the diachronic axis is often difficult. An archaic construction, purged from literary prose in favour of a more rational rival, may be identical with a vulgarism similarly rejected by literary prose (§39). The poetic and vulgar registers after all share a concern for concise and vivid expression which will end up in the same place, whether it is a preference for metaphor or for infinitival constructions. Finally while the introduction of complex sentence structure into poetry (§43) shows interaction with literary prose that is remote from vulgar usage, the various forms of syntactic dislocation (§42) and manipulation of word order (§45) mark off poetry from both vulgarism and prose literature.

46.7. The poetic register thus contained far more than poetic diction even in the wider sense of the term. A poet may, as we saw in §20.7–9, choose to confer the status of poetic diction on words that in other contexts of occurrence are thoroughly prosaic, simply by placing them in an appropriate setting. Thus the plain ‘unpoetic’ vocabulary of the famous *Wher’ere you walk* quatrain from Pope’s *Pastorals*, 2.73–6, is charged with poetic power by the thoroughly traditional use of the trope known since Ruskin as the pathetic fallacy.<sup>90</sup> Conversely the poetic effect may depend precisely on the words retaining their prosaic connotations. Only the context of the poetic discourse itself can enable us to decide. For it is not just the presence of this or that linguistic item that is definitive, but rather the texture of a whole passage, formed from the accumulation of other ingredients summarized in these concluding paragraphs. This is why, in many of the examples cited to illustrate a particular feature of the poetic register in the course of this essay, other features of the context not relevant to the point immediately under discussion have been noted. Moreover, because the poetic register is not just a set of procedures for translating prose into verse and so embellishing an argument otherwise conceived, but a vehicle for deploying its own kind of argument, the reason why a particular feature or group of features is there has been constantly sought. For they always form an integral part of poetic discourse. This is why the definition of poetic diction in the narrow sense does not take us beyond a circumscribed and relatively small area of the lexicon; but the definition of the poetic

<sup>90</sup> The phonetic and syntactic composition of which is finely analysed by Nowottny (1962: 11–12).



register takes us into the entire concept of what a poem is and what it is created to do.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> I am grateful to the two editors and to Professor H. D. Jocelyn, who have greatly improved this chapter by their learned and trenchant criticisms and by their corrections of downright errors, and would no doubt have improved it even more, if I had allowed them to do so.

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