

Testim.) and thus have given rise to the name, and it is conceivable that Hor. *epist.* 2. 1. 158 f. (*defluxit numerus Saturnius et) graue uirus munditiae pepulere* echoes something of E.'s contempt.

206. *scripsere alii*: apparently Naevius only is meant. In accordance with a common device of polemics the person attacked is veiled in an anonymous plural, the vagueness of reference conveying a sense of contempt (or of superiority: F. Marx, *Sbb. Leipzig* 63 (1911) 61), as though it were quite unnecessary to identify the person (compare the ordinary use of *quidam*), as though his behaviour were not characteristic of the individual but foolish enough to be attributed to 'them'. Some connection, however, with the manner in which Callimachus speaks of his critics and rivals without naming them seems very probable (Leo, *GRL* 164 n. 1).

scripsere: the ending is elided here and possibly in 436 and 473. Unelided *-ere* is mainly restricted to the fifth foot; see p. 62.

rem: used anaphorically, 'the matter', referring, as we learn from Cicero, to the First Punic War. Criticism begins in the next line with *uorsibus quos* etc. Here the phrase *scripsere* . . . *rem* probably is not meant to convey that Naevius' writing was unpoetic; it seems to express rather that Ennius feels himself to be a *rerum scriptor* (see on *res* I xi).

207. *uorsibus quos*: E. means the Saturnian verse, in which Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* was written. Latte, *RE* 18. 856, cf. *Kl. Schr.* 181 f., believes that the poet here follows a Greek cliché, which contrasted the imperfections of the hexameter as used in Delphic oracles with the highly artistic line of Hellenistic poetry. The difference, however, which Ennius has in mind is one not merely of quality but of kind, and native oracles, though no examples in Saturnian verse have survived, are likely to have been cast in some sort of rhetorical form resembling the Saturnian. The cliché, therefore, is hardly needed to explain the poet's statement, although in view of the Hellenistic-literary character of the whole argument (see the note on the following fragment), it is not improbable that it has exercised some influence.

olim: *Fauni* belong to the past, and so, Ennius suggests, does the poetry of the *uates*; *olim* does not imply that oracular poetry now uses different metre.

Faunei: (on the spelling *-ei* see on 361) the contemptuous note, Faunus representing the primitive and uncivilized past, is echoed in Lucil. 484 f. *tërriculas, laniās, Fauni quas Pompiliique instituere*

Numae. Faunus, divinity of the woods to whom the mysterious voices of the forest are ascribed, and who thus becomes a god of prophecy (the Albanean grove where his oracles are sought by incubation, *Aen.* 7. 81 ff., is Virgil's invention, see Heinze, *VET* 176. 2), exists properly only in the singular. Varro tries to explain the plural by his *ut Faunus et Fauna sit*. But though here, as in Lucilius' *Fauni Pompiliique*, the plural may be one of contempt, a pluralisation is not unnatural and has certainly occurred, in the same way as probably that of Pan, and later that of Silvanus (*Ov. met.* 1. 193), under the influence of the Satyrs: compare *Lucr.* 4. 580 ff., *haec loca capripedes satyros Nymphasque tenere finitimi fingunt et Faunos esse loquuntur quorum . . . strepitu ludoque . . . adfirmant uulgo taciturna silentia rumpi*, with *Virg. Aen.* 8. 314, *haec nemora indigenae Fauni nymphaeque tenebant*. A purely formal assimilation to the second subject is here even less likely than in Catullus' *Veneres Cupidinesque* (3. 1). Compare *Cic. nat. deor.* 2. 6 *saepe Faunorum uoces exaudiat*; 3. 15 *nam Fauni uocem equidem numquam audiui: tibi si audisse te dicis, credam, esi Faunus omnino quid sit nescio*; *diu.* 1. 101 *saepe etiam in proeliis Fauni auditi*. Cf. Latte, *RE* 18. 856; Bömer on *Ov. fast.* 4. 650.

The passage on which *Ps.-Plac.* F15 comments: *Fauniorum modorum: antiquissimorum uersuum, quibus olim Faunum celebrabant* may have used *Faunii modi* in the Ennian sense; if so, the glossator has misunderstood it, making Faunus the object rather than the subject.

uates: 'seer, prophet'. It is remarkable that in the absence of a native word for the poet *uates* did not supply the deficiency (as far as we know; but how did Andronicus translate *θετος δαιδός*?) until Augustan Romanticism in Virgil made it a poetic synonym of *poeta* (L. Müller, *de re metr.* 51 ff.; H. Dahlmann, *Philol.* 97 (1948) 337 ff.; differently E. Bickel, *RhM* 94 (1951) 257). In Lucretius *uates* and *poeta* are still sharply distinguished. It is possible that the disparaging tone of this passage has played a certain part in delaying what would seem to be an almost inevitable development. Varro's statement, *LL* 7. 36 *antiquos poetas uates appellabant*, is believed (R. Till, *Neue Jahrb. f. Ant. u. Deutsche Bildung* 3 (1940) 164) to be based on a misunderstanding of our passage. Even if that was his only source, he still would not have misunderstood but merely have been imprecise: the ancient *uates* combined the functions of prophet and poet.

i^a

CIC. *Brut.* 71; *orat.* 171: see under i.

Ennius' proud claim to the first initiate of the Muses⁴ and the first *philólogos* in Rome was not made in subordinate clauses defining the period of *Fauni* and *uates*. *ante hunc* must have belonged to the same sentence, since no other reason for Cicero's quoting it can be imagined; but it clashes with *cum*, and Cicero therefore draws it into a new structure by subordinating it to *ait ipse de se*. The clash which he thus avoids was caused by his own interpolation of *cum*, made in order to describe the period before Ennius with words used by the poet in a neighbouring context. That *cum* belongs to Cicero and not to Ennius must be apparent to anybody who follows Cicero's argument in *Brut.* 71 and contrasts it with that of Ennius. Cicero is concerned with the songs of the pre-literary period. His *cum* therefore very appropriately subjoins what follows to the period of *Faunei* and *uates*. Ennius, on the other hand, wishes to set his own qualifications which made him the first true poet against those of Naevius. If *cum* belonged to him it would have to qualify the time when 'others' wrote of the First Punic War.⁵ Its obvious reference, however, is to the clause which immediately precedes, and to *olim* of which *cum* is the natural relative. Leo, *GRL* 164, saw this and was led to the impossible conclusion that the *cum*-clause described a period when even Greece had no poetry. It now appears that Cicero split off *ante hunc* and drew it into a structure of its own not merely because it clashed directly with *cum* but because it made nonsense of the subordination to the *olim* clause which, by inserting *cum*, he

⁴ Naevius, although he addressed his goddesses as *noquam Iouis concordēs filiae sorores*, probably called them *Camenae*, as appears from line 2 of his epitaph: *flerent diuāe Camenae Naevium poetam*. Porcius Licinus with his *bello Poenico secundo Musa pinnato gradu intulit se bellicosam in Romuli geniem feram* means Ennius' *Annals*, not the *Bellum Poenicum* of Naevius (*BICS* 17 (1970) 120 f.). Ennius could not have made so much of his relationship to the Muses if they had been invoked before him. The view that he merely claimed to be the first to have recognized and attained the perfection demanded by their patronage is based on the impossible interpretation of *scopuli Musarum* as 'the difficulties of the Muses'. Even *scopuli* alone (so Pascoli) cannot, except perhaps with a verb such as *uitare*, mean 'difficulties' in the second century BC; nor would Cicero have shortened the passage as he did if *Musarum* did not go with *scopulos*.

⁵ *cum* cannot be causal. Cicero would not have turned what was a causal *cum* in Ennius into a temporal one, nor is a supplement such as 'their poetry was bound to be poor' (which would have to be inserted to give sense to a causal *cum*) at all credible. Add that, as stated above, Ennius' claim to be the first true poet is far more impressively made in an independent clause.

had forced upon the Ennian sentence. A parallel for a main clause turned into a subordinate clause by Cicero can be found in *diu.* 1. 42 (*scen.* 35), where his *quia* seems to have taken the place of an Ennian *nam* (or *mea*: Vahlen). There, however, the subordination is to a statement of Cicero's, not as here to an Ennian sentence.

Cicero's patching led him into further difficulties, from which he escaped by omitting the verb governing *scopulos* and altering, as shown by the prosody, the words following *studiosus*: Ennius must have used perfects, Cicero in his *cum* clause needed a pluperfect and an imperfect. Ennius could have written, for instance:

nam neque Musarum scopulos descendit ad altos
nec dicti studiosus fuit Romanus homo ante hunc.

Here as in *Tusc.* 1. 28 (*ann.* 110) Cicero sees to it that the words which he substitutes preserve dactylic rhythm, but here as there he seems to indicate, by giving the line only five feet, that he is not quoting verbatim.

208. *scopulos*: the word is used of the mountain of the Muses, perhaps as a faint echo from Ennius, by Propertius, 2. 30. 27 *illic aspicias scopulis haerere sorores*. Borrowed from Greek at an uncertain period (it is here first attested in Latin literature) it probably first rendered the Greek word in the sense of 'cliff', but in poetry it was liable to be used wherever Greek used *σκόπελος* or *σκοπιδά*; compare Posidippus 7 (Sel. Pap. III ed. D. L. Page, 114) *λιμνάν τε σκοπιάν, Ἑλικωνίδες*. Whether the *scopuli* here are those of Helicon or Parnassus probably remained unsaid, cf. above, p. 149 f. Pascoli's idea that *scopuli* are the 'difficulties' of poetry is totally unacceptable; see n. 4.

209. *dicti studiosus*: a translation of *φιλόλογος*, just as *philosophia* *studiosus* (Quintil. 12. 1. 19) translates *φιλόσοφος*. Only as a translation of *-logos* is *dicti* acceptable; it cannot be an equivalent of *dicendi*. The correct interpretation was given by M. Puelma Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos*, 188 n. 3, and Mariotti, *Lex.* 104 ff.; see also Timpanaro, VI 196. On the significance of the term *φιλόλογος* see *Stud. Enn.* 6-7; on the history of the word H. Kuch, *Sächs. Ak., Schrift. Sect. Altertumsw.* 48 (1965). The final syllable of *studiosus* would for Ennius be short even before a consonant (see p. 56), and prosody and sense thus combine to prove that Cicero has altered the text.

hunc: ait ipse de se (Cicero). More often accompanied by a noun,